GUIDE TO THE SS16 PEMON FILE

[The Pemon constitute an ethnolinguistic unit composed of several subgroups including the Taulipang (Arecuna), Camaracoto (Kamarakoto) -- the file sample, and the Teweya, all of the Cariban linguistic stock. The Pemon are located in the Gran Sabana area of south and southeastern Venezuela, roughly between 4° 34' and 6° 45' North latitude and 60° 34' and 62° 50' West longitude.

As noted, all the sub-groups of Pemon speak Cariban which is further differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto and Taurepan are both dialects of the Arekuna language, which in turn is a somewhat archaic form of Carib.

There is very little information available on the population of this group. When Aremellada worked with the Pemon as a missionary (1933-1945), the estimate he gave was 2,500 individuals. In 1939, Simpson, working with the Kamarakoto, estimated their number as about 250 (5: Simpson, p. 110).

Slash and burn agriculture was the primary subsistence pattern supplemented by fishing and hunting.

Villages consisted of several round houses with conically shaped palm thatched roofs. These houses, which were occasionally built on piles, often accomodated several extended families. Each village was politically autonomous

under a headman (tusauá or captain) whose powers were relatively limited. He was succeeded in the office by his son. Among the Kamarakoto the village chief was not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but his status was determined by his own individual personality traits. There was no formal selection of the chief (to' - esa'), and his position in the group was that of a leader among equals. His opinion was valued and he was looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as a whole. He was responsible for seeing that the basic necessities were provided for the group he represented, and if need be, towards attaining this goal, he could order the labor of others. Although generally the village chief was recognized as the ultimate political authority, among the central group of Kamarakoto there was a superior chief above the village level. This official known as teburu (or tepuru), sometimes rendered as cacique, was chosen on the basis of individual prestige rather than any hereditary principle, although it was sometimes that in actual fact. Tenure in this office was for life, and upon the death of the teburu a new official was chosen by discussion and agreement. This teburu could delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, but the latter was not a fixed or generally recognized office.

The Kamarakoto kinship system was of the Hawaiian type (i.e., all cousins were equated with siblings or called by terms clearly derived from those of siblings), with bifurcate merging avuncular terminology. Unilinear kin groups were absent.

Among the Kamarakoto, marriages were permitted between first cousins as well as between uncles and nieces

and aunts and nephews. Simpson says that "there is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way" (5: Simpson, p. 226). Marriages took place informally, generally by the mere assumption of common residence between a man and a woman. Polygyny was also common among the Pemon.

Pemon religion was relatively simple and animistically oriented. They believed in a great number of spirits, but had no specific belief in a supreme being. Shamanism, however, was well developed, with the role of shaman or piache being a very important one in the society. Generally the functions of the shaman were separate from any political or government functions among the majority of Pemon groups; however, among the Kamarakoto the shaman frequently was also a chief (to' - esa').

The SS16 Pemon file consists of four sources, three in English and one (2: Armellada) a translation from the Spanish. The primary sources in the file are 5: Simpson, dealing with the Kamarakoto sub-group of the Pemon, and 2: Armellada, which gives generalized data on the whole Pemon group. Armellada spent twelve years in the field among the Pemon while serving as a Franciscan Capuchin missionary. 3: Simpson, written by a well-known vertebrate paleontologist and comparative zoologist, is a short article on the various native terms used by the Carib-speaking tribes of Guiana and Venezuela to describe the major forms of mammal species found in the area.

Other limited linguistic material is also to be found in this source, particularly in reference to the spread and distribution of dialects of the Carib language family. 4: Armellada presents some general notes on the Pemon concept of dreams and a list of their principal kamaino, or omens. 5: Simpson, although dealing in large part with the Kamarakoto language (at least one-third of the source), also contains much information on material culture, with additional, but limited data on kinship (very brief references), marriages, division of labor, law, trade, magic, and religion.

The Pemon file is adequate for general cross-cultural purposes, but the researcher should be aware of the fact that much of the data contained herein relates to the Kamarakoto sub-group, and do not necessarily represent the Pemon as a whole. The file is relatively weak on kinship information and on social and political organization. Most of the information for the file was collected in the period of 1933-1945. The Pemon file was processed in 1966-1969.]

/1/

Chapter I

General Ethnographic Data on the Pemón Indians

1. They are Karibe /Carib/ Indians. 2. The denomination Koto. 3. The name Arekuna. 4. Id. Taurepán. 5. Id. Pemón. 6. Number of individuals. 7. Conterminous and neighboring tribes. 8. Moral and intellectual states. 9. Ethnographic characteristics.

123 1. The first thing that we customarily ask each individual with whom we are going to enter into conversation is his name or his gracia. Hence I judge it very apt to find out the name of the tribe about whose general characteristics I am going to speak in the present work, which is set on an ethnographic and a psychological plane at the same time.

101 Depending upon the glottological criterion, today prevalent, and, even more, adhering to the linguistic principle that "the briefest subject is the oldest," we easily arrive at the conclusion that these Indians are of the Caribe race, and of the most primitive, with primacy perhaps over the very Bakairí proposed by Von Steinen as the primigenous.

[114] A simple glance at a linguistic map, e.g., that of Fr. W. Schmidt, S. V. D., will make us see that these Indians belong to the "Roroima group." This group is at present the most numerous and dense of all; and the Roroima is the orographic knot about which are grouped more natives, emanating from the prolific Caribe trunk, since the other groups "of the Orinoco" and "of the Islands" have almost entirely disappeared through absorption or other causes.

101 114 But the Karibe of the Roroima group are subdivided into numerous tribes, about the classification and nomenclature of which there reigns great divergency among writers, principally because of the following factors:

/1 cont./

101 a) the innate tendency in every investigator to stress /2/
114 small observed differences and with them to create new tribes, of which he calls himself the discoverer.

b) the erroneous belief that all of these tribes must each have its own name, its own social organization, and its territory drawn out with a surveyor's chain.

c) the universal tendency (not only of the Indians) to hide names, supposing that they exist; since tribes, like individuals, do not adopt names, but receive them, like the popular saying "I do not name myself; they name me," and, generally, these names imposed by others are based on defects or peculiarities that arouse mirth.

101 2. For a long time and on the oldest maps, there appear applied to the Indians in these regions the names Arinagoto, Cachirigoto, Barinagoto, Purucoto, etc., shuffled about at will. And my readers will recall others, Cumanagoto, Esmeregoto, Boquiracoto, etc.

At the present time the Indians also use for themselves and for their neighbors the names Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok, Apoipueri-kok, and Kamara-koto.

These names are gentilitious and indicate derivation from the place or district in which they dwell. Koto, goto, kok, and koi mean "inhabitants of." And by this can be interpreted all of the names transcribed above; and thus we would have Kamara-koto, inhabitant of Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok, inhabitant of the Roroima; Inkari-tok, inhabitant of England (British Guiana); Tei-koi, inhabitant of the Sabana, or sabanero, etc.

3. The name "Arekuna" was applied to them later and with the slight variations Yarekuna and Yarikuna. Our Indians generally accept this name for their neighbors, but they reject it for themselves because of the etymological interpretation (although it is false) that they give it, "lake rat," and the somewhat obscene legend that they relate to it.

/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 114 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 192 193 [114] In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an [114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

•101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

P 101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./

175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

P /55 cont./
842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such
P as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W. Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) abstinence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts; c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they themselves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position, (esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortification, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain, all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might
C damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated
114 and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the
846 Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize him even more they washed his wounds with water and red pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month,
P when he could now eat meat and fish." Let us note once more
●101 that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

3:Simpson N-S (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 114 The following lists were based, in the first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.
[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
114 of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government. In this connection I am much indebted to
114 the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Agnerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

127 Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

[101] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted herself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

[1.1]

INTRODUCTION

Orientation

/01/ At about the time of its discovery by Columbus, the great and varied territory that is now united under the Venezuelan flag was occupied by a large number of highly diverse tribes of Indians. Most of these belonged to two major stocks, or linguistic and cultural divisions, those of the Caribs and Arawaks. Each of these major groups is now known to have arisen from a single origin (linguistically and culturally at least — each may have absorbed much blood originally alien to it), although each includes tribes so separated geographically or in other respects that they were not themselves aware of this basic unity.
/01/ Various Carib tribes, loosely or not at all federated, occupied almost all the
/31/ coastal region from near Valencia eastward to Cumaná, and other Caribs occupied the shores of Lake Maracaibo except at the northern end and most of the mountains west of the lake far into Colombia, for the Motilones belong to this group. The coast from near the Río Yaracuy, westward into Colombia, including the northern end of Lake Maracaibo and the site of the present city of Maracaibo, was occupied by Arawak tribes, and closely allied Indians covered a vast area inland including almost all of the western llanos. The Andes were occupied by an isolated group, the Timotes, neither Carib nor Arawak in affinity, and an equally isolated group, the Betoys, lived around the northern end of these mountains and northward to the interior of the present state of Falcón.

Elsewhere there were other similarly isolated groups, such as the Warraus (or Guaurauns) around the Orinoco Delta region, the Yaruros, Wahibos (or Guahibos), and others on the middle and upper Orinoco, the Waikas (not to be confused with the Carib Akawais who have also been called Waikas, or Guaicas) at the headwaters of that river, and a few others. Notwithstanding the survival, even today, of several such isolated relict groups and of a few almost equally isolated Arawak tribes, almost all of the wild and enormous

/0/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
/3/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

/77 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
/3/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuma. The Arekuma division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos, around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
/7/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekumas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 132 182 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others habitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are 131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure- 133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains 132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there [221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence, 178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this [178] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 114 121 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 121 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 131 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date. Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 101 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the infer-
101 ence from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand ac-
101 count of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní.
[131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 – Analyst]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend
[805] curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from
[101] farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

7 [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

173 101 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more [131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna [144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 192 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 797 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 114 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks' residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of 122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M. 114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

●101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

121 128 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade, herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo-
[97] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

● 101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

*192 826 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupe.

Persons and Relationships.

*192 *197 38. *Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) uratuo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Onayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. *Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. *Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

[97] [0] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamarata" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — mure.

44. Older person — uyadete.

45. Younger person — yamipe.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-tsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b — Analyst]

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, urana. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

[171]

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

[114]

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urare. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

[114]
[101]

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 *193

563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pg. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pg. "like an animal."

565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.

566. Method, means of use — (it)gtaeru.

567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

● 101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoi' — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karoziai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Atito.

Grammar

*193 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [192] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taure-
192 pán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

● 101 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who
114 were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[197] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

92 [see footnote on p 217, category 116 - Anaforit]

●101 may be distinguishable as another such group.[93] Probably the Arekuna vocab-
*197 ulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.[94]

Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the
*197 closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed, so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.[95]

*197 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-
101 Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roroima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto. Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roroima more or less in the center.

Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a
[48 101] separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[[0]] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 — Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[76] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

●101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[133] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[188] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analysis]

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to⁹-esa⁹)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuíba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba⁹.	Pablo Abari.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
		Total others - 7

Total men in central group - 78

162 125 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming 161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be [167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) [101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
336 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mansa-yɛ?, a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 101 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[116] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warraus, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp[151] is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285 171 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques, ● 101 the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.[152] It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most *285 171 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples *285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnotes on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

539 pemon-don yeupüi maicha' erenkai.
"People (Indians) are coming. Maichak to kill."

●[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakof[9]: from near Inepa.
Karosiai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakni: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three [103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into [101] which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult
142 Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of
[101] Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although
141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with
[128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

P 141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekumas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekumas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P 144 101 P M 128 141 114

The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141

The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 -Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

101
142
302

Fig. 94 – Arekuna Adult Male.
No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

P
M
141

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P
M
[[28]]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P
M
[[01]]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

P
128
145
[[114]]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analysis]

113 Schmidt, Max. 1904. Ableitung Südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 36, 490-512. Berlin.

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Tate, G. H.H. 1938. A New "Lost World." Natural History, 42, 107-20, 153. New York. The "Arecunas" of this article are Kamarakotos, and this brief reference to them comprises all the first-hand information previously in print. [101] [114]

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[p.305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

306

101 5. They were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsø?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

● 101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[192] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown—strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

● 101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warrau and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use <u>otapa</u> for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [848] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
298 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.

P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

P
M
114 240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekumas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

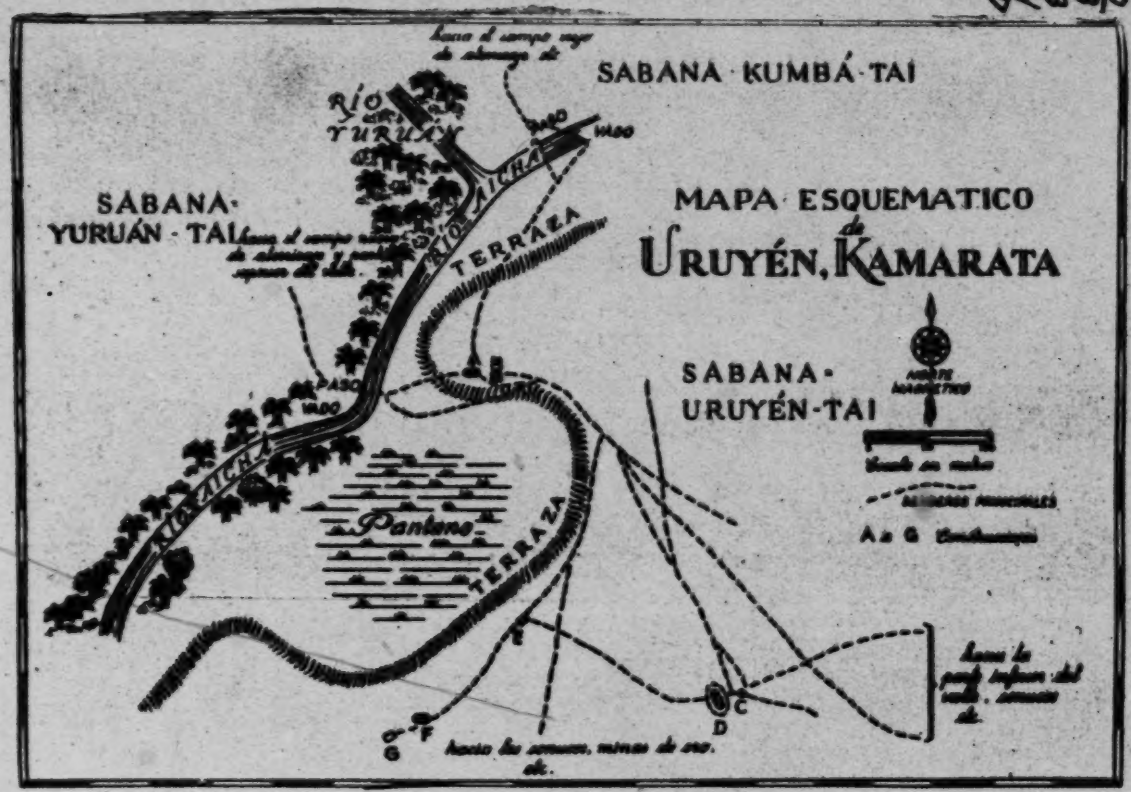

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

[1]
133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake...., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

● 103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

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823
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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -hen. Geographic transcription: -hen. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. hurun-hen, "place at the mouth of a stream called hurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -hen, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

● 103 104 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In [114] order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

103

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-təpüi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpüi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-təpüi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tuküi-wokö-küyen-təpüi, or Tuküi-po-kuyen-təpüi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyén-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-təpüi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

•/103

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
Karũi-yeuku-tepũi	Karúi-yeukú-tepúi	Cerro Caraieucu
Enwarapaima-tepũi	Enuarapaimá-tepúi	Cerro Awarapaima
Aicha-tepũi	Aichá-tepúi	
Wayaraka-tepũi	Uayaraká-tepúi	Cerro Wairaka
Auyan-tepũi	Auyán-tepúi	Cerro Auyantepui
Wapinau-tepũi	Uapináu-tepúi	
2. Inhabited places		
Uruyen	Uruyén	Urullén[56]
Santa Marta,)	Santa Marta,)	Santamarta
or Tuaiba[57])	or Tuaibá)	
Kurun-ken	Kurún-ken	
Alewiziba	Aleuíba	
Asakapan, or)	Asakapán, or)	Agnasacapán[58]
Abasakapan)	Abasakapán)	
Atapa-mota	Atapá-motá	
Kuwepiripan,)	Ku-uepiripán,)	
or Wepiripa)	or Uepiripá)	
Ibanamaru	Ibanamarú	Guanamarú
Kwai-paru, or)	Kuai-parú, or)	
Gwai-paru)	Guai-parú)	
Maiba-mota, or)	Maibá-motá, or)	
Maiba-pan)	Maibá-pan)	
Peipa	Peipá	
Ipupaipun	Ipupaipún	
Ayukupai	Ayukupái	Mayncupai
Waikimba	Uaikimbá	Guarimba[59] (?)
Ura-kupai	Urá-kupái	
Benz	Benné	
Amidan	Amidán	
Abara-paru	Abará-parú	
Wadekupai	Wadekupái	
Itõikupai	Itoikupái	
Oyuwopatõi	Oyu-uopatói	
Pũleũkepa	Puleukepá	
Atabar[60]	Atabár	
Kapin	Kapín	
Araubai	Araubái	

56-60 [see footnotes on pp. 312-13, category 11b - Analyst]

•/03

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
3. Streams and rivers		
Aicha	Aichá	Haicha[61]
Yuruan	Yurúán	Urullén[62]
Akanan	Akanán	Acanán
Karoni	Karoní, or Caroní[63]	Caroni
Karazo	Karáo	Carrao[64]
Kuana	Kuaná	Uana
Kapin	Kapín	_____
4. Regions, sabanas		
Kamara-ta	Kamarata	Camarata[65]
Akanamüin-ta	Akanamüin-ta	_____
Uruyen-ta.i	Uruyén-tai	_____
Yuruan-ta.i	Yurúán-tai	_____
Chikoroka-ta.i	Chikoroká-tai	_____
Kumba-ta.i	Kumbá-tai	_____
Taba-munen-ta.i[66]	Tabá-munén-tai	_____

Animals.

825 a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

*197 825 269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i.e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i.e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. [Arawak (de Goeje) yawali].

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters). Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may refer rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

61-66 [see foot notes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analys]

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Fig. 1 — Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361 ●103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Oruá, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 103 which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 [823] drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103 which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[164 as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261 abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
614 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131 at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139 there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184 where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analysis]

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleniba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

110

Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-nopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley - 11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

31/ Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
● 103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi,
[134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén
361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is
311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are
342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
343
824

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

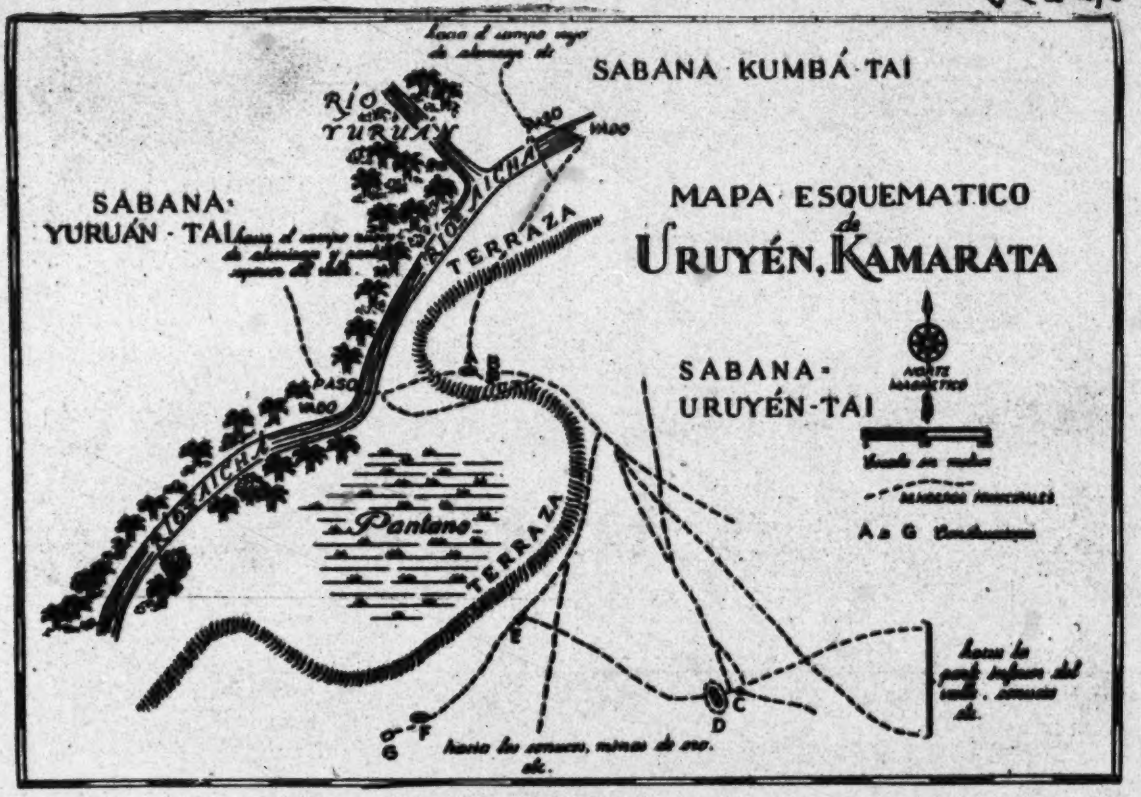

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

539 pemon-don yeupüi maicha' erenkai.
"People (Indians) are coming. Maichak to kill."

[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi*: from near Luepa.
Karosiai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the women to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

[103] [101]

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparika.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawõra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

● 103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaíba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

● 103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.

[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

● 103 of the Turuaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Turuaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Turuán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Turuaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Balcazar gives "nareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekumas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekumas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
● 103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

121 128 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade, herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo-
[197] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

194 b - phoneme is open, while that of the Spanish b - phoneme is more nearly stopped. Subsidiary members of the Kamarakoto r - phoneme overlap both the r - and the l - phonemes of Spanish. Similarly a single Spanish phoneme may be represented by two in Kamarakoto, for instance Spanish e overlaps both Kamarakoto e and E. Some Kamarakoto phonemes, like ɨ, do not occur in Spanish at all and some Spanish phonemes, like f, are wholly lacking in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakoto language is characterized phonetically by its relatively vocalic character. It is rich in vowels, including a whole series of central vowels that are particularly foreign to the Spanish ear, and most of the vowels produce shades and intergradations that are practically innumerable. Long successions of vowels and semivowels occur, as in the word woiwo which has no true consonants and is a succession of five distinct vowels and semivowels together with several intermediate gliding vowel sounds not written in broad transcription. There are relatively few really distinct consonant phonemes and successive consonants are rare and confined to a very few simple groups; for instance, such combinations as st, pr, bl, etc., so common in Spanish and most other European languages, are wholly absent in Kamarakoto. Like many other Indian languages, Kamarakoto is especially poor in pure fricatives. Several phonemes have fricative members or are transitional to fricatives, but there is no phoneme that is always and purely fricative. Unlike many, perhaps the majority of, Indian languages, Kamarakoto does not have a finely subdivided system of gutturals but has only two definite post-alveolar stop phonemes, one plosive (k-g) and the other non-plosive (ʔ). Intonation is peculiar and striking because of the shortening and strong stressing of virtually all final syllables.

● 104 Transcription. For present purposes it has been most practical to use a broad transcription, one in which each symbol represents a sound or a group of sounds which are for the Indians themselves members of a single phonetic unit, that is, belong to one phoneme. The only exceptions are the symbols g, ts, and l, which are respectively members of the k, s, and r phonemes but which are here distinguished for reasons given below. The symbols used are essentially those of the broad (or "simple") system of the American Anthropological Association,[9] which has the advantages of previous wide use for Indian languages and of requiring few symbols not found in all ordinary type fonts — for Kamarakoto only two, ɛ and ɨ are necessary. Of course most of these symbols require special definition for adaptation to this particular language. The only definite departions from the A. A. A. broad system are the use of a period (.) to separate non-diphthongal vowel combinations, as in the A. A. A. narrow system, the use of ʔ to represent a non-plosive stop for which the system makes no provision, and the use of ch to represent a sound essentially like Spanish ch. The system has the important advantage that Indian words so written are generally recognizable if pronounced in the Spanish manner.[10]

9, 10 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 11b - Analph]

194 Of the other possible diphthongs in -i or -u, no close approach to ou, ōu ǒu, or uu was heard and it is probable that in these combinations the two vowels are too much alike to be spoken as distinctly separate elements although they may appear vaguely as a result of glides that are not real phonemes. As in most languages, iu does not form a falling diphthong but becomes a rising diphthong or semivowel + vowel, yu. Something very near ɛu is often heard, but usually it is closer to eu and is probably not a separate phoneme. Perhaps the -u tends to draw ɛ closer to e and in any case the two, if they are really both present, are practically indistinguishable acoustically and do not appear to be distinguished by the Indians. The same is true of ɛi as against ei. ui was not recorded as separate phoneme, although approximations of it appear within a üi - diaphone. If ui can properly be said to occur at all, the -i has probably drawn the u- forward so as to be practically indistinguishable from ü.[13] It is highly probable that ɔi occurs, but ɔ and ō are usually difficult to distinguish and in this combination I found it impossible to do so with any consistency. The whole range of sounds around ɔi and ōi is recorded as ōi. I could not determine that the Indians themselves consciously differentiate the two.

The diphthongs in -u and -i are all falling. Whether or not rising diphthongs occur is purely a matter of definition. The sounds here written wa, ya, etc. could be considered as rising diphthongs and written na, ia, etc. It is, [104] however, more usual phonetic practice and is more nearly self-explanatory to consider these combinations as semivowel + vowel and I have so written them.[14]

Unless a few syllables like wai be so considered, there are no triphthongs.

Successive vowels. Successive vowels in Kamarakoto are rare, tending to run into diphthongs or to become separated by semivowels, but they do occur. Thus the word o.ina is clearly three, not two, syllables, o-i-na, not oi-na, a separation here indicated by a period between the non-diphthongized vowels. Its diaphone o.üna also has successive vowels and a diphthongized variant of this word was not heard among the Kamarakotos.[15]

Similarly the word usually pronounced ita.i occasionally becomes itai. The difficulty of pronouncing such a word without diphthongizing is interestingly illustrated by the fact that a child attempting to say ita.i consistently produced it as itoyi, apparently realizing that a.i is not the same as ai but unable to pronounce successive a and i. The tendency here shown, toward separating successive vowels by a semivowel, is fairly general in the language and perhaps explains why successive vowels are so rare. Thus po.inga is also pronounced poyinga, and a shadowy semivowel y often occurs in such a position.

This difficulty appears to be less when the second vowel is one other than i. Thus such combinations as o:apa or ko.atai show less tendency toward insertion of a semivowel, although even here a very fleeting w-like sound may be present between o and a.

13, 14, 15 [see footnotes on pp. 306-07, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Sometimes the distinction between successive vowels and diphthong or semivowel + vowel is so little as to be really subjective. For instance in the word lue the u is longer and more vocalic than the usual w but shorter and less vocalic than the usual u. The sound actually heard could about equally well be represented by lu. e, lue, or lwe (and also about equally well by ru. e, rue, and rwe). Similarly there are a few words like mausa, which is hardly different from ma. usa because the u is longer than it usually is in a diphthong but shorter than it usually is as a simple vowel. This is only likely to occur when the u is the penultimate vowel.

Double vowels, as distinct from merely long vowels, seem to be very rare but I have recorded one instance, in the word o. olori, which is not pronounced ōlori (nor oulori, wolori, etc.).[16]

Vowel quantity. Something has already been suggested of vowel quantity as it affects diphthongs and successive vowels. All vowels vary greatly in quantity, but most of the variations are nonfunctional, related to phonetic surroundings, speed of speech, and similar factors rather than approaching the status of phonemes. In most words the last vowel is relatively short, the penultimate vowel longer, and preceding vowels intermediate in length between these two. Thus in such an average word as Kumasa the relative vowel quantities are:

1. u — medium.
2. a — moderately long.
3. a — short, stressed.

Frequently a word pronounced out of context will have all the vowels somewhat lengthened for distinctness and the penultimate disproportionately so.

In words that follow this rule, which includes most of those recorded, no special indication of length is given. In some words, however, the penultimate vowel is still longer, this relative length is retained regardless of style of speech, the acoustic effect of the accent of the word is thus definitely altered, and the word may be unrecognizable or may sound decidedly wrong if the penultimate vowel is given only normal length. In these cases, then, the long vowels [104] achieve the status of true phonemes and (in accordance with both A. A. A. and International systems) I indicate them by placing a colon after the vowel, e.g. amastu, in which the relative quantities are:

1. a — medium.
2. a: - very long.
3. u — short, stressed.

Such long vowels are very rare except in the penultimate syllable, but do occur elsewhere in exceptional words, e.g. in o:apa in which the quantities are:

1. o: — long.
2. a — very short.
3. a — short.

16 [see footnote on p. 307, category 11b - Analyst]

194 common variant members of the phoneme are more open, producing an approach to English sonant th as in "this," or fully closed, producing the typical plosive d.[19]

t. — The principal member of the t - phoneme is almost as in Spanish, but these appear to be semisonant, and possibly even fully sonant, variant members. The stop is complete so that the sound is a non-fricative plosive, generally fortis.

k-g. — An incompletely stopped palatal or velar plosive was not heard.[20] The principal member of the phoneme is a true plosive k with various position variants conditioned by the surrounding vowels and, unlike those of many Indian languages, not distinguished as separate phonemes. The differences in acoustic effect are insignificant. There is, however, a plosive g-sound in the language, which sounds quite different from the k to Spanish- or English-adapted ears. It is not distinguished from k by the Indians and almost invariably occurs under special phonetic conditions where k is unusual, i.e. after nasals and before w.[21] It must therefore be regarded as a member of the k - phoneme. I have nevertheless departed from broad transcription to the extent of using g when the sound was normally and distinctly voiced. Spanish- and English-speaking readers will thus achieve a better pronunciation of the words and no confusion will result if they remember that this g is merely a voiced k.

[104]

ʼ. — One of the most typical characteristics of the Kamarakoto language is the existence of a sound produced by bringing the tongue into contact with the nearest part of the roof of the mouth and then relaxing the vocal chords and releasing the breath pressure so that the subsequent opening of the stop is practically inaudible. It thus differs essentially from k in which the sound is chiefly produced by the opening of the stop, that is, is plosive. ʼ is a stop that is not plosive. The exact position in which the stop is produced varies from velar to anterior palatal, but this is determined by the position of the preceding vowel and is not a difference in phonemes. After a posterior vowel, such as a, ʼ produces an acoustic effect something like a completely unaspirated k and after an anterior vowel, notably i, the effect is that of a similarly unaspirated t, or, more accurately, they are rather like completely voiceless g and d, respectively.[22]

This sound only occurs after vowels and is hardly ever heard except at the end of a word. Sometimes it is retained in compounds but often it is then weakened or lost, depending on the degree of fusion attained by the compound. Thus in enwarapaima the ʼ of enwaraʼ is lost, but in maichaʼ-ya the ʼ of maichaʼ is retained. It may appear in weak form after any terminal vowel (except those that are or can be nasalized, see below), but I have written it only when it is normally strong and distinct and is felt to be an essential element in the word.

19, 20, 21, 22 [see footnotes on pp. 307-08, — Analyst]
category 116

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 197 128 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 197 114 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly [104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛrɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə̄, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

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[193]

a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə̄ as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepũi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita. i, suffix form -ta. i, e.g. Uruyen-ta. i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita. i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -hen. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

103 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for con-
● 104 venience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly
[114] speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

103

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-tə̃pũi	Aparamán-tepũi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-tə̃pũi	Ser-tepũi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-tə̃pũi	Murosipán-tepũi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-tə̃pũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-tə̃pũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepũi, or Tukúi-po-kuyẽn-tepũi	———
Kamarkai-barai-tə̃pũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepũi	Cerro Manacawaia

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like putasta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mɔlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingariko and umlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This 1 is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
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* [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, =
193 (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
171 steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
● 104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 58. The -gu- intended to be pro[illegible]ced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word
115 ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes near-
194 er than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been
194 called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or
114 whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the
[104] Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.
[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "uoino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
[756] other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

105 /90 cont./
[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and
[593] these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more; and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

2: Armellada, Cesareo de. Cómo son los Indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana [What the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana Are Like]. Preface by Fray Antonino María de Madridanos. Tercera Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, Cuadernos Verdes, No. 57. Caracas: Editorial Elite, 1946.

Pp. xx, 100; 31 plates. [HRAF MS: pp. xx, 133].

University of Chicago: S401.15 1945 56-61.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sidney Muirden.

[The material for this monograph on the Pemon derives from the author's nearly twelve years of field experience as a Franciscan Capuchin missionary living in several Pemon-speaking tribal settlements or districts in the Gran Sabana area of south and southeastern Venezuela. The Pemon are allied to other Carib-speaking tribes; and in the literature these subgroupings of Pemon are found: Taulipang (Arecuna), Camaracoto, and Teweya. In this monograph Armellada does not distinguish which tribal variant of the Pemon he is examining, but rather describes the Pemon as a whole. With rather incomplete and superficial treatment of many areas of Pemon culture and omission of others from discussion, this monograph yields only a general overview or survey on the Pemon. However, the ethnographic information he does include seems reliable and valid. Many of his observations are concerned with banishing or exploding the myths, misconceptions, and erroneous ideas many seem to have about the "inferiority, baseness, or degradation of primitive life." His most ample documentation is of the following: religion

2: Armellada

and ideology (anthropomorphism, totemism, gods and spirits, magic, ceremonial dance and music), primitive disease and medicine (disease treatment, functions of shamans and curers), ethics and morality, folklore and mythology, the couvade, mortuary practices and attitudes toward the dead, initiation rites and child-rearing forms, marriage (courtship, negotiations and other preliminaries, rules and regulations), family and household relationships. Regrettably inadequate or sketchy is his treatment of Pemon material culture and technology, sociopolitical organization and the power structure, community dynamics, subsistence economy, economic and ecological interrelationships and processes, and of many of the cultural correlates or consequences of the kinship and social organization. The author's ethnographic accounts are wholly descriptive; no attempt is made to relate or fit the findings into any broad theoretical framework or analytical construct.]

Field date: 1933-1945
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1968-1969

3: Simpson, George Gaylord. Some Carib Indian Mammal Names. American Museum Novitates, No. 1119, pp. 1-10. New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1941.

Yale: S9 206 1101-1156.

/Written by a famous vertebrate paleontologist and comparative zoologist, this short article is drawn from the author's brief ethnographic field research experience among the Carib-speaking Pemon tribe of the Gran Sabana region of south and southeastern Venezuela. This report represents a compilation of the vernacular native terminologies applied by various Carib-speaking tribes of Guiana and Venezuela to the major forms of mammal species found. Apart from some preliminary comments on the spread and distribution of dialects of the Carib language family and on explication of the author's method of transcribing or transliterating native speech, the article directs itself mainly to a listing of the faunal nomenclatures of these Carib tribes, with some annotation or commentary by the author on possible inter-tribal vocabulary relationships, derivations, and affinities. No discussion is found on the cultural uses of animals nor on the ethnological significance of animals to Carib society. Linguistic data for the Pemon (of the Kamarakoto and Taurepan dialects) were drawn from the author's own recordings and collections; evidence for other Carib speakers from various historical sources and references./

Field date: 1939

Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Paleontologist-5

Processed in 1968

4. Armellada, Cesáreo de. The Kamaino (Omens) of the Pemon Indians. Boletin Indigenista, Vol. 20, pp. 71, 73. Mexico, D.F., 1960.

HRAF Copy.

[This very brief source contains some general notes on the Pemon concept of dreams, and a list of their principal Kamaino or omens. The author, a Capuchin missionary, was part of the Mission established to care for the various Indian groups living in the states of Zulia and Bolívar.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1966

5: Simpson, George Gaylord. The Kamarakoto Indians: A Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guayana. Manuscript. Personal Copy of Author. /ca. 1939-1940/.

HRAF Typescript: Pp. ix, 335; 98 figs., including many photographs and one map; bibliography; footnotes (at end of source).

/This source has been typed from the author's original English-language manuscript which he very kindly made available to HRAF at our request. A Spanish translation of this manuscript was published as follows: "Los Indios Kamarakotos: Tribu Caribe de la Guayana." Revista de Fomento, 3, Nos. 22-25, pp. 193-661. Caracas: Servicio de Publicaciones, 1940 (Yale: Venezuela Nc94 S78 A13 21-31). The figures included in the processed typescript were taken from this published version, as were some of the more general bibliographical references. For these reasons, and because it was the only source available to researchers for many years, we have processed the published Spanish version as a foreign text for this file. The bibliography has been checked and some corrections made by HRAF.

In 1938 the author, a noted vertebrate palaeontologist with the American Museum of Natural History, was invited by the Venezuelan government to do a study of fossil mammals near Barquisimento and elsewhere in Venezuela. He was accompanied in this work by his wife, Dr. Anne Roe, a clinical psychologist. After a year's successful research, they were again invited to take part in the "Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana," organized by the Ministerio de Fomento. As a member of this expedition Dr. Simpson devoted himself to the gathering of anthropological and linguistic data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe spent the bulk of her time studying the recent mammalian fauna of the region of Kamarata and Santa Elena. In addition, however, Dr. Roe made the observations on women's dresses, and "the judgement of the psychological

5: Simpson, George Gaylord.

characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion" (p. 11).

The ethnographic data were obtained during a residence of several weeks, early in 1939, in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyan-tepui. This valley constitutes the core Kamarakoto area. The author employed one principal informant and interpreter, Antonio Motesdeoca, a native Kamarakoto who also spoke fluent Spanish. He was a man of authority in the tribe, and proved to be of great assistance in the research. The information on Kamarakoto phonetics reported in this work represents mainly his pronunciation.

Aside from the extensive study of the Kamarakoto language and its relationship to other Carib linguistic stocks, which occupies fully one-third of the work the remainder of the source deals largely with various aspects of material culture such as dwellings, food, household furnishings, clothing and ornamentation, textiles, musical instruments, transportation, and mining. In addition, a section which the author terms "social culture" discusses kinship (very briefly), marriage, division of labor, legal concepts, trade, magic and religion, notions of time, dances and amusements, myths, and character and habits. The concluding section of the source deals with culture contacts and social change and anthropometry. The author notes that all information pertinent to health, disease and medicine had been assigned to the medical doctor of the expedition, and has therefore been omitted from this monograph, except for brief reference to clarify other points in the discussion (e.g., exorcism as a medical procedure in connection with magic and religion). The paucity of data on social organization and social structure in this source is disappointing in contrast to the meticulous care which was given to the collecting and recording of the various data listed above.

5: Simpson, George Gaylord.

The footnotes, which appear at the end of the text (see category 116, pp. 305-335), have been marked only for the categories to which they specifically pertain, unless the context provided in the text is necessary for their comprehension./

Field date: 1939
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Natural Scientist-5
Processed in 1967

/XIII/

PREFACE-PRESENTATION

114 To write a preface for a book by Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada would be an extremely difficult and quite perplexing task, were one to focus on the question with which he deals, in the same style and with the same mastery that he brings to it. But it is not a question of speaking or writing of these matters, but of presenting one of his productions.

To present a work by Fr. Armellada? The author of this interesting work is not an unknown in the field of linguistics and of letters; he is not a dilettante or a beginner in this type of aboriginal studies. A missionary among those of the front line in the Apolostolic Vicarate of the Caroní since 1933, a dweller in the regions of the Gran Sabana, in Bolívar State, during nearly 12 years, and most of all a brilliant investigator of the language, practices, and customs of the aborigines, his studies and observations were transformed into reality in the Gramática de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar of the Pemón Language/ (1), a considerable volume of 316 pages, and of

[113]

1. Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar and Dictionary of the Pemón Language/. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. I: Gramática /Grammar/, by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní. C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1943.

which we ourselves wrote apropos to it: "The work has been carried out without haste, conscientiously, patiently, without complaints, without the din of drum and cymbal, and now is brought before the public without a fuss, without a show of

/XIII cont./

114 vain ostentation, but in a complete fashion and one very suited to the modern exigencies of philological studies. Therefore we believe that those /XIV/ who are familiar with such material will not spare their plaudits and their phrases of approval." (2)

2. Venezuela Misionera, Monthly Publication, Year V, June, 1943.

Later he published the Diccionario de la lengua Pemón /Dictionary of the Pemón Language/ (3), about which in a

[113] 3. Grámatica y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. II. Diccionario /Dictionary/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní, C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1944.

bibliographical note we also said: "Only a spirit as vigorous as that of Fr. Armellada, a will so dedicated to the cause of the natives, and a fondness so warm as his toward these regions of the Gran Sabana, where he has spent most of his days as a missionary, could have carried out a work of this nature, and a study which, by itself, will be more than sufficient to immortalize his name, by placing him among the foremost and most outstanding men of science in this Venezuelan Fatherland (4).

4. Venezuela Misionera, Year VI, July, 1944.

Therefore we state that Fr. Armellada is not a new writer upon Indian matters, since his studies are numerous and well

/XVII cont./

797 due in great measure to the fact that, with logical judgment,
114 they had first learned the languages and dialects of the autocthonous groups with whom they were in contact and they carefully made corresponding grammatical texts which, despite the understandable deficiencies which are evident in the light of modern knowledge, are indisputably the basis and point of departure of contemporary linguistics." (7)

[113]

7. Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Mexico, D.F. December, 1945. No. 4. "La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües /Linguistics and the Knowledge of Monolingual Indians/." P. 294.

The same could be said by us of the work carried out in the same way by the first missionaries who worked in Venezuela, as can clearly be deduced from a study by Arístides Rojas (8)

8. Arístides Rojas, Op. cit. "Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela /Native Languages in Venezuela/." P. 230.

and from some biographic and bibliographic notes of P. C. de Carrocera (9) even though some pusillanimous souls have wanted

9. Venezuela Misionera, Year VII, 1945. P. 5ff.

to take this glory away from the Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries in Venezuela.

* * *

/XIX cont./

797 on the customs and their way of life. The work answers a
114 question, since throughout the Nation the Gran Sabana is spoken of, and every aware citizen feels the very natural desire to know what those aborigines are like, how they live, what they do, and where they come from.

114 Many of the questions the author deals with here have been put to him by curious observers who knew something or had isolated reports through the press about those unknown regions; others the author has put to himself and he resolves them effectively after diligent study and no little observation.

We repeat, this is not a complete and perfect treatise of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana; they are serious and conscientious studies, which have close cohesion in themselves and which demand a later work to be published in time. Would that it may be thus, and that, saving economic difficulties, Fr. Armellada may be able to allure us with some more studies /XX/ from those he has in preparation. Meanwhile, we shall wait (10).

• [13]

10. There have previously been published some works dealing with the Gran Sabana. Here are noted the principal ones:
a) "Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana /Three Years in a Mission within the Borders of Guiana/," by Fr. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. IV., No. 29, 1937.
b) La Música Indígena Taurepán /Taurepán Native Music/, by Rev. Fr. Baltasar de Matallalla /sic/, Caracas, 1938.

2zArmellada--xx M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

/XX cont./

113 c) Pantón Ichipupué-- Así cuentan los indios /Pantón Ichipupué -- Thus Relate the Indians/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada. A series of articles published in Venezuela Misionera, Year 1944.
d) Exploración a la Guayana /Exploration in Guiana/, Revista de Fomento, Year III, No. 19, 1939.
e) Los Indios Kamarakotos /The Camaracoto Indians/, by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Revista de Fomento, Year III, Nos. 22-25, 1940.

114 And may our most sincere congratulations and our most fervent applause go to the author of this work. We do not doubt that the reading public will appreciate the merit of the work put into its hands by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Franciscan-Capuchin missionary.

Fray Antonino María de Madridanos
Capuchin Religious

Caracas, April, 1946.

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón
P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad
114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,
[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there
V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this
114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

P 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and
101 the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,
P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná
[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind
[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

797 /79 cont./
[177] The Indians have very good dispositions; they do not resist our civilization, nor do they refuse to learn our language, nor are they systematically opposed to exogamy or matrimonial union with those of other areas. But they ought not to be educated for our benefit, but for their own; we should not seek our own well-being in them, but to dedicate ourselves in truth to procuring for them their own physical and moral well-being.

172. Maternal love. One of the causes which, in the native oral literature, appears as the most frequent reason for their flights, is that attraction which in our language is called patriotic love and maternal love. And it is quite clear that, far from being a reprehensible feeling, this is on the contrary a most noble feeling and one worthy of all praise. And this is what those who would like to always keep next to them the Indians whom they have educated should think of, without thinking about what greater rights the mothers who bore and nursed them have.

A short time ago an employee today attached to a Venezuelan embassy abroad said to me (without realizing that I was a missionary) that all work carried out on behalf of the Indians was useless, that missionaries were wasting time and energy and the Government its money. I replied to him that I was a missionary and that we missionaries had a higher opinion of his Indian compatriots, and that far from wasting time and energy, the fruit gathered both in former times as well as in the 20 years of this second stage of the missions was sufficient.

[113] 173. Results. Today I can refer to Cuaderno 42 of the Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, entitled Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní /Labor of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, by /80/ the Reverend Father Baltasar de Matallana. I recommend the reading of this, particularly pages 73-80, since they expound clearly and simply our mission methods and their effects.

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "cháchara," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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FITTIER, H., AND TATE, [G.] H. H.
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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga*, *piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

825

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[p. 10-B]

*197 degenerate, but as a very rough analogy one might compare Kamarakoto among the Carib dialects with Castilian among Romance dialects as less degenerate phonetically than some of their allies (e.g. Portuguese among Romance languages) and less mixed than others (e.g. Rumanian among Romance languages).

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[text continues on p. 107]

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[101] [114]

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101 5. They[2] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuma" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekumas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

● 113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ə, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[2] [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen." Jena, 1871 — not much used here because supeneded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

2: Armellada--ix M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls, are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among
212 them "quasi unus ex illis"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translater.

Although grouped with some logical order, these commen-
121 taries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor lucubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

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2:Armellada--x M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

/XIII/

PREFACE-PRESENTATION

114 To write a preface for a book by Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada would be an extremely difficult and quite perplexing task, were one to focus on the question with which he deals, in the same style and with the same mastery that he brings to it. But it is not a question of speaking or writing of these matters, but of presenting one of his productions.

To present a work by Fr. Armellada? The author of this interesting work is not an unknown in the field of linguistics and of letters; he is not a dilettante or a beginner in this type of aboriginal studies. A missionary among those of the front line in the Apolostolic Vicarate of the Caroní since 1933, a dweller in the regions of the Gran Sabana, in Bolívar State, during nearly 12 years, and most of all a brilliant investigator of the language, practices, and customs of the aborigines, his studies and observations were transformed into reality in the Gramática de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar of the Pemón Language/ (1), a considerable volume of 316 pages, and of

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1. Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar and Dictionary of the Pemón Language/. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. I: Gramática /Grammar/, by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní. C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1943.

which we ourselves wrote apropos to it: "The work has been carried out without haste, conscientiously, patiently, without complaints, without the din of drum and cymbal, and now is brought before the public without a fuss, without a show of

/XIII cont./

114 vain ostentation, but in a complete fashion and one very suited to the modern exigencies of philological studies. Therefore we believe that those /XIV/ who are familiar with such material will not spare their plaudits and their phrases of approval." (2)

2. Venezuela Misionera, Monthly Publication, Year V, June, 1943.

Later he published the Diccionario de la lengua Pemón /Dictionary of the Pemón Language/ (3), about which in a

[113] 3. Grámatica y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. II. Diccionario /Dictionary/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní, C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1944.

bibliographical note we also said: "Only a spirit as vigorous as that of Fr. Armellada, a will so dedicated to the cause of the natives, and a fondness so warm as his toward these regions of the Gran Sabana, where he has spent most of his days as a missionary, could have carried out a work of this nature, and a study which, by itself, will be more than sufficient to immortalize his name, by placing him among the foremost and most outstanding men of science in this Venezuelan Fatherland (4).

4. Venezuela Misionera, Year VI, July, 1944.

Therefore we state that Fr. Armellada is not a new writer upon Indian matters, since his studies are numerous and well

/XIV cont./

114 thought out and his name and renown have gone beyond the frontiers of the Nation. A constant collaborator in our magazine, Venezuela Missionera, since the time of its founding in 1939, he has known how to put forth something of his great knowledge in its pages, he has published more profound and scientific studies in other Venezuelan and foreign magazines, articles which have earned the unanimous approbation of the knowing and warm praise from ethnologists.

• • •

Cómo son los Indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana is a quite complete study of the life of the Indians of the Gran Sabana and adjoining regions.

But what a study and what a work of ethnography! It is an original, his own, and a highly personal creation of its author, something which he has himself observed, and, after observation, came the taking down of notes, and then serious, calm meditation, and with the meditation were joined comparisons, scientific discussions with other missionaries who have also lived with the aborigines, and then collation with the principles laid down by /XV/ ethnologists and those who have dealt best with subjects with regard to the natives. All in all, Fr. Armellada has built his edifice well and has contrived to confect a quite complete study of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana.

In Venezuela Fr. Armellada is one of the few good and authentic ethnologists, and he forms a part of the glorious squadron of self-denying missionaries who march ahead of the civilizing and colonizing armies, true missionaries who do both religious work and work for their country. But, to be sure, always with pencil at the ready and notebook in hand, to attack the Indian and steal his secret in his native state.

/XV cont./

114 And I say that he is one of the good ethnologists, for he has studied the customs of the aborigine at their very source, that is to say, in the Indians, with those whom he has lived, those with whom he has sat down, not at the table, since they have none, but in a circle on the hard ground, those whom he has treated as friend, nay, more, as brother, as a mother treats her children. And why not thus penetrate into the life of the Indian in such an intimate and democratic way? Why not drink, at their pure spring, the crystalline waters, why not enter in this so ingratiating way into the hidden places of the reserved soul of the aborigine? Thence comes his collection of interesting data, of circumstances, which no one else, however observant he might be, could capture in the life of these natives of the Gran Sabana, and thence the value of his statements, the vigor of his principles, and the practical consequences which he deduces. This is why Fr. Armellada is due the appreciation of the knowing and the gratitude of those who will follow.

The author asks pardon for himself, due perhaps to his simple humility, when he states that this is not a complete treatise on the ethnography of the Indians. If it is not, much does it resemble one and well does it merit being one. We shall say, without adulation nor exaggeration, that it is indeed a true treatise upon the customs of those aborigines. That there is room in it for enlargement and more completion neither do we deny.

A treatise and a study full of erudition and originality; inasmuch as the author is not content with simply relating the facts observed by him and by other missionaries, nor does he limit himself to delivering bare data, nor, what would be worse, has he taken the liberty of adorning with the trappings of fantasy or of literature what his eyes have seen and his talent as an observer has grasped, by later filling in with the colors and retouchings of the artist, some empty lacuna, a circumstance not understood, some badly interpreted fact, /XVI/ a mysterious

/XVI cont./

114 and malicious silence on the part of the Indian. Quite the contrary, Fr. Armellada is a witness to the facts, he studies, compares, arrives at practical conclusions, and then offers them to the reading public, which is so much interested in the life of those Indians.

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797 Until the Capuchin missionaries penetrated into those remote regions of the Venezuelan nation in 1930, little or nothing was known about them; nobody was interested in its natives, much less their language, which no one understood, and their customs, totally unknown to all. Scarcely a chance explorer or amateur went thither upon a daring tourist trip, in search of adventure; he passed like the bird through the air, without leaving a trace behind him. The Capuchin missionaries made the Gran Sabana their field of operations, to carry out the task that the Divine Master had set them, and to fulfill a sacred obligation to the National Government: to bring to the breast of the Church and into the pattern of the civilized world those authentic Venezuelans who still lived on the margin of religious and national events.

797 But the Capuchin missionaries of today have not wished to
114 abandon the way of yesteryear nor have they swerved from the glorious tradition of their elders. Therefore, together with the knowledge, culture, and civilization that they have carried into those regions, they have known how to avail themselves of time in the study of the language, of autochthonous customs, making an abundant collection of linguistic and ethnographic knowledge, to later offer them, as Fr. Armellada is doing, to the Nation and to the scientific world.

Proof is clear that they have not wasted time and that they have not spared any effort to carry on their work: religious work, patriotic work, cultural work, and scientific work. Whence once again are being proven correct those statements

/XVI cont./

797 made by Don Arístides Rojas: "To the missionaries are to be
●114 credited the first work, not only upon the ancient history of America, but also the first rudiments upon geography, hydrography, and natural history, as well as the introduction and cultivation of the native products of Europe. The missionaries were the first teachers in the teaching of the peoples of the continent, and also the 'first ethnographers' of America. Without the philological lucubrations of the /XVII/ missionaries, modern science would not have been able to study the divers languages of the New World, nor to establish their scientific inter-relationship. In the study of the languages and races which populated America, the works of the missionaries form the indispensable and necessary base for the ethnography of a large portion of the human race." (5)

5. Arístides Rojas. Obras escogidas /Selected Works/. Paris, 1907. P. 201.

With consummate correctness the notable Mexican indigenist, Mr. Manuel Gamio, said: "How grandly in the historical perspective of Mexico stands out the work of those most worthy colonial investigators who, like Sahagún, Gante, Motolinía, and others, studied native groups from points of view which we today call ethnographic, sociological, psychological, etc, when the principles and methods of the social sciences were as yet just appearing, this work being of such importance that without it our knowledge of the social evolution of the Mexican people would be incomparably more defective and incomplete than it is now. The success obtained by such wise men (6) is

6. It is proper to clarify that Sahagún, Gante, and Motolinía were Franciscan religious and the first missionaries who came to Mexico.

/XVII cont./

797 due in great measure to the fact that, with logical judgment,
● 114 they had first learned the languages and dialects of the autocthonous groups with whom they were in contact and they carefully made corresponding grammatical texts which, despite the understandable deficiencies which are evident in the light of modern knowledge, are indisputably the basis and point of departure of contemporary linguistics." (7)

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7. Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Mexico, D.F. December, 1945. No. 4. "La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües /Linguistics and the Knowledge of Monolingual Indians/." P. 294.

The same could be said by us of the work carried out in the same way by the first missionaries who worked in Venezuela, as can clearly be deduced from a study by Arístides Rojas (8)

8. Arístides Rojas, Op. cit. "Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela /Native Languages in Venezuela/." P. 230.

and from some biographic and bibliographic notes of P. C. de Carrocera (9) even though some pusillanimous souls have wanted

9. Venezuela Misionera, Year VII, 1945. P. 5ff.

to take this glory away from the Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries in Venezuela.

• • •

/XVIII/

000 When we hear speak or see the writings of certain modern amateurs, about the natives, without their having bothered to take one step outside of the big cities in order to study the facts at the source, we cannot understand the confidence that this implies, inasmuch as in these writings and those discourses there is said only what has been read in authors, perhaps overesteemed or of confused imagination, so that in a single act, or simply in a simple statement of an Indian, they have tried to discover a rite, a religious ceremony, a divinity, a malignant spirit of vengeance, when the fact has simply been nothing but a simple joke or a mocking trick, poking fun at the simplicity and the stubborn curiosity of the investigator. These are indigenists such as we would call those of the desk or the classroom, who have never been in contact with the Indian nor even seen him other than on paper and in their ardent fantasy.

797 By contrast our missionaries, who have spent years and more years in communication with the Indians, will not dare 114 to lay down principles nor throw out assertions, without first weighing them on the scale of honest, calm, dispassionate judgment. We venture to say more; that they will gather in council, they will discuss the observed fact as seen on several occasions, in very different circumstances, in order to draw practical conclusions, or perhaps, as has happened on more than one occasion, to leave judgment pending, awaiting another more propitious occasion and seek new data; because the Indian, sometimes crafty, often suspicious, and always withdrawn, did not wish to talk nor let himself be surprised in fraganti by the missionary observer.

These Ethnographic Studies that we present have the exceptional merit of long observation on the part of the author, who, without biases of any kind, without any predisposition of spirit, and without animosity against the defenseless natives, came to them, speaking their own language, and by this behavior as easy as it is secure, was able to project himself into

/XVIII cont./

797 the soul of those he wished to teach, favoring them with his
114 confidence and affection and expecting the same from them. Did Fr. Armellada attain his goal? We can assert that, in general, he did indeed, for he succeeded in winning the confidence of the aborigines; whence the many and interesting data that he was able to collect and that he now offers to the reading public.

Perhaps someone less well acquainted with the matter might find exaggerated certain assertions by the author of this work; perhaps someone less scrupulous might rigorously find other established principles concerning the Indians; but we must always /XIX/ bear in mind that the Indian, as a people, is a child, the eternal minor, and that in addition he has to this date lacked religious principles, a cultural base, education and affection /afectos/ and as a result his works and his actions correspond to the isolated and sylvan life that until very recently he has led, and that it is not so easy as some would believe to change the nature and the life of the Indian overnight.

On the other hand, the fondness which Fr. Armellada professes towards the natives makes him diminish their natural defects and deficiencies that are found in them. And, in summation and conclusion, we could add, that he has wished to hew to the standards given by the Sacred Congregation of Propagation of the Faith in dealing with great prudence and maximum charity with native affairs, whether by word or through writing.

The author of this work has been most heedful of this standard, and rather has he preferred to sin by addition than by omission in his evaluations of certain customs of the Indians, trying to defend them and cover them with the cloak of benevolence.

Otherwise, the work answers a need and a question. To a need, in that up to date little or nothing has been known concretely of these Indians of the Gran Sabana, the Capuchin missionaries being the first to offer to the Nation and the world at large these interesting studies with technical comments

/XIX cont./

797 on the customs and their way of life. The work answers a
114 question, since throughout the Nation the Gran Sabana is spoken of, and every aware citizen feels the very natural desire to know what those aborigines are like, how they live, what they do, and where they come from.

114 Many of the questions the author deals with here have been put to him by curious observers who knew something or had isolated reports through the press about those unknown regions; others the author has put to himself and he resolves them effectively after diligent study and no little observation.

We repeat, this is not a complete and perfect treatise of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana; they are serious and conscientious studies, which have close cohesion in themselves and which demand a later work to be published in time. Would that it may be thus, and that, saving economic difficulties, Fr. Armellada may be able to allure us with some more studies /XX/ from those he has in preparation. Meanwhile, we shall wait (10).

[13]

10. There have previously been published some works dealing with the Gran Sabana. Here are noted the principal ones:

a) "Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana /Three Years in a Mission within the Borders of Guiana/," by Fr. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. IV., No. 29, 1937.

b) La Música Indígena Taurepán /Taurepán Native Music/, by Rev. Fr. Baltasar de Matallalla /sic/, Caracas, 1938.

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113 c) Pantón Ichipupué-- Así cuentan los indios /Pantón Ichipupué -- Thus Relate the Indians/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada. A series of articles published in Venezuela Misionera, Year 1944.

d) Exploración a la Guayana /Exploration in Guiana/, Revista de Fomento, Year III, No. 19, 1939.

e) Los Indios Kamarakotos /The Camaracoto Indians/, by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Revista de Fomento, Year III, Nos. 22-25, 1940.

114 And may our most sincere congratulations and our most fervent applause go to the author of this work. We do not doubt that the reading public will appreciate the merit of the work put into its hands by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Franciscan Capuchin missionary.

Fray Antonino María de Madridanos
Capuchin Religious

Caracas, April, 1946.

/1 cont./

101 a) the innate tendency in every investigator to stress /2/
● 114 small observed differences and with them to create new tribes, of which he calls himself the discoverer.

b) the erroneous belief that all of these tribes must each have its own name, its own social organization, and its territory drawn out with a surveyor's chain.

c) the universal tendency (not only of the Indians) to hide names, supposing that they exist; since tribes, like individuals, do not adopt names, but receive them, like the popular saying "I do not name myself; they name me," and, generally, these names imposed by others are based on defects or peculiarities that arouse mirth.

101 2. For a long time and on the oldest maps, there appear applied to the Indians in these regions the names Arinagoto, Cachirigoto, Barinagoto, Purucoto, etc., shuffled about at will. And my readers will recall others, Cumanagoto, Esmeregoto, Boquiracoto, etc.

At the present time the Indians also use for themselves and for their neighbors the names Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok, Apoipueri-kok, and Kamara-koto.

These names are gentilitious and indicate derivation from the place or district in which they dwell. Koto, goto, kok, and koi mean "inhabitants of." And by this can be interpreted all of the names transcribed above; and thus we would have Kamara-koto, inhabitant of Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok, inhabitant of the Roroima; Inkari-tok, inhabitant of England (British Guiana); Tei-koi, inhabitant of the Sabana, or sabanero, etc.

3. The name "Arekuna" was applied to them later and with the slight variations Yarekuna and Yarikuna. Our Indians generally accept this name for their neighbors, but they reject it for themselves because of the etymological interpretation (although it is false) that they give it, "lake rat," and the somewhat obscene legend that they relate to it.

/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

● 114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians

P does not reach 60,000.

101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[17] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

/13 cont./

phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

C

114 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians:
157 "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

P Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's,
114 who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the
157 opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is
P a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst
[522] out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category
128 all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

114 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the ex-
152 pression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured.
[142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

/15 cont./

114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological preoccupations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

522 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm
195 against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?

What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-puetí? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

/16 cont./

522 one took an arrow from the Indians for his tail and a fruit for
195 a head," or now at a monkey which is running off, startled, "brother, just when I'm coming to visit, you go away," etc....

● 114 35. Many other manifestations of gaiety are beyond the scope of study in the short space of these little chapters. But I do not wish to end without calling attention to the poorly disguised sectarianism with which Dr. Simpson and his wife Ana Roe have tried to disparage religious ideas, by saying that they are bad for the Indians and the cause of an "anxiety" nothing less than "neurotic."

This statement, so gratuitous and tendentious, is on a par with another of the same author, in which he says that clothing creates modesty and that it is not shame that seeks clothing, and those other grammatical statements in which he says that there is no "clear distinction between nouns and adjectives" and "it is impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction as special parts of speech."

It is a pity that the doctor has put into a ragged sack the warning that he himself puts in his prologue: "In matters dealing with the much more difficult problems of social culture, my observations are by necessity less complete. The best work in this specialty requires years of residence, an absolute command of the local dialect, and the fullest confidence of the Indians. We had only a few weeks available...."

So that, inasmuch as he has on his own confessed his ignorance, I do not believe it necessary to insist upon a refutation of such an assertion.

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén naké (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

● 114
433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

000 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

/46 cont./

756 114 When I write this I refer not only to former writers, who wrote in the old way, but also to many modern writers who copy these old ones and continue thinking in their simplistic manner in this so important matter. I refer particularly to this definition of piache, which I accidentally found in the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Piache. Tricksters who presided at the cult of the two divinities Katchimana and Jolokiamo worshiped by the Indians of Guiana. They declared their oracles by means of a sacred trumpet."

Of the Indians of Guiana, and precisely of those who live in the very heart of this region, I am writing these pages. I shall let pass this calling the piaches tricksters, since they are (for us) something of the sort; but this matter of "divinities" and of the "sacred trumpet" and of the "oracles" are pure inventions or poor interpretations. I don't know what the Katchimana can be, but I am sure that this Jolokiano /sic/ is a transcription and erroneous interpretation of Iurok-yamá, foxes, a name whose semantic extension is not difficult to attribute to our Christian ideas learned by the Indians. One should not put new wine in old skins, but old wine must be put in new skins: old information should be classified and made to fit modern standards and methods in the sciences.

Chapter XII

What Is There to the Magical Arts of the Indians?

cod

102. Backward or retrogressive? 103. Opposition of magic and religion. 104. The eternal struggle. 105. Magical fear and conjury vs. reverential love and invocation. 106. The philosophy of magic. 107. Deductions about homeopathy. 108. Idem. about sympathy.

P /55 cont./
842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such
P as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W. Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) abstinence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts; c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they themselves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position, (esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortifications, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain, all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might
C damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated
114 and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the
846 Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize him even more they washed his wounds with water and red pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month,
P when he could now eat meat and fish." Let us note once more
101 that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

/81 cont./

177. What has been said about the modesty of the Indians and (by analogy) of their moral feelings and what has been briefly noted concerning their language is enough to form an idea of their spiritual culture; now the study of their physical inventions will complete the view of their material culture, which, however rudimentary it may be, will always speak to us very highly of its authors. "The most simple and crude of instruments and utensils discovered in the areas where lived and worked men of the first ages reveals to us the presence and action of a mind which knew the relationship between cause and effect, deducing from it another relationship, that of means and end.... No animal ever did so much, crossing the Rubicon from the shore of instinct to the shore of reason." (Msgr. Fernández Valbuena.)

By the manner in which the question is asked us, it is seen that our questioner is not one of those whose opinion is that Indians are "one more animal" or that "they live like real flocks of animals," but rather that he supposes that they have some culture and wants to know how much it is. Happily, it is thus: The Pemón Indians, whose material advance is not great if compared with ours, do not fail to have an appreciable culture and one worthy of study. /82/ The mere enumeration of words referring to instruments and utensils would fill several pages.

The material culture of these Indians has been most minutely studied by Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson in his book Los Kamarakotos and before him and with greater perfection by T. Koch-Grünberg in his monumental work Von Roroima zun Orinoco /From Roroima to the Orinoco/. (To be sure in the study of their language and psychology we do not believe these to be so correct nor can we recommend them unconditionally, especially the first of them.)

178. Well then, whoever may wish more details and minutiae can find them in the afore-mentioned authors about the things we shall hereafter list and others as well. Hunting

105 /90 cont./
[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
[593] daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more; and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

/91 cont./

lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observation, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

/92 cont./

●114 200. Had the Doctor asked the same Indians, when he was trying to make the grammar of their language, what they thought about the verb, the noun, and the other parts of speech, they would have given him the same answer; that they knew nothing of this nor did they worry themselves about it. Had he asked them, when he was trying to describe their houses, what was a circle and a cone, they would have answered him that they knew nothing about this. Had he interrogated them about the musical scale, they would again have answered that they didn't even understand what he was asking them. And he would have concluded, following the same logic, that the Pemón Indians had no parts of speech, nor houses with a circular base nor with a conical roof, nor did they have any melodies; and that only some ex-pupils of the missionaries had any very clear ideas of such things. That is not the method.

The Indian speaks his language and from it one must deduce its grammar; he lives his life and from it one must deduce his moral code and his beliefs; he sings his song and from it one must deduce his music; he weaves his baskets and from them one must deduce the type of weaving and the designs he executes.

It is clear, and very well do I understand it, that the study of beliefs and customs, as a very intimate and at times even reserved matter, needs much time and patience to be studied, very much more than the study of their language and their manual arts; but for this very reason it is a matter and a terrain closed to lightning-explorers, who want to come and kiss the Saint without standing in line.

797 114 201. It will be said to me that we missionaries come prejudiced in favor of the Indians, inclined to praise and defend everything which is theirs and to see in them primitive man, only just come from the hands of God. To this I answer with the same frankness as Mons. Le Roy in the prologue to his so often cited book, La Religion de los Primitivos: "When I arrived at the mission I also had the ideas which were then in

/92 cont./

797 vogue: fetishistic Indians, without any religion, without family,
114 without morality, worshipers of animals, /93/ trees, rocks, anything." Only by dint of living among them and through observation did we manage to free ourselves of these bad prejudices and as many others about their language, culture, organization, etc. So that our ideas are not to be suspected of being partial.

All of us who have been there, in contact with the reality of facts and very far away from books, have on more than one occasion exclaimed that "the university teaches more of life than the life of the university," and we have quoted the saying, slightly exaggerated, of Nietzche: "Thoughts that arise when walking are the only ones of value." We do not in any way scorn books, but we do not subordinate to them the living reality, which is more varied than all invented systems, but vice versa.

Apart from this, the fundamental ideas were always before us; thus, turning to the comparison between Religion and Language, just as the majority of grammatical categories or organization turn out to be the same, regardless of variation in vocabulary, thus it will also happen in religious categories or phenomenology, regardless of the variety of shadings.

Something, and even a good deal, has been said about the religion of the Indians when dealing with their magic and their
771 moral sentiments. For now let it suffice to say that the Pemón
797 Indians are not irreligious nor areligious, they have their own native religion; further, for several generations they have been receiving the influence of our Christian religion, as we have also said about our European culture. Believe me, my dear questioner, "in verbo magistri," since you have been so kind as to call me "Doctor in Pemón"; and it shall be left to the next chapter to develop this most important and thorny question: "What is the religion of the Pemón Indians?"

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
S516 Pemon S516

121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 The following lists were based, in the first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

114

[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.
[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government. In this connection I am much indebted to the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kalifia and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

194 authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. ö and ü are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *eu* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects ö is barely or not distinguishable from ë. Most Spanish-speaking authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish ö from *o*, or sometimes from ë or even *e*, and ü from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg.

[114]

Two successive vowels of which the second is -i or -u are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish or as in the English word "aisle."

CONSONANTS.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by ' is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *t* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

[p. 3-D]

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960
SS16 Pemon SS16

VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". [192] For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--ANALYST]

EDITORIAL NOTE

114 [122] The Revista de Fomento (official Review of the Ministerio de Fomento of the United States of Venezuela) takes pleasure in publishing the noteworthy work of Dr. George Gaylord Simpson entitled "The Kamarakoto Indians, Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guiana," which it believes to be an important scientific contribution to the ethnology of the Venezuelan indigenous tribes in general and, more particularly, to that of the Venezuelan Carib tribes.

Dr. Simpson, a distinguished vertebrate paleontologist of The American Museum of Natural History of New York, was graduated from Yale University (Ph. B. 1923, Ph. D. 1926), where he made investigations on geology and vertebrate paleontology. He has also done scientific research under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the National Research Council, the International Education Board, the British Museum (Natural History) in London and, finally, for the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he has been an associate curator since 1929. He belongs to the following scientific societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, American Society of Mammalogists, American Society of Naturalists, American Philosophical Society, Paleontological Society, Geological Society of America, and others. He is a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and of the Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geograficos "Gaea," and an active member of the Explorers Club. He has taken part in many paleontological expeditions in the United States of America and in South America, as a staff member of the American Museum of Natural History, and has published more than two hundred scientific papers and books.

Dr. Simpson came to Venezuela in September 1938, together with his wife Dr. Anne Roe, by special invitation of the President through the Ministerio de Fomento and as representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in order to organize the collection, preparation, and scientific study of fossil mammals near Barquisimeto and elsewhere in Venezuela, following up the work begun by Brother Nectario Maria of La Salle Institute in Barquisimeto.

Dr. Simpson went to the region of San Miguel, near the Barquisimeto-Quibor highway, where he planned and carried out the work of collecting fossil mammal bones in the field revealed by Brother Nectario Maria's explorations.

114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

[101] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted herself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[22] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

● 114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only sta ing a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 114 121 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 121 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 131 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date. Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 101 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the infer-
101 ence from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand ac-
101 count of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní.
[131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the [805] conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are [101] said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

7 [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
721 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
777 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[19] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 197 128 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 197 114 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly [104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 – Analyst]

601

80. pantsi
81. pipi

Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):

82. ʼawo (see below, under wari)
83. ʼwari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

*197 601 171 [119]

Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo, Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo, T. (K.-G.) -ta:mo; K. awo, T. (K.-G.) a:uo; K. poitoru, T. (K.-G.) poitolü; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: naʼnai, "older sister," moyi, "younger brother," ukeipone, "father-in-law," wa:ʼnemule, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ayikeʼ, "older brother," and a:ʼyekeʼ, "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rüiko or pi (uyadeta), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto rüiko, is a common Carib root. I do not place ayikeʼ.

Kamarakoto paikõi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) a:mai. Forms like amai, mamai mama, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. paikõi, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (mure, mule, male, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*192 *197 372 related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisõn) — apoi' - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benma.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

*192 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

372 117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

415 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchí (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

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125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

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127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

*192 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

273 128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüveñka

*192 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. üna, o. üna, iña. Makuchí (Williams), ü-nə. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) höline. Most other languages agree with Yanarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

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b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-tə̃pũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-tə̃pũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-tə̃pũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-tə̃pũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-tə̃pũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-tə̃pũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, urana. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. [171] Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. [114] Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. [114] [101] Taurepán, urare. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analysis]

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

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304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʔ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõelema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 365, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 824 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — katenwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:ˀ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛ́ˀ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛˀ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

[193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiˀ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛˀ, gwai-yɛˀ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛˀ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛˀ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — mari-pada-yɛˀ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaˀ-yɛˀ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛˀ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

*192 *193 563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pa. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pa, "like an animal."

565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona tankin, "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.

566. Method, means of use — (it)atern.

567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoi' — "from Iuepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karosiai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Atito.

Grammar

*193 ● 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [197] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taure-
192 pán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

101 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who
114 were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Tanlipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[197] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

92 [see footnote on p. 317, category 116 - Anapot]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[264] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
● 114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to'-esa')	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba'.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
162	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
551	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
621			
622			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-nopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley - 11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
		Total others - 7

Total men in central group - 78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be [343] less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof [171] and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go [114] so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be [172] called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakgn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyc? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarg, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarg, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarg, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarg. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-fed and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywh[illegible] to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used t[illegible] but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are [illegible] made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance acce[illegible]ies.

Fishing.

226 [262] [423] [72] [68] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
4/2 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
● [114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
[263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
[171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes
[44] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[40] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,
122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[205] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[484] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174 114 291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 291 177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 114 291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekumas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "oncto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mansa-yg', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[114] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analysis]

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimo?, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thum and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[171] man's work.
[462]

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[171] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

● [114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[126] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

*285 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and
● 114 several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies.
For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904),
[171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of
South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which
the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully
studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 The following classification of techniques, although including almost
128 all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger. †. Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------PLAITING.

*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)----------Plain Plaiting.

†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]----------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

*1 over 2.

Etc.

*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)----------Woven Plaiting.

*1. Elements in two directions

*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

†Closed

*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

*1 over 1

*1 over 2

Etc.

146 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[171] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekunas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tsimuiʼ (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on
[128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-
● [114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

531 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among
532 many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
534 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
[128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534 I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
  - Flutes
    - Ductless
      - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 32b, category 11b - Analysis]

534

Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [533] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

● 114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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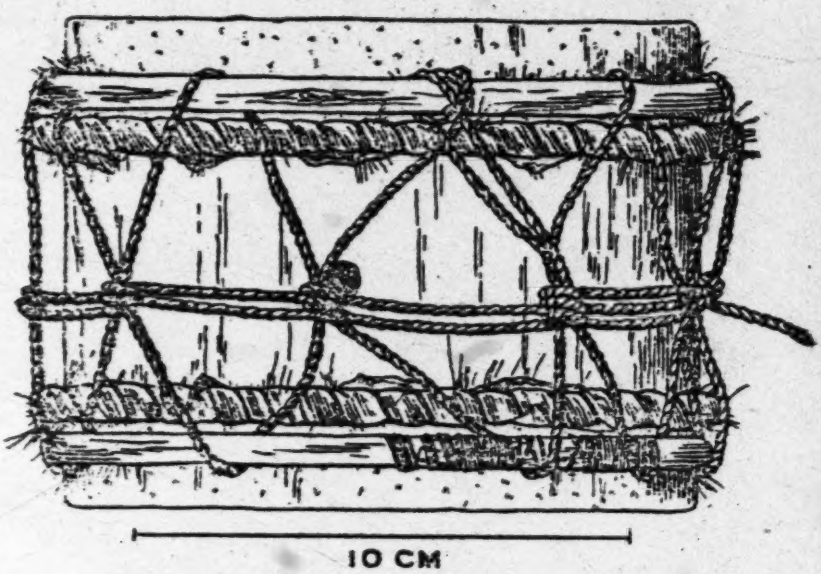

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Ameri- 171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 213]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
● 114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

P M 602 601 114 [[7]]

Comparisons are made chiefly with Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.

P M 601 171

Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister." The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetá	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadeto	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nan
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	we-ri-chi
Female	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetá, which means an older person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

P 601

168 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some [171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent- [124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me [114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supematural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they [648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re- [171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds [551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re- [123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and 776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

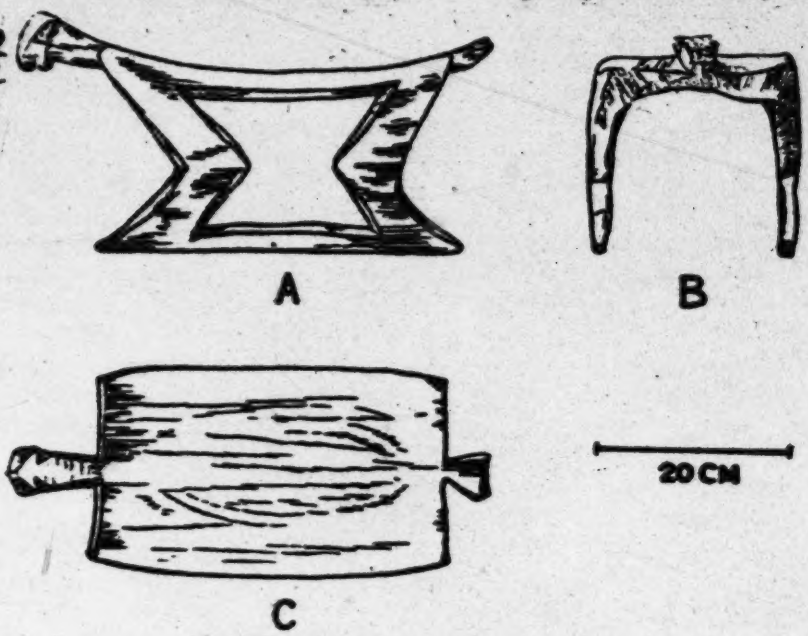

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maiuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[24] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians
[114] agree that the Arekunas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the hand-
[162] someness of the other Arekunas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the
[302] chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

P 141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P 142 101 P M 128 141 114

The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141 The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 296]

P M 141

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P M [128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P M [101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

P 128 145 [114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analyst]

113 Schmidt, Max. 1904. Ableitung Südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 36, 490-512. Berlin.

Schomburgk, Richard. 1847-48. Reisen in Britisch-Guiana in den Jahren 1840-1844. Leipzig. (English translation, Georgetown, 1922-23)

Schomburgk, Robert Hermann. 1841. Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko Während der Jahre 1835-1839. Leipzig.

Tate, G. H.H. 1938. A New "Lost World." Natural History, 42, 107-20, 153. New York. The "Arecunas" of this article are Kamarakotos, and this brief reference to them comprises all the first-hand information previously in print. [101] [114]

_____. 1938. Auyantepui. Notes on the Phelps Venezuelan Expedition. The Geographical Review, 28, No. 3, 452-74. New York. A Spanish translation of this article appears in Boletin de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, 5, No. 36, 96-125. Caracas.

Weltfish, Gene. 1930. Prehistoric North American Basketry Techniques and Modern Distributions. American Anthropologist, New Series, 32, 454-95. Menasha.

Wissler, Clark. 1938. The American Indian. An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World. 3d edition. New York.

[p.305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ö̃ and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ö̃i.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Amalyrt]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib
● 114 dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his
114 Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of
197 the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent
826

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mole (= mure) as Ingariko and unle (= -me) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

* [i.e. ine? — Analyst]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] [114] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date. Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "nareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouazou," "large forest-dweller."
114

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katsupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or
241 less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea,
197 and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when
114 the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltazar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retsrata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
●114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[192] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
● 114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("xipõla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
228 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʾ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingʾ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

●114 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor
286 three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region,
177 but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized"
286 technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is,one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 ●114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use ocapa for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 ● 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [[22]] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto <u>kaikara</u> is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.

[For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

● 114 756 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 534 755 [121] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
~~288~~ pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.
P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

P
M
114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

/44 cont./

538 or the Pleiades. The Indians also say that he converted his wife
756 into a little melero /"honey dealer"/ dog, his little son into a frog, and that the spawning of fish at the beginning of the period of heavy showers of rain coincides with the day when Chirikavai hit the ceiling of the sky with a great shaking, thus giving rise to the storms and showers of the winter.

Of Maichapué, another of the legendary piaches, they say that he converted little pieces of cassava and ají into a number of birds that might alert him to the nearness of his enemies, that he was helped by his yachí in the difficult undertakings to which he was submitted as a test by his father-in-law, Anhuoná or Etitó (king of the two-headed vultures), in payment for his daughter, whom he had stolen away by astutely pretending to be a decomposing corpse.

756 Not long ago the Indian, Daniel Karoi, a resident of Santa
[115] Teresita de Kavanayén and his sister Luisa, who came from the Tiriká River, told me that their grandfather had been /45/ a piache and that he lighted his pipe without needing fire and that he could rise and play the part of the murei as if he were a real monkey. I do not know with certainty up to what point the piaches' deceptions can go, but I do not believe -- from what I have seen -- that these go beyond childish and easily uncovered tricks; I deduce this from the great admiration which they manifest for our magic tricks and little tricks of combination and prestidigitation.

000 99. This brief study of the piache will once more convince my readers that when imagination replaces intelligence and phantasmagorias replace reality, among Indians they can come to be a fertile source not only of tales and legends, but also of falsified religion, falsified medicine, etc. Therefore, Coué wrote quite correctly although with obvious exaggeration: "it is not will which makes them work, but imagination." And A. Bouyssonie also wrote that "magic is a materialistic falsification of religion."

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synonym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[191] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

539 etserukɛ — use. — to use the gourd bottle.
marodɛu — Forthwith — Then
maicha'-ya — Maichak — Maichak
moro' — fishy — emptied (from

tuna — water
anokapɛ̃tipə — emptied
to' — then
anumbatupõyɛ — gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-pɛ — For a time
moro' — fish
anumbatupɛ — gathered.
itetsɛton-ya — His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itɛtseru — his method
putu pura — know(ing) not
yetsipə — were
teumo-dakarə — his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin — only
yepətipə — was
moro' — fish
anumupə — gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

*192 *192

Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modem Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tu'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621 622	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuíba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

241
115
141
291

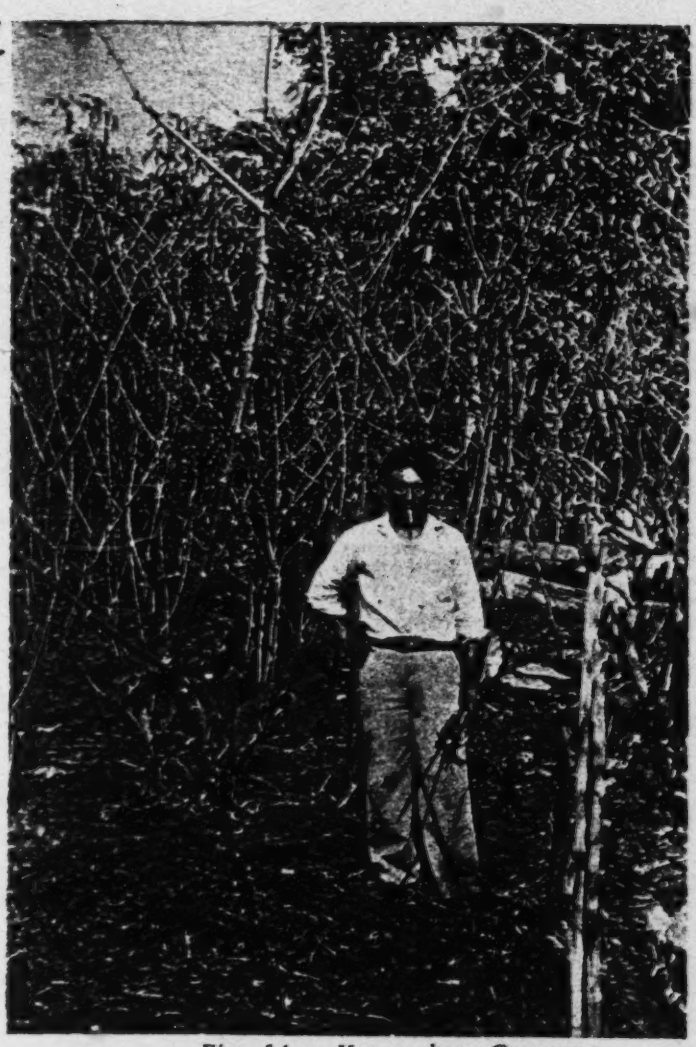

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[126] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word
● 115 ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes near-
194 er than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been
194 called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or
114 whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the
[104] Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.
[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichar.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

2:Armellada M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

What the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana Are Like 600
[Cómo son los Indios Pemones da la Gran Sabana]

R. P. Cesareo de Armellada

Caracas: 1946

Tercera Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura
Cuadernos Verdes 57

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

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DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls, are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among
212 them "quasi unus ex illis"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translator.

121 Although grouped with some logical order, these commentaries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor lucubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

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/XIII/

PREFACE-PRESENTATION

114 To write a preface for a book by Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada would be an extremely difficult and quite perplexing task, were one to focus on the question with which he deals, in the same style and with the same mastery that he brings to it. But it is not a question of speaking or writing of these matters, but of presenting one of his productions.

To present a work by Fr. Armellada? The author of this interesting work is not an unknown in the field of linguistics and of letters; he is not a dilettante or a beginner in this type of aboriginal studies. A missionary among those of the front line in the Apolostolic Vicarate of the Caroní since 1933, a dweller in the regions of the Gran Sabana, in Bolívar State, during nearly 12 years, and most of all a brilliant investigator of the language, practices, and customs of the aborigines, his studies and observations were transformed into reality in the Gramática de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar of the Pemón Language/ (1), a considerable volume of 316 pages, and of

[113]

1. Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón /Grammar and Dictionary of the Pemón Language/. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. I: Gramática /Grammar/, by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní. C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1943.

which we ourselves wrote apropos to it: "The work has been carried out without haste, conscientiously, patiently, without complaints, without the din of drum and cymbal, and now is brought before the public without a fuss, without a show of

/XIII cont./

114 vain ostentation, but in a complete fashion and one very suited to the modern exigencies of philological studies. Therefore we believe that those /XIV/ who are familiar with such material will not spare their plaudits and their phrases of approval." (2)

2. Venezuela Misionera, Monthly Publication, Year V, June, 1943.

Later he published the Diccionario de la lengua Pemón /Dictionary of the Pemón Language/ (3), about which in a

[113] 3. Grámatica y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón. -- Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Vol. II. Diccionario /Dictionary/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Capuchin Missionary of the Caroní, C. A. Artes Gráficas. Caracas, 1944.

bibliographical note we also said: "Only a spirit as vigorous as that of Fr. Armellada, a will so dedicated to the cause of the natives, and a fondness so warm as his toward these regions of the Gran Sabana, where he has spent most of his days as a missionary, could have carried out a work of this nature, and a study which, by itself, will be more than sufficient to immortalize his name, by placing him among the foremost and most outstanding men of science in this Venezuelan Fatherland (4).

4. Venezuela Misionera, Year VI, July, 1944.

Therefore we state that Fr. Armellada is not a new writer upon Indian matters, since his studies are numerous and well

/XIV cont./

114 thought out and his name and renown have gone beyond the frontiers of the Nation. A constant collaborator in our magazine, Venezuela Missionera, since the time of its founding in 1939, he has known how to put forth something of his great knowledge in its pages, he has published more profound and scientific studies in other Venezuelan and foreign magazines, articles which have earned the unanimous approbation of the knowing and warm praise from ethnologists.

• • •

Cómo son los Indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana is a quite complete study of the life of the Indians of the Gran Sabana and adjoining regions.

But what a study and what a work of ethnography! It is an original, his own, and a highly personal creation of its author, something which he has himself observed, and, after observation, came the taking down of notes, and then serious, calm meditation, and with the meditation were joined comparisons, scientific discussions with other missionaries who have also lived with the aborigines, and then collation with the principles laid down by /XV/ ethnologists and those who have dealt best with subjects with regard to the natives. All in all, Fr. Armellada has built his edifice well and has contrived to confect a quite complete study of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana.

In Venezuela Fr. Armellada is one of the few good and authentic ethnologists, and he forms a part of the glorious squadron of self-denying missionaries who march ahead of the civilizing and colonizing armies, true missionaries who do both religious work and work for their country. But, to be sure, always with pencil at the ready and notebook in hand, to attack the Indian and steal his secret in his native state.

/XV cont./

114 And I say that he is one of the good ethnologists, for he has studied the customs of the aborigine at their very source, that is to say, in the Indians, with those whom he has lived, those with whom he has sat down, not at the table, since they have none, but in a circle on the hard ground, those whom he has treated as friend, nay, more, as brother, as a mother treats her children. And why not thus penetrate into the life of the Indian in such an intimate and democratic way? Why not drink, at their pure spring, the crystalline waters, why not enter in this so ingratiating way into the hidden places of the reserved soul of the aborigine? Thence comes his collection of interesting data, of circumstances, which no one else, however observant he might be, could capture in the life of these natives of the Gran Sabana, and thence the value of his statements, the vigor of his principles, and the practical consequences which he deduces. This is why Fr. Armellada is due the appreciation of the knowing and the gratitude of those who will follow.

The author asks pardon for himself, due perhaps to his simple humility, when he states that this is not a complete treatise on the ethnography of the Indians. If it is not, much does it resemble one and well does it merit being one. We shall say, without adulation nor exaggeration, that it is indeed a true treatise upon the customs of those aborigines. That there is room in it for enlargement and more completion neither do we deny.

A treatise and a study full of erudition and originality; inasmuch as the author is not content with simply relating the facts observed by him and by other missionaries, nor does he limit himself to delivering bare data, nor, what would be worse, has he taken the liberty of adorning with the trappings of fantasy or of literature what his eyes have seen and his talent as an observer has grasped, by later filling in with the colors and retouchings of the artist, some empty lacuna, a circumstance not understood, some badly interpreted fact, /XVI/ a mysterious

/XVI cont./

114 and malicious silence on the part of the Indian. Quite the contrary, Fr. Armellada is a witness to the facts, he studies, compares, arrives at practical conclusions, and then offers them to the reading public, which is so much interested in the life of those Indians.

• • •

797 Until the Capuchin missionaries penetrated into those remote regions of the Venezuelan nation in 1930, little or nothing was known about them; nobody was interested in its natives, much less their language, which no one understood, and their customs, totally unknown to all. Scarcely a chance explorer or amateur went thither upon a daring tourist trip, in search of adventure; he passed like the bird through the air, without leaving a trace behind him. The Capuchin missionaries made the Gran Sabana their field of operations, to carry out the task that the Divine Master had set them, and to fulfill a sacred obligation to the National Government: to bring to the breast of the Church and into the pattern of the civilized world those authentic Venezuelans who still lived on the margin of religious and national events.

797 But the Capuchin missionaries of today have not wished to abandon the way of yesteryear nor have they swerved from the 114 glorious tradition of their elders. Therefore, together with the knowledge, culture, and civilization that they have carried into those regions, they have known how to avail themselves of time in the study of the language, of autochthonous customs, making an abundant collection of linguistic and ethnographic knowledge, to later offer them, as Fr. Armellada is doing, to the Nation and to the scientific world.

Proof is clear that they have not wasted time and that they have not spared any effort to carry on their work: religious work, patriotic work, cultural work, and scientific work. Whence once again are being proven correct those statements

/XVI cont./

797 114 made by Don Arístides Rojas: "To the missionaries are to be credited the first work, not only upon the ancient history of America, but also the first rudiments upon geography, hydrography, and natural history, as well as the introduction and cultivation of the native products of Europe. The missionaries were the first teachers in the teaching of the peoples of the continent, and also the 'first ethnographers' of America. Without the philological lucubrations of the /XVII/ missionaries, modern science would not have been able to study the divers languages of the New World, nor to establish their scientific inter-relationship. In the study of the languages and races which populated America, the works of the missionaries form the indispensable and necessary base for the ethnography of a large portion of the human race." (5)

5. Arístides Rojas. Obras escogidas /Selected Works/. Paris, 1907. P. 201.

With consummate correctness the notable Mexican indigenist, Mr. Manuel Gamio, said: "How grandly in the historical perspective of Mexico stands out the work of those most worthy colonial investigators who, like Sahagún, Gante, Motolinía, and others, studied native groups from points of view which we today call ethnographic, sociological, psychological, etc, when the principles and methods of the social sciences were as yet just appearing, this work being of such importance that without it our knowledge of the social evolution of the Mexican people would be incomparably more defective and incomplete than it is now. The success obtained by such wise men (6) is

6. It is proper to clarify that Sahagún, Gante, and Motolinía were Franciscan religious and the first missionaries who came to Mexico.

/XVII cont./

797 due in great measure to the fact that, with logical judgment,
114 they had first learned the languages and dialects of the autocthonous groups with whom they were in contact and they carefully made corresponding grammatical texts which, despite the understandable deficiencies which are evident in the light of modern knowledge, are indisputably the basis and point of departure of contemporary linguistics." (7)

[113]

7. Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Mexico, D.F. December, 1945. No. 4. "La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües /Linguistics and the Knowledge of Monolingual Indians/." P. 294.

The same could be said by us of the work carried out in the same way by the first missionaries who worked in Venezuela, as can clearly be deduced from a study by Arístides Rojas (8)

8. Arístides Rojas, Op. cit. "Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela /Native Languages in Venezuela/." P. 230.

and from some biographic and bibliographic notes of P. C. de Carrocera (9) even though some pusillanimous souls have wanted

9. Venezuela Misionera, Year VII, 1945. P. 5ff.

to take this glory away from the Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries in Venezuela.

• • •

/XVIII/

000 When we hear speak or see the writings of certain modern amateurs, about the natives, without their having bothered to take one step outside of the big cities in order to study the facts at the source, we cannot understand the confidence that this implies, inasmuch as in these writings and those discourses there is said only what has been read in authors, perhaps overesteemed or of confused imagination, so that in a single act, or simply in a simple statement of an Indian, they have tried to discover a rite, a religious ceremony, a divinity, a malignant spirit of vengeance, when the fact has simply been nothing but a simple joke or a mocking trick, poking fun at the simplicity and the stubborn curiosity of the investigator. These are indigenists such as we would call those of the desk or the classroom, who have never been in contact with the Indian nor even seen him other than on paper and in their ardent fantasy.

797 114 By contrast our missionaries, who have spent years and more years in communication with the Indians, will not dare to lay down principles nor throw out assertions, without first weighing them on the scale of honest, calm, dispassionate judgment. We venture to say more; that they will gather in council, they will discuss the observed fact as seen on several occasions, in very different circumstances, in order to draw practical conclusions, or perhaps, as has happened on more than one occasion, to leave judgment pending, awaiting another more propitious occasion and seek new data; because the Indian, sometimes crafty, often suspicious, and always withdrawn, did not wish to talk nor let himself be surprised in fraganti by the missionary observer.

These Ethnographic Studies that we present have the exceptional merit of long observation on the part of the author, who, without biases of any kind, without any predisposition of spirit, and without animosity against the defenseless natives, came to them, speaking their own language, and by this behavior as easy as it is secure, was able to project himself into

/XVIII cont./

997 the soul of those he wished to teach, favoring them with his
114 confidence and affection and expecting the same from them. Did Fr. Armellada attain his goal? We can assert that, in general, he did indeed, for he succeeded in winning the confidence of the aborigines; whence the many and interesting data that he was able to collect and that he now offers to the reading public.

Perhaps someone less well acquainted with the matter might find exaggerated certain assertions by the author of this work; perhaps someone less scrupulous might rigorously find other established principles concerning the Indians; but we must always /XIX/ bear in mind that the Indian, as a people, is a child, the eternal minor, and that in addition he has to this date lacked religious principles, a cultural base, education and affection /afectos/ and as a result his works and his actions correspond to the isolated and sylvan life that until very recently he has led, and that it is not so easy as some would believe to change the nature and the life of the Indian overnight.

On the other hand, the fondness which Fr. Armellada professes towards the natives makes him diminish their natural defects and deficiencies that are found in them. And, in summation and conclusion, we could add, that he has wished to hew to the standards given by the Sacred Congregation of Propagation of the Faith in dealing with great prudence and maximum charity with native affairs, whether by word or through writing.

The author of this work has been most heedful of this standard, and rather has he preferred to sin by addition than by omission in his evaluations of certain customs of the Indians, trying to defend them and cover them with the cloak of benevolence.

Otherwise, the work answers a need and a question. To a need, in that up to date little or nothing has been known concretely of these Indians of the Gran Sabana, the Capuchin missionaries being the first to offer to the Nation and the world at large these interesting studies with technical comments

/XIX cont./

797 on the customs and their way of life. The work answers a
114 question, since throughout the Nation the Gran Sabana is spoken of, and every aware citizen feels the very natural desire to know what those aborigines are like, how they live, what they do, and where they come from.

114 Many of the questions the author deals with here have been put to him by curious observers who knew something or had isolated reports through the press about those unknown regions; others the author has put to himself and he resolves them effectively after diligent study and no little observation.

We repeat, this is not a complete and perfect treatise of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana; they are serious and conscientious studies, which have close cohesion in themselves and which demand a later work to be published in time. Would that it may be thus, and that, saving economic difficulties, Fr. Armellada may be able to allure us with some more studies /XX/ from those he has in preparation. Meanwhile, we shall wait (10).

[13]

10. There have previously been published some works dealing with the Gran Sabana. Here are noted the principal ones:

a) "Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana /Three Years in a Mission within the Borders of Guiana/," by Fr. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. IV., No. 29, 1937.

b) La Música Indígena Taurepán /Taurepán Native Music/, by Rev. Fr. Baltasar de Matallalla /sic/, Caracas, 1938.

/XX cont./

113 c) Pantón Ichipupué--Así cuentan los indios /Pantón Ichipupué -- Thus Relate the Indians/, by Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada. A series of articles published in Venezuela Misionera, Year 1944.
d) Exploración a la Guayana /Exploration in Guiana/, Revista de Fomento, Year III, No. 19, 1939.
e) Los Indios Kamarakotos /The Camaracoto Indians/, by Dr. George Gaylord Simpson, Revista de Fomento, Year III, Nos. 22-25, 1940.

114 And may our most sincere congratulations and our most fervent applause go to the author of this work. We do not doubt that the reading public will appreciate the merit of the work put into its hands by the Rev. Fr. Cesáreo de Armellada, Franciscan-Capuchin missionary.

Fray Antonino María de Madridanos
Capuchin Religious

Caracas, April, 1946.

/1/

Chapter I

General Ethnographic Data on the Pemón Indians

1. They are Karibe /Carib/ Indians. 2. The denomination Koto. 3. The name Arekuna. 4. Id. Taurepán. 5. Id. Pemón. 6. Number of individuals. 7. Conterminous and neighboring tribes. 8. Moral and intellectual states. 9. Ethnographic characteristics.

123 1. The first thing that we customarily ask each individual with whom we are going to enter into conversation is his name or his gracia. Hence I judge it very apt to find out the name of the tribe about whose general characteristics I am going to speak in the present work, which is set on an ethnographic and a psychological plane at the same time.

101 Depending upon the glottological criterion, today prevalent, and, even more, adhering to the linguistic principle that "the briefest subject is the oldest," we easily arrive at the conclusion that these Indians are of the Caribe race, and of the most primitive, with primacy perhaps over the very Bakairí proposed by Von Steinen as the primigenous.

[114] A simple glance at a linguistic map, e.g., that of Fr. W. Schmidt, S. V. D., will make us see that these Indians belong to the "Roroima group." This group is at present the most numerous and dense of all; and the Roroima is the orographic knot about which are grouped more natives, emanating from the prolific Caribe trunk, since the other groups "of the Orinoco" and "of the Islands" have almost entirely disappeared through absorption or other causes.

101 But the Karibe of the Roroima group are subdivided into
114 numerous tribes, about the classification and nomenclature of which there reigns great divergency among writers, principally because of the following factors:

/1 cont./

101 a) the innate tendency in every investigator to stress /2/
114 small observed differences and with them to create new tribes, of which he calls himself the discoverer.

b) the erroneous belief that all of these tribes must each have its own name, its own social organization, and its territory drawn out with a surveyor's chain.

c) the universal tendency (not only of the Indians) to hide names, supposing that they exist; since tribes, like individuals, do not adopt names, but receive them, like the popular saying "I do not name myself; they name me," and, generally, these names imposed by others are based on defects or peculiarities that arouse mirth.

101 2. For a long time and on the oldest maps, there appear applied to the Indians in these regions the names Arinagoto, Cachirigoto, Barinagoto, Purucoto, etc., shuffled about at will. And my readers will recall others, Cumanagoto, Esmeregoto, Boquiracoto, etc.

At the present time the Indians also use for themselves and for their neighbors the names Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok, Apoipueri-kok, and Kamara-koto.

These names are gentilitious and indicate derivation from the place or district in which they dwell. Koto, goto, kok, and koi mean "inhabitants of." And by this can be interpreted all of the names transcribed above; and thus we would have Kamara-koto, inhabitant of Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok, inhabitant of the Roroima; Inkari-tok, inhabitant of England (British Guiana); Tei-koi, inhabitant of the Sabana, or sabanero, etc.

3. The name "Arekuna" was applied to them later and with the slight variations Yarekuna and Yarikuna. Our Indians generally accept this name for their neighbors, but they reject it for themselves because of the etymological interpretation (although it is false) that they give it, "lake rat," and the somewhat obscene legend that they relate to it.

/2 cont./

101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians

P does not reach 60,000.

101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

[1]

133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake...., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

/8 cont./

22. All the hills of this region are beautiful, but literature has already given the scepter of being first and the incense of glorification to Roroima. All of the rivers are beautiful, but the Caroní is already recognized as the most youthful and spirited, as so fitly described by Eloy Blanco, without his having seen it, in these verses:

"The fifth is the stone, which goes down the mountain,
runaway colt, with black tail and mane.
diamond stone
luminous stone.
Arduous way of the Conquistadors,
briery of the clean missionary rose,
briar-patch into which has come
Christ seeking his sheep,
miracle of the conquest,
precipitous Caroní, Bucephalus of America."

/Four unnumbered plates appear here./ [see pp. 11a and 11b]

/9/ Caroní and Roroima are two names that in themselves contain all the poetry of these lands. Caroní and Roroima: it is to say, child and father, tear and eye, water and stone.

Caroní is never a gentle stream; from its birth on Roroima to its interment in the Orinoco it is ever a spirited charger, which runs from fall to fall stamping and casting off spume with its flanks rent open in its endless torrents and cascades.

Roroima is a stone table, embattled castle, father of waters, inexhaustible source, for every night, as the Indians say, the stars pour many gourds of clear saliva into its springs of water. Roroima is the head, nearly always crowned with clouds, of that gigantic spinal column called the Sierra de Pakaraima.

A more detailed poetic description may be found in the Boletín de Ciencias Naturales La Salle, No. 14, Year 1945, to which I defer.

2:Armellada--11a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

342

The author of this work goes into the malocas /houses/ and into the soul of the Indians.

133
342
797

Settlement and town a building at Kavanayén, formed by the Capuchin missionaries.

133

Beautiful views of the Gran Sabana.

/9 cont./

183 23. The waterways are unsuitable for navigation because of the impetuous currents which at each step hinder the passage of boats, even small native curiaras; and this highland, surrounded on the north, east, and west by craggy mountain ridges and immense forests, this region is, with respect to Venezuela, a true nest of eagles or of airplanes. Only to the south are there some easier ways across some gorges of Pakaraíma toward the Brazilian campos of the Branco River, which has been and in great measure still is the nursemaid and like the umbilical [491] cord of this part of Venezuela. The highway decreed in the distant times of General Gómez has still not poked its head into [552] those lands; and there one lives dependent upon the vulture-canoe, kurún-kanhúa, as the Indians say /the airplane/.

Chapter III

000 The Soul of the Gran Sabana and the Soul of the Pemón Indians

24. The patá-muná. 25. Truisms. 26. A copper-colored soul? 27. Conclusions. 28. The Indian is a child. 29. The maloca, symbol of the Indian soul. 30. Imagination a predominant faculty of the Indians.

24. To avoid caviling to my readers, I wish to tell them without circumlocutions that the soul of the Gran Sabana, to which I here refer, is the Indians. /10/

Certainly, if everywhere form is what gives life to material, and the inhabitants of a region with their typical customs and activities are those who give life and interest to their lands, it need not be said that they who have given and do give interest and life to the Gran Sabana are the Indians, its natural

/10 cont./

inhabitants, its born owners, the patá-muná and the tarenó, as they themselves call themselves.

Without the Indians this region would be beautiful no doubt; but silent, cold, and unattractive: without a language to give a name to the rivers, lakes, hills and mountains; without feet to trace the pathways and seek the fords in the rivers and the passes in the sierras and the footpaths joining one settlement with another; without imagination to populate these places with fabulous and legendary beings and to explain poetically the great natural phenomena; without heart and without tenderness to welcome in its huts travelers and visitors; and without arms to master and tame the forces of wild nature.

181 For this is what the Indians who people these parts have been and still are: literati in their fashion, who create tales, legends, and fabulous beings not just with vivid and childlike imagination, but also with a comic cast and an implicit moral; geographers, who know the relief of their land to its tiniest detail; naturalists, who call by their proper names the infinity of beings that make up the flora and fauna of their patria chica /"little homeland"/; engineers, who have traced with the sure compass of their instinct and the robust tread of their feet routes to the four cardinal points among precipices and craggy mountains; and, finally, servants, and even faithful friends with broad shoulders and even more long-suffering and broad souls than those of all of us who have come to their land.

25. Against that evil proverb that says: "neither is the cassava bread, nor the Indian a person," it is necessary to assert, although it be a truism, that the individuals of the copper-colored race are just as much people as are others of the white, black, or yellow races.

829 Also widely circulated is the opinion that the Indians call the Creoles "rational ones," and that this is a sign that they themselves consider themselves to be irrational. In addition to there being in this a manifest logical contradiction, it has

/10 cont./

829 already been stated that the Indians call civilized persons, when they contrast them in general with themselves, te-ponken, or "man who has clothing," not "man who has reason."

830 26. Setting this aside, just as, without destroying the unity of the human species, it is universally admitted that there is a division of the same into white, yellow, black, and copper-colored, according to certain /11/ more apparent somatic differences, so, also, without disrespect for the specific unity of the human soul, we must admit a diversity of mentalities, psychologies, aptitudes. And although we customarily say that the soul has neither sex, age, nor color, we nonetheless speak of feminine psychology, infantile psychology, native mentality, etc.

Could we, then, have a native soul, a copper-colored soul? -- There would be no difficulty in admitting this in the nonheterodoxical sense of the expression.

27. From what has been expounded in the foregoing, we can logically infer two conclusions or incontrovertible principles, which for some will be two more truisms of my father and my lord, to wit:

That the Indians have their own rational soul with all that which this word includes of faculties, tendencies, and aptitudes.

That this rational soul is of another mentality, psychology, tendencies, aptitudes, etc., principally because of the environment in which they live and their atavistic heritage.

All of us who write about native matters must keep these two principles ever before us so as not to put all feet in a single slipper nor to measure all races by the single European canon.

Further, it does not suffice to know the Indians by their skin or by their material culture in order to go on from there to talk about everything relating to them, their character, their practices and customs, their intelligence, their idiosyncrasies, etc.

/11 cont./

The soul of the Indians, despite the proverb that says that the face is the mirror of the soul, more than by the face is known by the tongue, which really is the manifestation of our thoughts and of the feelings of the heart.

I therefore accept and say, with another missionary, the Rev. Fr. Alvaro de Espinoso, that a collection of tales, legends, songs, proverbs, etc., of the natives can very well be titled: "The Indians painted by themselves."

28. From childhood we are accustomed to seeing the human races classified as white, yellow, black, and copper-colored, etc.; thus are delineated the somatic differences and we are even shown illustrations of selected types of the same races. Now, when I am approaching 40, I have not as yet had the good fortune to stumble upon a similar breakdown for souls nor upon a canon with which to measure the psychological differences of the races.

In fact, to synthesize the outlines of the soul of the Indians or of any other race turns out to be as difficult as it is easy to see differences in facial features. /12/

Although it is long, I am going to copy a description that another missionary (P. Ch. Louwers) makes of those in his mission, because I believe it very realistic and in conformity with my own way of thinking on this point. The missionary says: "The Indian is nature. He is a child: a child in his sudden, unplanned, frolicsome pleasures as in his short-lived sadnesses; a child in his negligence and in his shortsightedness which borders upon foolishness; a child in his inconstancy, which incites him to change his trade or to miss the forest when he has been started on the road to well-being; a child above all in his moral weaknesses. Knowing very little of what it is to make an effort, he is an occasional thief as well as a circumstantial liar, and he is at the mercy of anyone stronger who might wish to lead him to good or to evil. But he also has an always pleasant and smiling childish good humor, a simplicity

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The
181 Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the
[415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for
[252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and
[262] all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the ani-
[231] mal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

131 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated,
155 dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

/13 cont./

181 guayere /sic/ laden with fruit or with a deer across his back,
155 he comes also with his soul impregnated by nature, which later the magic of his imagination transforms in a thousand ways during the shadows of the night and which he later gives birth to in the form of tales and legends, saturated with phantasmagorias.

155 To understand well the great assimilation of the Indian with nature, we must bear in mente that metamorphosis, anthropomorphism, and animism form, to put it one way, the basis of his mentality, more imaginative than logical.

30. Wise ethnologists have already noted that primitive peoples, who live in an environment of wild and untamed nature, as yet not in the domain of mankind, undergo an extraordinary development of the imagination. And, therefore, if of all it is said that imagination is "the madwoman of the house," when we speak of the Indians we must say that imagination is "the mistress and absolute owner of their soul."

From this great predominance and overflowing of the imagination onto the other intellectual and volitive faculties, I believe to be derived all the moral defects and aptitudes previously listed as being of the Indians: inconstancy, short-sightedness, moral weakness, good humor, simplicity, brotherhood.

774 The imagination of the Indians, in its facet of fear,
155 sometimes terror and panic, populated the clouds with uaranapí, the hills with mauaritón, the mountains with piaimá, the waters with rató and tuenkarón, graves with orodán, hollow trees with amariuak, plains with seipán, and subterranean cavities with tiripuení.

776 Another of the great creations of the Indians' imagination is the Kanaimá, which we shall have to discuss in particular in another section of this work.

000 Here is complied with, to the letter, the famous phrase of the Latin poet, in which he says, "Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit," for men's fear when faced with great natural

/13 cont./

000 phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

C

114 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians:
157 "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

P Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's,
114 who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the
157 opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is
P a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst
[522] out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category
128 all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

114 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the ex-
152 pression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured.
[142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

/15 cont./

114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological preoccupations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

522 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm
195 against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?

What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-pueti? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

/16 cont./

522 one took an arrow from the Indians for his tail and a fruit for
195 a head," or now at a monkey which is running off, startled, "brother, just when I'm coming to visit, you go away," etc....

114 35. Many other manifestations of gaiety are beyond the scope of study in the short space of these little chapters. But I do not wish to end without calling attention to the poorly disguised sectarianism with which Dr. Simpson and his wife Ana Roe have tried to disparage religious ideas, by saying that they are bad for the Indians and the cause of an "anxiety" nothing less than "neurotic."

This statement, so gratuitous and tendentious, is on a par with another of the same author, in which he says that clothing creates modesty and that it is not shame that seeks clothing, and those other grammatical statements in which he says that there is no "clear distinction between nouns and adjectives" and "it is impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction as special parts of speech."

It is a pity that the doctor has put into a ragged sack the warning that he himself puts in his prologue: "In matters dealing with the much more difficult problems of social culture, my observations are by necessity less complete. The best work in this specialty requires years of residence, an absolute command of the local dialect, and the fullest confidence of the Indians. We had only a few weeks available...."

So that, inasmuch as he has on his own confessed his ignorance, I do not believe it necessary to insist upon a refutation of such an assertion.

/16 cont./

Chapter V

Are the Indians Active or Lazy?

36. The popular quatrain. 37. The position of the true indigenist. 38. Useful labor. 39. Lack of psychological stimuli. 40. The geographical environment. 41. Division of labor between the two sexes. 42. The exception proves the rule 43. Dr. Simpson's evidence. 44. Whence, then, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians.

36. Let the warning be prefixed that I am not ignorant of the popular quatrain: /three plates appear here/ /17/

The Indian runs away from work
and looks for idleness:
where they beat him he remains,
where they pay him he goes away.

I am not unfamiliar with nor do I deny that the sin or vice of laziness has been almost unanimously imputed to them by all writers. Even the Holy Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, perhaps the greatest panegyrist of the American natives, in his treatise "Virtudes del Indio /Virtues of the Indian/," does not excuse them from this capital vice; although he does warn that, although very inclined toward it, the avarice of the colonists did not let them continue the practice.

To find witnesses in favor of the shiftlessness, indolence, laziness, and slothfulness of the Indians would be the easiest of tasks; one would have to do nothing but let himself roll downhill. The opposite is to buck the force of the current and face the blasts of the wind; but the truth must be told.

37. It is clear that the rehabilitation of the Indian and love for him do not consist of ignoring or hiding his defects, but even less so would be scorning him or prejudging him without knowledge of the cause and helping with his defamers to impose on him undeserved evil reports. In this matter we

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--22b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

797

Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

/17 cont./

are not going to talk about what we have heard; we have lived long years with the Indians and we speak from daily, intimate experience, which obliges us to speak the truth even though bullets may keep on flying.

We have not come to break spears in favor of the Indians, but in favor of the truth. This idea of the innate laziness of the Indians we believe to be the twin sister of the "black legend" about the Spaniards, against which of little avail have been the voices of Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Perhaps the voice of the missionary, so often accused of being blinded by affection, may also be scorned and turn out to have been preaching in the desert, but, anyway, magis amica veritas.

147 38. A very different matter, with which we shall not
146 here deal, is the physical endurance and useful labor of the Indians, which gave rise to the bringing of Negroes for the working of the mines and the sugar mills. Also different is the other question of malnutrition or incomplete nutrition and the degeneration produced by alcoholism, malaria, etc., although they have a bearing upon the main point we are dealing with
461 here. Speaking of useful labor, I do note that, with regard to the Guaraúno, the Rev. Fr. Gaspar de Pinilla, a missionary among them, has often told me that in the handling of the axe, canoe paddle, and dragging of temiche /18/, he would not exchange them for any Negro or Creole, despite the fact that the Guaraúno are among those most accused of being slothful and lazy. The same can be said of the Pemón of the Gran Sabana with respect to traveling with burdens, construction of huts, etc., that is to say, everything that makes up their daily life and their own activity.

People who often speak, to relieve their overflowing impatience on trips, against the sluggishness, stoicity, laziness, etc., of the long-suffering Indians, two days later, when the discomforts have now disappeared, can be heard to outdo themselves in praise of how fine they are for carrying and a thousand other things.

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially
461 related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store
263 up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
080 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

/19 cont./

we shall not deny that work is accepted as an unpleasant means by which we free ourselves from misery or indigence or obtain another pleasure; to consider it as noble in itself and above all to practice it for pure love of the art is still the patrimony of very few.

In the light of these geographical principles there is no doubt that the so proverbial laziness of the Indians is reduced to very little. And the golden rule of St. Francis of Assisi, "according to places and times and cold regions" might perhaps suggest to us more benign ideas with regard to Indians. For an Indian it would be the height of weakness to say of him that he does not contract matrimony or that he limits the number of his children; by contrast in our cities that is the daily food and our daily bread, despite claims of being hard-working and industrious and lovers of nature. Should one wish to demand so much of the aborigines residing in isolated districts, dominated and almost absorbed by harsh nature, without the stimuli of refined pleasures and ambitions and without the possible accumulation and transportation of wealth by means of money?

462 41. We have often been asked about the division of labor between men and women and frequently also is it heard said that the Indians load down their women with labor while the men spend their lives in idleness. Naturally, if we compare the Indian women with women mannequins, perhaps we could say that they are slaves; but when studied in the natural system of country life, our conclusion is that their work is equitably divided and that the division of labor which is observed among them might well be taken as a model. In effect, the man clears the land, fells trees, clears paths, hollows canoes, does all the building of huts and houses, makes sandals, manufactures twine and all kinds of arms and artifacts for hunting and fishing and even basketwork objects; he alone does all the operations of hunting and fishing.

The woman sows, pulls up, carries, and prepares foodstuffs; of woven articles she makes only those used by her or by the

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén nakê (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón,
114 "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

/21 cont./

backwardness of these tribes, without this proving the counter-thesis of the superlative laziness of the Indians.

The most fruitful soil requires the plow and seed brought from without before it can bear fruit; the richest country becomes poor without routes to the outside, that is, doors to the outside world; and the history of all peoples, ancient and modern, tells us that civilization is not autochthonous, but exoteric, or, even more, mixed. From the contact and mixture of races and ideas come geniuses, inventors, leaders, civilizations; just as fire comes from the contact between flint and steel.

From this, precisely, comes the need for a mission -- assistance, initiative, stimuli, ferment, -- to every stagnant, inert, impoverished, and backward region; the need for a road along which this mission might travel bringing the seed, breeding stock, plow, machinery, books, and other advances of modern civilized life, and along which the natives might export their products; in a word means are needed for establishing interchange, exchange of agricultural products, livestock, and minerals, of culture, religion, and blood.

Very correctly was it written in an engineering magazine: "The road is the first step and the first aid for the redemption of a nation; the exodus from stagnation for any society; the necessity for any tribe so that it can get away from savagery."

/22/ Chapter VI

Are the Indians Savage or Gentle?

45. Judging by appearances. 46. By nature an animal. 47. The supposed savagery of primitives. 48. The emigration of legends. 49. Modern legends. 50. The timidity of the

/22 cont./

60 people. 51. The psychology of fear. 52. We do not deny facts. 53. The Sirianá of the Paragua and the Motilón of the Perijá. 54. Final conclusions.

45. To answer this question, which has been asked us, I do not believe it necessary for us to go and consult Buffón or any of the naturalists about the characteristics of Homo sapiens; it is sufficient to look at ourselves, at our smooth skin, our wavy hair, our flat wide nails, etc., in order to convince ourselves that man is by his very nature a tame animal and even a timid one. So that, in principle and as I see it, to ask whether there exist savage men is the same as asking if there exist aggressive sheep.

Nevertheless, since this is a question so often asked us, we are not going to duck the answer or run off on a tangent. Besides, we cannot deny that, together with the somatic characteristics, it is necessary to study the psychological ones, if one wishes to give an adequate and complete reply to any question referring to man.

46. The prince of the ancient philosophers must have been referring to psychological characteristics when he wrote that "man was inherently an animal, gluttonous and lustful." And to the point where it gives us a headache we are daily hearing the adage "homo homini lupus."

It cannot be denied that there do exist moments of bestiality in man. As individuals, each of us knows of it; as political entities, the mere existence of war suffices to convince us. But from this to assume a primitive state in humanity, in which men lived in perpetual warfare like wild beasts (or worse, since in general none of them attacks those of the same species), satiating their bloody instincts or fighting over food or females, is to let oneself be carried away by a belief or a legend which is very widespread in truth but completely lacking in scientific principles, even ignoring the irrefutable Biblical tales.

/22 cont./

47. We repeat what we have said before on the other side. False, but very popular and universal, is the myth that there existed a primitive state of wild and savage men for a long period of /23/ millenia; a myth even taken up by scientists for the sake of preconceived theories.

And this myth, together with others about Amazons, the golden land, the philosophers' stone, the elixir of life, the enchanted isles, etc., put to flight, like the shadows they were, by the light of geographical discoveries, went off from Europe to Asia, thence to Africa and Oceania, to come finally to take refuge in America, the New World, the unknown world, the refuge of all the myths and legends of antiquity, which refused to disappear and which sank their burning point into the popular imagination and took root in geographical corners rarely trod by the white man's foot.

Therefore it should not surprise us that the discoverers of the new world, imbued with these ideas, always hunting for surprises and eager to acquit themselves with marvelous narrations of their arduous explorations, should have seen in remote islands and innaccessible lands armies of amazons, Indians with tails, Indians with three eyes, white Indians, Indians with such huge ears that they used one for a mattress and another for a coverlet, and of course (which is less than all the rest) savage and wild Indians, butchers and cannibals.

48. And we must be even less surprised that men of former times believed in such simplicities, when scarcely a few days ago and right under our noses barbarities were printed like the following: "Buenos Aires, June, 1943. -- Doctor Peña departed with four Indians of his own district...they went toward the South of Brazil.... On the way they met some of those terrible beings that the natives call "pig heads." These "pig heads" are so ugly, hunched over, and ferocious that they can scarcely be called human. They live in trees, eat raw meat, and kill for the pleasure of killing." (Stanley Ross. -- Published in La Esfera, July 27, 1943.)

/23 cont./

There then follow other no less noteworthy truths, based on the authority of Dr. Peña, of the famous pilot and explorer, Jimy Angel, and of the Czechoslovakian adventurer, Frank Herbst, concerning amazons and white Indians, and the writer for idiots or for fools then ends up with the following epiphonema: "It was thus Lucas Fernández Peña's mission, to transform into reality an enchanting legend!" Risum teneatis, amici!

50. On the other hand, it was not necessary for European discoverers to arrive in these lands provided with such legends, since right here the Indians, as will simple people who have never gone beyond their village, had and still have these same notions of their neighbors. Everything herein said has been proven by us missionaries to the point of satiety. Whenever we have tried to undertake excursions into remote regions, /24/ more or less unknown, Creoles and Indians have hastened to tell us to go armed, for those Indians are very fierce, that they use enormous arrows, climb like monkeys, use poisonous substances, that they know evil magic to produce all kinds of sickness (including madness), that their words are more like shrieks, etc.! It is certain that a narrowness of geographical horizons is usually the companion of narrowness of ideas and that "the sleep of reason engenders monsters," in Goya's phrase! And every time when we have returned from one of these excursions safe and sound, after the first moment of ill-disguised surprise, when we state that we have been among the fearsome Indians and we prove it with photographs, contour maps, and notes on their languages, the invariable conclusion has always been that either we hadn't got as far as the Indians that they really had been telling us of, or that said Indians had gone off to more distant regions. In this latter statement we agree. In effect, such wild Indians, like all other imaginary and legendary beings, exist only in the intangible and inaccessible beyond, and they will end up, we do not doubt it, by going to the moon.

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51. A few years ago, when traveling through the sierras of Perijá (of which, to be sure, we were not the first explorers), all the men sent by the government carried pistols; one of them, who thought he had lost his weapon, despite the fact that he was with all the others who were armed, refused to continue the trip. When we were approaching a rancheria (sometimes a single hut), they warned me sharply not to go too far ahead; also at bedtime, when I was hanging up my hammock at some distance from the common dormitory that they used, they continually warned me to be careful because the danger lay in overconfidence; and when I told them that those Indians were very good and very tame, and that, rather, they were or would be afraid of us, and that our poorly hidden timidity might seem aggressiveness to them, and that fear makes one see phantoms and is a very poor counselor, they invariably answered me, "What we don't know is whether these Indians are tame."

I, who truly am among these Indians like a fish in water, laughed to myself about that mutual distrust; but the smile froze on my face when I thought of and recalled the infinite number of unpleasant and even tragic incidents which have been caused, according to history, by the ominous custom of always going among the Indians with a revolver in one's belt or lance at tilt. Jests of the Indians, their fears, and especially their unknown language, were /four plates appear here/ /25/ often taken to be conspiracies and aggressiveness and thence came the catastrophes of magnificent expeditions.

And let us say nothing of the repeated occasions when the excursionists themselves crossed arms among themselves or bullets flew. For its own ill do wings grow on the ant and the snake carries its venom!

52. By this we do not mean to deny absolutely the existence of bloody deeds among the Indians, especially when they are under the influence of alcohol and of jealousy, since we do

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Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

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The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

2:Armellada--32b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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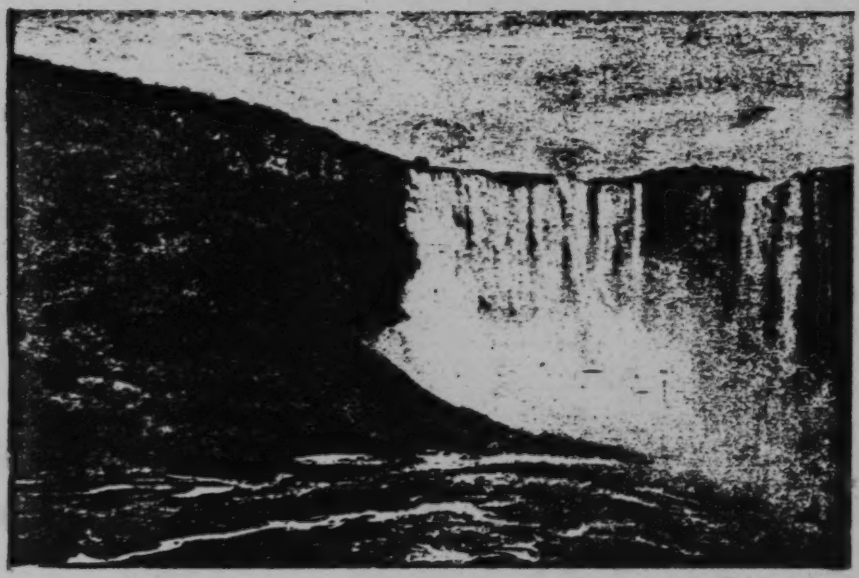
Great waterfalls, an as yet untapped source of energy and wealth.



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know of several cases. Neither do we deny proven and concrete cases of attacks by the Indians on Creoles; we have certain proof of several. But, does not this same thing also occur among us in every city, town, or village?

Y B 152 114 53. In particular there is talk of the untamable wildness of the Sirianá of the Paragua River and of the Motilón of the Zulia. As for the former, there is no doubt whatsoever that such butchers do not exist, as we were able to prove in the expedition made in the year 1940 and we reported this in an article published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Volume VIII, No. 53, to which we refer now.

B 439 As for the latter, what is certain is that they have trade relations with the Indians of the Tukuku River, with which statement at least half of the legend is destroyed, that part B 152 114 which says that the Motilón did not permit even dealing with or the approach of other tribes. And regarding their hate of Creoles and their aggressiveness, I refer to the judgment of Mr. Gsell, quoted by A. Jahn in his book, Los Aborígines del Occidente de Venezuela /The Aborigines of Western Venezuela/, page 99, where he says: "As for the temperament of the Motilón, Gsell's opinion is that he does not consider them dangerous whilst they have not been molested by the Creoles; so that their hostility towards the whites is always motivated B by a spirit of revenge."

648 114 He himself says: "Creole peons are too cowardly and imprudent to be able to enter into dealings with the Motilón and when they have had the fortune to run across a plantation of yucca and plantain trees, made by the Indians, they pull up the tubers and cut the ripe fruit, in this way provoking B 648 their ire." While holding the same ideas as Mr. Gsell, we can add that, as we well know from the not short time spent living among the Indians and the not narrow circle of our observations, the abuses he denounces are the least; other much more important ones, which it is not necessary to name, have caused and do cause reprisal; and what is remarkable is

2:Armellada--33a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16
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648 that more cases do not occur, since outside of the /26/ mission territories, almost the only remedy which the Indians have is to have recourse to Catalonian justice, that is to say, justice by their own hand.

p 152 54. Having thus untangled the question asked us about the peacefulness or fierceness of the Indians, we can come to some general conclusions:

1) The Indians are timid, suspicious, and even retiring.
2) Sometimes they are or become fierce and even make reprisals.

Chapter VII

Are the Indians Temperate or Gluttonous?

55. Temperate through necessity, gluttonous if they have the chance. 56. The great blot on the Indian's character. 57. Attenuating circumstances for this defect. 58. Intemperance in drinking. 59. From the belly it comes forth.... 60. Falsely religious inebriation. 61. Government measures against alcohol. 62. Pagan idea of drunkenness. 63. A digression about the ancient Indians of Caracas.

p 261 55. The question that somebody asks us is framed in the following terms: "Is it true, as some say, that the Indians are a piece of stomach, an animal that simply feeds itself and procreates, or are they, on the contrary, as others say, temperate and abstinent as ascetics?"

I love the Indians but I must love the truth more. And the truth in this case obliges me to say that, in general, the Indian is sober and temperate through necessity, but, given the occasion, he easily falls into intemperance and gluttony.

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261 Those who have observed the poor means of sustenance of
262 the Indians after long days' journeys, sometimes carrying heavy loads on their backs, that is to say, a frugal piece of cassava and a seasoning of ají in powder or broth, can tell me if any-
P where can be found such abstinent men.

261 But, to look at the other side of the coin, you would have to see the quantity of drink that they are capable of consuming or the food that they dare to ingest when good luck in fishing or hunting furnishes them with good daily allowances.

G 56. Concerning this matter I have no scruples about copy-
114 ing what the authors of the Geographia Universal /Universal
261 Geography/ (Barcelona, 1917, ed. Montaner) say about the
251 Guiana Indians, quoting J. Rodway: "Usually, the Indians'
433 provisions are limited; their farming is limited by the fact that the /27/ woman has to do the work. A bad season, a flood, for example, reduces him to almost nothing, and then hunger becomes master of the tribe....Even when there is a good harvest, provisions are sometimes wasted in deplorable orgies and merrymaking. This is the great blot on the character of the Indian."

57. But let us remember, in exoneration of the Indians, that this bad custom of yielding to gluttony of those who are normally hungry or who are hungrily penniless was already attributed by Cervantes to poor students when he wrote of them: "and that gorging with so much gusto when fortune regaled them with some banquet." And our folk proverbs contain these two quite significant sayings: "Let Martha die and may she die stuffed" and "The poor man's proverb: better to burst than
P have any left over."

251 Let us remember also that they are incited to this gluttony
261 in part by the condition of tropical fruits, which do not keep.
[262] Of the fruits cultivated by the Indians almost the only one that
252 can be kept indefinitely is cassava, pan de yuca, in the form of a cake, or better, in the form of mañoca or toasted flour. Expressions like "to make hay while the sun shines" and the

/27 cont./

251/ like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261/ very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call
/28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mafloco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/28 cont./

61. Thus then, having recognized this great weakness in the Indians and this great blot on their character, it is incumbent upon the Governments /29/ to dictate or force compliance with severe measures against alcoholism, the greatest defect which opposes the full regeneration of this race and that merchants and amoral persons frequently try to exploit, since they know that the drunken Indian is easy game.

And since these brief commentaries may come into the hands of some of our native ex-pupils of Santa Elena, I also address myself to them to ask them that they be by word and example apostles of Christian abstentionism and Christian sobriety, which we Missionary Fathers always inculcate in them. Without going so far as to call kachirí a diabolic drink, and the camazas and canoes, vessels of sin, as the Adventists say, there is no doubt that this vice of excessive drinking is the most frequent cause of immoralities and even disease: being therefore a sword for the body and for the soul.

62. Not to excuse drunkenness (of Indians or of non-Indians), but so that there may be a better understanding of the concepts of non-Christians about this problem of abstinence, which not only in morality but in politics has been the cause for so much propaganda, I am going to transcribe a passage from Euripedes in The Bacchantes, which says as follows: "Two gods, oh, young one, are the principals among men: Demēter (The Earth she is, call her what you will), which gives them dry foods; and in the second place, and distinct from her, the son of Semele, who invented the so-called grape liquor and wishes to divulge it among mortals, freeing them of pains in their infinite miseries, when they are filled with it and handing them over into sleep, the forgetfulness of cares. With this same God are libations made to the others...." And a little later he also says that liquor is "a divining god, he helps to prophesy," and attributes to him "furor" or bravery in battles.

Caraca 558

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C 114 461 273

63. The primitive inhabitants of Caracas, also Caribs, are said to have had this same defect of gluttony and drunkenness in Juan Pimentel's report (1572), in which it is said of them: "Their whole manner of life is based on laziness; they do their farm work and, harvests, eat them up, or, better said, drink them up quickly because drinking is their principal sustenance and gift; and later they undergo need because they do not know tomorrow," by which he means that they do not think about tomorrow, that they do not know how to save up or store up. And he further adds: "They would like to have their work and all that is needed under their beds, which here are hammocks, and from there plant, gather, eat, drink, and sleep."

C 461 114

But for all that, there does not fail to appear the attenuating phrase, since farther on it is said: "Those who are inclined to labor are very apt." /30/

Chapter VIII

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What are the Indian Dances Like?

64. The stimulation of the dance and its intent. 65. Orgiastic ecstasy considered as magical and religious. 66. They do not celebrate with dances births, marriages, or burials. 67. The most common reasons for dancing. 68. Painting and adornment. 69. Musical instruments. 70. The form of the dance. 71. Monotonous. 72. Versification. 73. Another digression about the Caracas Indians.

64. What has been said about the lack of sobriety of the Indians in the preceding chapter would be enough or even more than enough; since it is said "of the good, little," then of the bad or of that which reviles, less. But since a certain curious reader has returned to the subject, I shall speak of the same, but in a different sense.

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273 Although I have written that the Indians do not move their
535 feet to dance without the stimulation of kachirí, this does not mean that drink is the cause much less the end of every dance among them. Nowhere in the world should the condition or the stimulation be confused with the cause.

Furthermore, although I stated that the dances tend to degenerate, as among ourselves, into disputes and less decorous acts, neither did I intend to say that everyone in the dances is reduced to committing reprehensible acts, nor that drunkenness is always extreme.

535 Among the most primitive Indians, as in more cultured societies, the dance is, above all, a manifestation of happiness, just as drink is its physiological cause. Vinum laetificet cor hominis.

Full belly, happy heart, says the proverb. The first thing the Indians want in their dances is diversion (in the etymological sense) and happiness; to free themselves from the daily struggle and the prosaicness of daily living, restricted as they are in a small circle of activities and social relationships.

65. Furthermore dancing in great choruses, with music, disguises, mimetism, drinks, etc., necessarily gives rise to that orgiastic exaltation, fever of phantasmagoric inspiration and like a liberation of the soul through tiredness and exhaustion of the body, although this might appear a paradox. There is no doubt that in this sense Menéndez Pidal wrote those verses: /31/

> "Blessed the nights -- clear ones of summer
> in which souls fly so free
> while bodies remain so languid."

And this is also why dances may have in the origins of all peoples a religious or magical sense. Let us remember the dances of David before the Ark, those of our seises /"sixes"/ before the Most Holy, on the one hand; and on the other let us

/31 cont./

620 remember those dancers of the twelfth century, who appeared in Artois and Flanders, whom Proodt tells us about in his book, Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo /The Mysterious Phenomena of Psychism/, who "yielded themselves furiously to violent dances and exercises of dislocation, who asserted that they were favored with celestial visions. They would dance to the point of physical exhaustion, would fall like an inert mass, and seem to be lifeless." Why strange, then, that the Indians might not deceive themselves in the same fashion?

535 66. Dances are not organized to celebrate births, marriages, or deaths, since it is quite precluded by the extremely simple and private form of these, the restrictions imposed by the couvade with regard to the newborn and the asarakpué with regard to defunct relatives, all of these incompatible with the gluttony and imbibing in dances.

Neither are they organized as a preparation for great hunts or fishing; on the contrary, the men generally go out hunting or fishing six or eight days before them, while the women are preparing the fermented drinks.

535 67. The most ordinary reasons for dances are: construction
527 of new dwellings, return from long journeys, and the simple desire of relatives to get together, since it is a fact that the Indians live very scattered, almost always only two or three families in each place. To this would have to be added the desire to make a show of wealth in food, almost the only thing which the Indians can at times show off, thus unknowingly fulfilling the caustic saying of our village people: "If he is so rich let him have dinner twice."

535 68. The most common autochthonous dances among these Indians are the tukui and the parichará; among the exotic ones, the origins of which we noted in our previous article, they perform in some regions the areruya chochimás.

535 In their dances the Indians customarily paint the face and
302 the whole body with these three colors, principally: red from annatto, or achicote /sic/, white from clay or kaolin and

/31 cont./

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called rué, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

/32 cont./

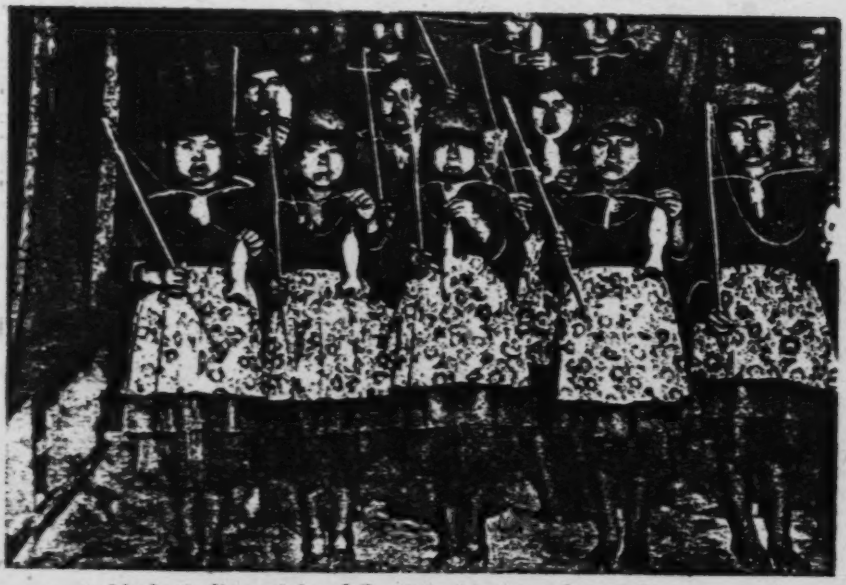
535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain
533 of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margaritefio. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

P /33 cont./

538 The poetic motifs of these verses are widely varied: new paths, a new house, hills, birds, the dancers' adornments, the musical instruments, the kachirí vessels, dawn and nightfall, etc. These lyrics are usually transmitted by memory, but sometimes they invent them when caught up in the dance itself.

Here are a few samples:

1. Rué ke, rué ke (With the pipe, with the pipe	uy-eserumbai I am going to sing)
2. U-paruchí kamokí (Of my little sister the camaza	mutá menú karutuá the edge painted with caruto.
3. Tavá ke, tavá ke (With white earth (bis)	a-patá samerukai, tukuchí I made your dwelling beautiful, tukuí dancer.)
4. Kinó, kinó (The mockingbird (bis)	uayí komankanín, kinó, kinó prolongs or sustains my song, the mockingbird, (bis).

Apart from the immoderate drinking, it would be a great pity if these dances, so poetic and so typical, and, in all cases more /34/ than almost all modern ones, were to disappear from living customs; and even more of a pity when they have not yet been captured on film and phonograph records at least as solace for the studious.

C 535 114 73. So that it might be seen that four centuries after Columbus we still have in several corners of our homeland the same customs as then, I am going to copy one more time (and it will not be the last) a paragraph from the already cited

C /34 cont./

535 geographical report of Juan Pimentel about the dances and
114 inebriations of the Caracas Indians. He says in section 14:
C "They invite those of the district and for days beforehand they
114 make much masato; and the biggest part of the fiesta is to
527 drink until they fall down; they come in friendly groups as they
302 come out of the barrios where they live anointed with a certain
532 kind of resin that they call orcay and mara, similar to turpentine, and over it or without it they put on and paint with red, which is like vermillion, which they call bariquisa made from leaves and tree bark; and masked and with figures of the devil they thus enter into drunkenness and the one who has the ugliest and most horrible mask is the most smartly dressed; others bring some little birds; others, malejos /bad things?/ upon staffs, made of wood, thread, and colors."

C

114 And farther on he says: "These are their fiestas and joyous
527 occasions and gifts and all of their happiness and contentment; they usually have them normally here today and there tomorrow and many gather together in them."

Chapter IX

Are the Indians Clean or Dirty?

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74. In general. 75. The Indian compared with our country people and seen by those who live among them. 76. On food and painting. 77. The odor of porcupine and the smell of smoke. 78. The house and the patio. 79. Common parasites. 80. Semicivilized Indians. 81. The Indians' revenge. 82. The tale of kamotipán.

515 74. The question was fired at us point-blank and we shall respond point-blank to our questioner that the typical Indian and his typical dwelling, without attaining the niceties of our

/34 cont./

515 hygiene, cannot be characterized as filthy and dirty perspicuously. Of this same opinion is the author of Los Kamarakotos, who were so exactly observed by him in all externals and visible particulars in his few weeks of living among them.

To state, as do some, that the Indians are dirty animals who wallow in filth, who abhor /35/ cleanliness and soap, etc., is to speak from memory, repeating old saws, which were more or less true according to the tribes to which these epithets might be applied. On my part, I cannot but confess that in the usual Motilón rancherías, cleanliness was at the level of shoe-blacking.

The popular proverb warns us that "every comparison limps on some foot," but it would limp much worse if one tried to compare it with what does not admit of a paragon. For this reason one should not compare, for instance, the hygiene and cleanliness of the Indians with that of a doctor or a palace-dweller.

The Indian should be compared with the poor people of our cities or, even better, with our country people. With these for paragons, we dare to maintain that they better those of our city backwaters and reach, more or less, the level of humble country people.

But it happens that, in general, those who visit the Indians are people from the top of the heap, people under glass, who bring almost every comfort with them and, therefore, suffer severe shock when they find themselves up to the neck in country life and see themselves beside real men of the soil who are living "nudi in nuda homo." And that is why they come back speaking of the horrors of the Indians. In contrast those accustomed to living among them and like them constrained by the harsh realities of life speak more benignly or less harshly of the natives. Thus, for example, Fr. Carry-Elwes, S. J., who says of the Indian women of Teuonó -- slope of Roroima -- that they reminded him of the housewives of his own Ireland or of the lands of Normandy.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 262 515 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons,
[372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down
177 by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/37 cont./

829 81. Before putting an end to this brief study, I should ad-
522 vise that by the natural law of retaliation, the Indians, acute observers of our customs and very fond of humor, also make fun of our hygienic customs and of some of our foods, which are likewise repugnant to them. Thus, for example, pork, eggs, etc. They also laugh at our corrals and houses for domestic animals, which are not always sufficiently separated from the houses and which do not smell like a bed of roses. And of our country privies, I have heard from them an infinite number of satirical remarks very similar to the popular saying, "What is it that the rich gather up, which the poor throw away?" with reference to nasal secretions.

515 82. To poke fun at dirty persons -- for such a person is
539 never lacking among the Indians, as everywhere else -- who flee from bathing like a cat from water, and abhor cleanliness as the devil the cross, they have the story of the Indian kamotipán, that is to say, the one who had mushrooms and squash sprout all over him, like ears all over his body, so that they made a noise when he walked along, so that game and fish fled and he had to be submitted to a great scraping and bathing by frogs, after which he became a good fisher and hunter.

Chapter X

What Is There To Their Corpulence and Healthiness?

Dcus 83. Exaggeration in the reports. 84. The legend of the golden age. 85. Endemic diseases. 86. Are they not perfect herbists? 87. Medicine and magic: curers and enchanters. 88. Charms. 89. An Egyptian charm and a Pemón one. 90. Spiritual religion and corporal medicine.

/37 cont./

83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by armchair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live
826 looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians
165 are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

/38 cont./

164 85. Just like the foregoing is the utopia of those who imagine the Indians absolutely exempt from sickness and only infected by contact with our civilization. Nothing could be less correct. Unfortunately, the Indians know through sad experience an infinity of endemic diseases. In addition to the generic parán and emorón, being ill or feeling bad, they call by their own names the chills of malarial fever (e-komi-ma), measles (apikoroimá), smallpox (apotoimá), dysentery (kuasuk and uenarok), diarrhea with blood (muenimá), whooping cough and other coughs (arautaimá), tuberculosis (apueká), the common cold (atón), anchylostomiasis (motó, poriké, etc.), swelling of the arm (achín and yeuán muré), biliousness (e-vepiká), blindness (enumí), and even venereal diseases in general (samoroní). All these words are not foreign or brought in, which indicates with considerable likeliness that the diseases that they denote were not either.

Concerning these diseases, Father Las Casas himself, who was not in the least suspicious when stating something against the Indians, says that the natives of the Antilles confessed to him that those illnesses were /39/ already known among them before Christians came to their lands.

278 86. But, at least, it will be said, are not these Indians perfect herbists, with a knowledge of an infinite number of plants and their curative properties? This is, as well, a gratuitous and false supposition.

87. It is true that the Indians know an infinite number of plants; and there is no doubt that, given their talent for observation and their intimate contact with the other kingdoms of nature, they would have discovered many of the therapeutic properties of plants if medicine had been for them something separate from magic and sickness something apart from the maleficent influence of occult beings. But the opposite occurred: imagination sidetracked their observation and animism diverted them from physicism.

/39 cont./

755 Therefore, the Indians, scorning natural observation, go with blind faith to their piaches or enchanters, who are considered doctors or curers and never as priests. Pliny the Elder has already made note of and written: "No one doubts that magic was born from medicine. In primitive societies the magician was, above all, a physician." Very correctly did Proodt also write that "as primitive men attribute sickness to the action of a spirit, they are not content with the simple administration of infusions or powders."

757 177 The use of a few tisanes, purgatives, and emollients, of a few shell poultices with more or less tannic acid (and as a result disinfectant), and the application of formic acid directly by means of the bite of ants or wasps, all of these almost certainly were learned from the Creoles. In any case this constitutes an exception in their medicinal regimen and in their mentality or means of conceiving of diseases and their remedies.

755 88. The typical way in which the Indians cure themselves is by means of the tarénmurú (charms or magic prayers) and the practices of the piaches, which are of the same sort. We might, perhaps, have a chance to return to the subject of these charms; for the time being let it suffice to say that they are "a short prayer addressed to a piá or pachí (trunk or head) of a certain animal, plant, or legendary being, possessor of qualities or power against the evil which it is desired to dispel, or with the ability to produce some good which is desired, or the vehicle of some disease which it is desired might enter into another." These words are pronounced over some receiving-transmitting object and in addition it is blown upon, not with the mouth but with the nose; this also gives rise to the name of blowing (tarén), which is given to the charms. These, as has been seen, can either be beneficial, tarem-bá, or maleficent, mui-má. /40/

89. For the greater clarity of what is herein said, I shall copy a Pemón charm and shall transcribe another Egyptian one,

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

- Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the
538 case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

This is the so-called taurón, or

291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health) which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosug-
787 gestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies. In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth, meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation, but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
[171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

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755 96. The piaches do not customarily work for a fixed price, but the Indians, according to their ability to pay and their gratitude and according to the good or bad results of the cure, make them gifts as they freely wish.

756 The piaches believe in the obligation to abstain from cer-
755 tain foodstuffs, principally on the day of and the night before they must perform.

755 In the cases I witnessed I did not see that the piaches were
787 /44/ real ventriloquists or that they "were talking big," as the ancients would say; they only imitated in an ordinary way different voices, with the help of the hand and quickly changing posture and place. (Darkness was a help to me in following all their tricks and illusions, both in this and when they pretended to go up in the air and down again.)

755 97. All the Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, believe themselves capable of curing by means of charms and at the
755 same time capable of producing evil effects; but naturally they
756 believe the charms and magical blowings cast by the piaches are much more efficaceous and fearsome. Among the latter as well there are degrees; and they usually consider to be the wisest of those initiated in other tribes or coming from them. For this reason the piaches sometimes say that they can do nothing to cure certain diseases, because they have been caused by other piaches who live in distant regions and possess other secrets unknown by them.

538 98. In tales and legends, more than in real life, the
756 Indians consider their piaches to be diviners and miracle workers. Thus for example, they attribute to Chirikavai or Apakavai: that he carved off human limbs and put them back on as one would put together and take apart a clock; that he turned his yachí and his pana-darí (dependents) into birds; that he was able to interpret their songs as if they were conversations of people; finally, that he ascended to the sky preceded by his nephew Marité (Scorpion) and that with his equipment and his limbs he created several constellations, among them Tamuekán,

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538 or the Pleiades. The Indians also say that he converted his wife
756 into a little melero /"honey dealer"/ dog, his little son into a frog, and that the spawning of fish at the beginning of the period of heavy showers of rain coincides with the day when Chirikavai hit the ceiling of the sky with a great shaking, thus giving rise to the storms and showers of the winter.

Of Maichapué, another of the legendary piaches, they say that he converted little pieces of cassava and ají into a number of birds that might alert him to the nearness of his enemies, that he was helped by his yachí in the difficult undertakings to which he was submitted as a test by his father-in-law, Anhuoná or Etitó (king of the two-headed vultures), in payment for his daughter, whom he had stolen away by astutely pretending to be a decomposing corpse.

756 Not long ago the Indian, Daniel Karoi, a resident of Santa
[115] Teresita de Kavanayén and his sister Luisa, who came from the Tiriká River, told me that their grandfather had been /45/ a piache and that he lighted his pipe without needing fire and that he could rise and play the part of the mureiras if he were a real monkey. I do not know with certainty up to what point the piaches' deceptions can go, but I do not believe -- from what I have seen -- that these go beyond childish and easily uncovered tricks; I deduce this from the great admiration which they manifest for our magic tricks and little tricks of combination and prestidigitation.

000 99. This brief study of the piache will once more convince my readers that when imagination replaces intelligence and phantasmagorias replace reality, among Indians they can come to be a fertile source not only of tales and legends, but also of falsified religion, falsified medicine, etc. Therefore, Coué wrote quite correctly although with obvious exaggeration: "it is not will which makes them work, but imagination." And A. Bouyssonie also wrote that "magic is a materialistic falsification of religion."

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100. The colleague who asked me the question about the piaches' arts and tricks particularly consulted me about my opinion concerning the possible conflict or the possible opposition between the piaches' ideas and Christian ones and about the correctness or not of administering our sacraments to them.

My personal opinion is that the piaches are neither more nor less fit to receive our Christian teachings than other Indians and with these teachings the sanctifying sacraments of baptism, confession, communion, matrimony, etc. I do not find any essential conflict between their beliefs and ours, which could make the sacraments invalid or illicit; I believe that all that is needed is to complete and modify some of their beliefs. I believe also that the Indians, like other simple people, do not handle ideas as do more logical and intellectual people, by comparing and analyzing, and as a result, letting some ideas lead to others; I believe rather that they proceed by stratifying ideas, that by placing them in different planes they do not seem to be contradictory, although they might sometimes really be so.

There would occur, according to this opinion of mine, in the intellectual order, what happens in matters of garments, which is, that many Indians under our clothing retain their old garters, bracelets, and loin-cloths, and of course, tattooing cannot be changed like a shirt.

101. It is clearly necessary to get rid of the idea that the piaches are invokers of Satan or the devil, that they offer /46/ sacrifices to the devil, or that they are possessed by him when they are in the trance of piachería. They can well be possessed by the spirit of tobacco or of other vegetal plants; and they can be called invokers of the devil, or better, of devils, taking this word in its etymological sense of genii or personifications of natural forces. This idea can be seen worked out more thoroughly in the chapter that we shall devote to the study of the religion of these Indians.

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756 114 When I write this I refer not only to former writers, who wrote in the old way, but also to many modern writers who copy these old ones and continue thinking in their simplistic manner in this so important matter. I refer particularly to this definition of piache, which I accidentally found in the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Piache. Tricksters who presided at the cult of the two divinities Katchimana and Jolokiamo worshiped by the Indians of Guiana. They declared their oracles by means of a sacred trumpet."

Of the Indians of Guiana, and precisely of those who live in the very heart of this region, I am writing these pages. I shall let pass this calling the piaches tricksters, since they are (for us) something of the sort; but this matter of "divinities" and of the "sacred trumpet" and of the "oracles" are pure inventions or poor interpretations. I don't know what the Katchimana can be, but I am sure that this Jolokiano /sic/ is a transcription and erroneous interpretation of Iurok-yamá, foxes, a name whose semantic extension is not difficult to attribute to our Christian ideas learned by the Indians. One should not put new wine in old skins, but old wine must be put in new skins: old information should be classified and made to fit modern standards and methods in the sciences.

Chapter XII

What Is There to the Magical Arts of the Indians?

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102. Backward or retrogressive? 103. Opposition of magic and religion. 104. The eternal struggle. 105. Magical fear and conjury vs. reverential love and invocation. 106. The philosophy of magic. 107. Deductions about homeopathy. 108. Idem. about sympathy.

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102. Speaking, not of humanity in general, but of some tribes called primitive and which are also isolated, because they seem to live not attached to the common trunk, there exists among /47/ ethnographers the question of whether their state, and in particular their magic, is the first stage or rather the regression or degeneracy of their religiousness. Without prejudging or scorning this question, what is certain is that magic, just because it is a materialization or naturalization of the religious spirit, is the first and most visible thing that strikes one in individuals and societies. And this is the reason that has moved us to respond in the first place to several questions which have been asked us about the magic of these Indians, leaving for later other questions about their religion.

103. Magic and religion, although they are opposed like the obverse and reverse sides of a medal, and even self-contradictory, just like the plant itself and a parasite which covers it and can come to suffocate and kill it (to use the expression of Msgr. Le Roy), both have a single base, a single root, to wit, the innate religiousness of the human spirit.

As we noted when dealing with illnesses of the Indians, magic has as its foundation an inexact observation of natural phenomena -- if we fix on medicine and the other natural sciences -- and the error of considering imagination and its phantoms to be intelligence and reason, referring to philosophy and religion.

This is also Henry's theory. So that we are here dealing with a supplantation or substitution in the sense of the popular saying: "He who does not believe in God believes in the devil." Such is also the opinion of Marañón, who says: "In the soul of the peoples, the absence of truth and clarity does not leave an empty hole, but its space is rather occupied and filled in immediately by obscurity and error. It suffices to measure the superstition of a people to have, by simple subtraction, the measure of their ignorance."

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690 Every religious concept presupposes or includes within itself these three motivations: reverential love, supplication, and gratitude. Magic, by contrast, hides beneath its cloak these three opposites: fear or dread, imperative conjury, and selfish material interest. For this reason magic has been called a vain religion, that is, hollow, empty, with only an outward appearance, a mere hull or husk. "Magic," says Grandmaison, "is nothing but formulism, pure self-interest. Science without a basis, falsification or corruption of true religion, deals with its object without respect and without love."

104. Fundamentally, thus, religion and magic represent the eternal struggle between the spiritual and material, soul and body, sincerity and hypocrisy, formulism and realism: worship in spirit and in truth as opposed to worship in this or that exact /48/ place and with many artful words, to rend the heart as opposed to rending clothes, to offer a contrite and humble heart as opposed to offerings in the spirit of ransom and bribery, to avoid hypocrisy and not pharisaic lightness, to fear not that which kills the body but that which demoralizes the spirit, to avoid not the legally impure contact with certain things or others, nor eating with unwashed hands, but the action, the word, and even the intimate evil desire, etc., etc., according to the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

776 782 105. The result is that the Indians do not love but fear the disembodied spirits or orodán and mauarí, as possible agents of purely physical ills; neither do they invoke them with submission or reverence; they try to disarm or bribe them with material things, which they desire or fear the same as we do; finally, these spirits are not offended by immoral actions but by physical actions, nor do they take over the evil person, but the weak, the sick, etc.

789 The sorcerer does not supplicate, properly speaking, any superior being; he believes that he knows a means by which some things or natural causes work upon others or find themselves obliged to work. As a certain author states, magic is the art

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789 of subduing the forces of nature by certain acts which only affect it in appearance. And thus we have among these Indians the fact that the charms never use deprecative or desiderative formulas, but the aseverative present with exaggerating and emphatic particles multiplied to the extreme.

000 106. But the world of magic also has its philosophy or its principles, true or false, since in every human mind there exists innately the idea of causality, belief in a link of effect or cause, in constant succession and in permanent laws. In the matter which concerns us, Frazer's theory to explain the phenomenon or the world of magic is based upon the supposition that in the mind of those who practice it, whether privative /sic/ or not, the following two notions exist:

a) That which is similar produces that which is similar; an effect is similar to its cause; that which is similar influences that which is similar.
b) Things which have been in contact continue to influence each other mutually even after having lost the physical contact; the part influences the whole.

789 This theory has a complete and perfect application among the Pemón Indians.

These two principles, true only in appearance, are extremely fertile in true, undisguised conclusions; /plate appears here/ /49/ they should be kept very much in mind, since they are still dominant in many minds -- both of natives and of non-natives -- in all of the fields of human activity. The belief that that which by operating upon the image, the name, the part, etc., operates upon what they represent or the whole is so deeply rooted in humanity that it maintains itself at the side of religion and despite all of its prohibitions.

107. From the first of the principles stated come the magical practices of homeopathy, mimetic or imitative.

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Native maloca under construction.

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789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

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109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought-out arguments and

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experiments, and other times with wings as light as those of a butterfly, with imagination and phantasmagorias, it touches here, touches there, and sticks its nose into every place and applies its ear to every noise. And in spite of religion, which tells us that God has neither counselors nor secretaries, restless human curiosity tries to break the book of the seven seals by more or less magic means. From this results divination, which begins with popular riddles or conundrums, goes on to literary crossword puzzles and charades, and arrives....at the invocation of spirits /51/ with the wish of making them our dominguillos /a toy with a round bottom which, when you knock it over, always comes back up/ or our bagpipes, which we blow up full of wind and cause to play whenever we want.

110. Among Indians, neither more nor less. "Principia rerum subsistunt" is a true axiom on every plane. I mean to say that Indians, men like ourselves, with the same tendencies and innate faculties as we have, must also perform the same acts as we do, with the slight variations imposed by the environment in which they live. This great principle, which I like to prove in every answer, oral or written, to the questions that are asked me regarding the Indians, I have observed that it customarily displeases, and in a sense disenchants, as if it were desired that the Indians and their affairs should be different from ourselves and our affairs.

I have often been answered in the form foreseen by the illustrious missionary Msgr. Le Roy for those of us who apply the criterion of more or less equality among all races: "But those Indians whom you show us are not the Indians whom we are seeking: some primitive Indians, scarcely risen above animality, without any notion of morality, without modesty, without any concept of the soul, and worshipers of anything...." And we find ourselves obliged to answer with this same author: "In effect, those primitive savages for whom you are looking do not exist anywhere, and it might even be that they have never existed: in any case it is impossible to find them in the

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present-day world, just as it was not possible in the past." All of this, adds Msgr. LeRoy, comes as a result of the portrait which frequently has been given us of savages, which is a portrait of pure fantasy, made by innocent or malevolent a priorists in defense of preconceived theories. "The most savage savage is a man like any other, who has his theory of life, his philosophy, his civilization, and his ways of life in conformity with the environment."

Thus, before answering the question categorically, we must remember among ourselves, spiritualism, trying to supplant not only religion but even medicine and other sciences; necromancy or the invocation of the dead; astrology; oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams, so frequently practiced by those who play lotteries and which still is one of the uses of playing cards; moths fluttering about candles of old or modern light bulbs, which foretell the arrival of letters; a humming in the ears, a sign that they are talking about us; and a hundred other things.

787 111. Having written this occasional composition and having undergone this /52/ examination of conscience, I say that, of the many means used for attempted divination, I only find three used by the Indians:

1) Invocation of the dead; 2) Augury, or the interpretation of natural events as presages; 3) Oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams (or fantasies) as omens or premonitions.

775 Individuals are convinced that the spirit survives and that
787 this spirit can return among them. To this it must be added that hallucinations were (and are) very frequent among primitives and among ignorant people and among those who live in isolated areas. There in the loneliness of the countryside, far from the noise and distractions of the great concentrations of the cities, there occurs what was noted by B. Dupiney de Vorepierre, that "under the emotion of the loss of a being who was beloved by us, exalted imagination often shows so vividly the person mourned, that we believe we see him before our eyes, speak to him, and hear him."

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eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

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787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

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787 coincidences. But even these latter, being mindful of "just in case" and "precaution is not cowardice," in practice act as if they were believers. Especially concerning dreams, which sometimes are so vivid and impressive /54/ all stick to tradition and it can be said of them what someone said of simple people in general: "It doesn't matter to them what they see by day and they are so preoccupied with what passes through their heads during sleep at night."

Chapter XIV

What Is This about Couvade and Asarakpué?

116. The word and the custom. 117. False observations. 118. The four degrees of the couvade. 119. The custom is general. 120. Proposed explanations. 121. What the Pemón say about this custom of theirs. 122. The practice of asarakpué.

846 116. This exotic (French) word couvade or covada has come into our language and now all ethnologists commonly use it; other words invented to replace it, such as empollamiento /"incubation"/, simply do not fit. Foreign in its origin, this word speaks to us of a custom strange and even ridiculous when studied only superficially.

The couvade consists of the special cares which a father and a mother must take to assure good procreation (eugenics) and development of their infant children. As the Pemón say: Mure yun-pe, mure dam-pe enan dau, esenman naua ("When one is the father or mother of a child, one must be careful in the following things"). And to this is added a long and detailed list of precautions.

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846 117. From this simple definition it can be deduced that the ethnologists who attribute these precautions to the father alone are in error. At least among the Pemón and other related tribes, it seems positively certain to me that the precautions are common to both parents. Could it be that, since these precautions in mothers do not attract attention because they are a common thing, the writers noticed only the males?

But in addition to paying attention only to the males, they have even gone to the extreme of inverting these terms, writing, for example: "The covada consists in the father, a little before the child is born, getting into bed, going on a diet, resting, and doing everything that a parturient woman does, and he is attended by women pretending that he has given birth. By contrast, the woman would get up after the birth and dedicate herself to her usual domestic chores."

Wise ethnologists, whose authority we cannot question /55/ state, regarding certain tribes, that the men went so far in their precautions and anxieties to avoid every danger to the newborn and for other reasons which we shall later see, as to stay in bed as if they really had given birth. But in none of these have I read up to the present time that, inversely, the woman should not stay in bed at least a while nor not take other precautions.

This conclusion is perhaps also an exaggeration to which they have resorted in their eagerness to contrast the affectations of city women with the natural state observed in country women, especially native ones. And thus, for example, Estrabón says, when talking about the Cantabrian women of Spain: "They were, these women, very tough, and it happened that when, during their work, they found themselves in labor, they went away for a while and then later, having washed and wrapped up the newborn, they returned to work."

842 As for the Pemón, although they are brave in giving birth and even in some cases refuse any help at all, and although, when surprised during a trip by childbirth, they continue the

P /55 cont./
842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such
P as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W. Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) abstinence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts; c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they themselves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position, (esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortifications, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain, all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might
C damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated
114 and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the
846 Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize him even more they washed his wounds with water and red pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month,
P when he could now eat meat and fish." Let us note once more
101 that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

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119. Before coming to the explanation of this custom, which many would prefer to call a phenomenon, because it seems so odd to them, we must note its considerable generality, only it passes unnoticed or disguised by other things. In former times this custom appears witnessed among the Asturians, Cántabrians, Vasconians, Lustianians, Corsicans, etc. Schulten, in the work which we have cited, says that such a custom "existed in the Basque country even in the last century." For some regions of Venezuela, the same custom appears noted by Lisandro Alvarado in his "Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/." It was not many months ago that a woman doctor of a large city testified to me that a mentality, such as that which we shall subsequently explain, existed in many people even in the middle class and in the upper levels of society.

120. What type of mentality presides in those who practice this custom and what end are they trying to achieve through it? Many are the explanations proposed by ethnologists and among them are the following:

a) That this was an invention or an imposition of societies of matriachal right in order to keep the men with them during the time of giving birth, which is when they most need their protection and care. But this theory does not explain the two latter degrees of the couvade.

b) That this was a means thought out by the men at a time when polyandry, or the vagus concubitus, existed so that a certain person might be recognized as the true and real progenitor. This theory presupposes what perhaps never existed; that epoch when men wandered through the forests like herds of antelopes does not seem to have existed except in those minds fond of legends. This hypothesis moreover does not explain why the same rite or custom exists in absolutely monogamous tribes and those which are absolutely not polyandrous.

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846 121. On top of these and other theories, the Pemón Indians,
829 who practice the couvade, themselves have explained to me the reason and extent. Therefore, as far as they are concerned, there is no doubt that the reason for this is the following. They say that: /five plates appear here/ /57/ a) "every alteration of the health of the father or of the mother, any work which might lead to tiredness, any fatigue or disturbance of the progenitors, etc., has repercussions on the newborn, who are a part of them." They believe, thus, in sympathetic influence, to which they suppose children to be extremely sensitive and which has repercussions on the child, as a part of a whole, from the parents.

Men as scientific as Alexis Carrel believe that there is some truth in this and thus there is an explanation of certain phenomena of telepathy, prescience, etc.

846 b) The Pemón add to this another reason and this is that,
776 according to them, the potorí or piá, each of them the engenderer of a definite species of animal and plant, on being cut down or destroyed, take vengeance on human sprouts or offspring. Another thing is that the mauarí and other spirits are bothered by certain actions of men, such as, for example, by the rolling of stones down hills, and then they also take vengeance on their little children, who are easier prey for their anger and their evil influences. This second cause is, thus, belief in the harmful influence of invisible spirits and of the progenitors and, for this reason, defenders of living beings, whoever they may be /sic/.

843 It will suffice to transcribe a few precautions, among the
784 very many taken down from their dictation, so that the two principles which have been stated may be quite clear:

1. A woman who is enceinte must not eat cassava which has been returned to the house from which it came, so that, when she gives birth the child may not turn back to the breast.

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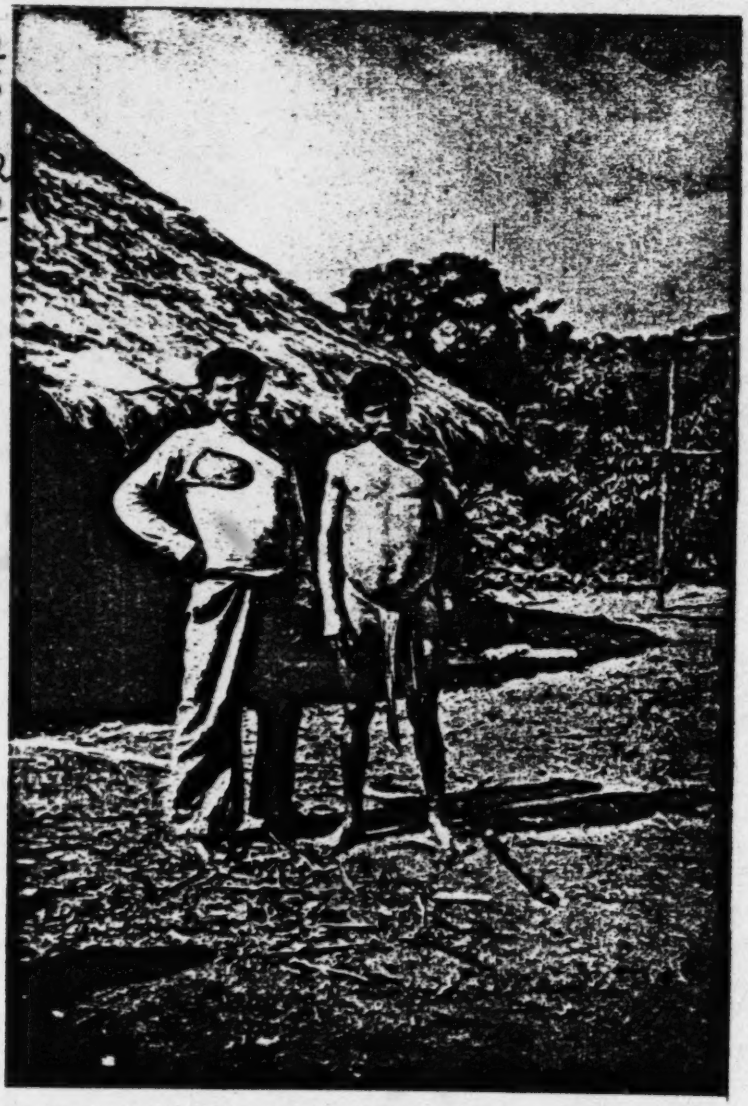

Authentic Sapé Indians, who live on the banks of the Karún River.

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

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784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat paují
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the paují has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

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765 As a result of this they must withdraw from dealing with
753 others; they must not join in to eat other people's food nor offer to others food prepared for them, since they would make them sick, causing them to have stomach-aches, intestinal decomposition, and similar things. I even recall having heard them often attribute to this diarrhea and intestinal worms in children, who are weaker and of more exquisite sensitivity to feel evil influences and vibrations, to say it in one way, sympathetic.

Keep in mind that this infection is not due only nor principally to physical contact with the dead person, but to sympathetic or physio-psychological contact; so that, even at a distance and far away from the dead relative, this will influence equally all his kindred.

[302] In addition to the observances noted above, mourners shave their heads completely and paint themselves with annatto or achiote, but the women are left with a little lock of hair on top.

When one moon or more has passed, those affected by the asarakpué wash themselves, together with all of their implements and clothing, using verbasco lye. And thus they can return to common, everyday life.

[783] It would be too much to say that at present the Pemón Indians observe this with all rigor; against the natural protest of the piaches and the old people, the younger generations are losing these beliefs and customs.

100 Both practices, those of the couvade and those of the asarakpué, are quite similar to the Mosaic legal prescriptions concerning the impurity of parturient women and concerning those who touch corpses; thus it can be seen that in past centuries, when ethnology was still in diapers, there was an attempt to discover by means of these a close link between the Indians and the Jews.

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Chapter XV

How Do the Pemón Celebrate Their Marriages?

123. Between the couvade and the asarakpué. 124. Puberty and its mysterious process. 125. The three ages of girls. 126. Confinement and diet. 127. Reason for these and observances. 128. Silence and whipping. 129. Stories and legends. 130. The age of the papuek. 131. Advice to the marriageable. 132. Betrothal. 133. Absence of marriage ceremonies and the generosity of the Indians toward their in-laws. 134. Fidelity and constancy in marriage. 135. Polygamy and exogamy. 136. The Caracas Indians.

123. Between the couvade and the asarakpué, which is equivalent to saying between birth and death, there exists a most fundamental fact in the life of human society and that is marriage, or family consociation, true axis and foundation of all other organization and consociation, and lowest limit of separation for which there does not exist anything historically certain. But this fact, about which they question me, asking at the same time for picturesque details, presupposes another and this is the fact or marvelous phenomenon of puberty, by means of which the human race, like the rest, acquires the almost divine power of producing other, similar beings from itself; in such a way that the individual reproduces himself and the species is perpetuated. Therefore, it has been said beautifully: "love through begetting leaps over graves."

With no less verisimilitude than poetry, puberty has been compared with springtime, full of beautiful flowers, in which color and fragrance are rivals; and with the butterfly, which breaks out of the cocoon, which has been his prison. However, the passage to puberty, so alluring and flowery, is done by a mysterious process of profound transformations, which are particularly impressive to women, by the presence and loss of

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, ratō, mayikō, ratō, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

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881 b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not be-
[302] come prey to amariuak;

c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills,
881 where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by ratő;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruat-
841 ing Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no
521 one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of
[593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

/61 cont./
881 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip
593 her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised ratő, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how
576 much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

837 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; [684] although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good." [563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

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582 people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying
[563] that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want
P to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry
C Indian men.

584 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the
585 ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe
171 a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

/64 cont./

600 142. Peace to men of good will. 143. Cases and more cases. 144. A very significant story.

776 137. The Indians have the notion of Kanaima up to the marrow of their bones, and there is no reason, however convincing it be, capable of persuading them to the contrary. And when one wishes to convince them that there are no such Kanaimas, nor such things, and that it is all imagination and fear that they have, they propose so many cases and with such circumstances that they are capable of convincing anybody who is not really up on things.

When traveling along the road they see its footprints -- the Kanaima walks on tiptoe or on the heel so that its path may not be recognized --; just the other day an Indian who was in the field grabbed Kanaima and then his spine began to hurt; a certain Indian woman, going for water to the ravine, saw Kanaima and got sick; another man, while hunting, heard its whistles and its cries like those of a child; finally, the Indians in a certain village had to move their dwelling because of the abundance of Kanaimas, and those in another one killed two or three Kanaimas with machetes. Such conversations on this subject are the daily bread of the Indians.

776 829 138. And although their ideas on this matter may not be very unanimous nor very logical, in general they state the following:

That the Kanaimas are Pichaukok Indians; they are not mythological beings or demons, but Indians of another, pre-existent race in these regions.

That the Kanaima are many; that toward the Venamo, Iru-tepui, Kama, etc. -- more remote and uninhabited regions -- they live in stone houses or under stones.

That the Kanaima generally does not attack Indians when there are several of them but when meeting someone alone who is straggling behind.

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829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

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Beautiful views of plain, mountain, and sky in the Gran Sabana.

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600 140. Up to here we have said what the Indians think; later my readers will see what the missionaries think. First, allow us this question: Could it be true, as some assert, that the Indians with these and other ideas intimately rooted in their being are happier believing in the piaches and not in the Fathers, in Kanaima and not in Jesus Christ, living in a religion of pure fear and not in the love of Christianity? We do not yield the point to him who says such a thing; and it seems to us that those who so state know the Indians only on the outside, like students who know books by the back, or by the cover, as others say.

776 141. He who knows how to read between the lines will easily agree with us in these ideas, which have let themselves be glimpsed in the very statements that the Indians make, although incoherent, as though based on imagination.

1. The Kanaima is reminiscent of the more or less remote battles that these Indians sustained with those of other /66/ tribes, or perhaps internal wars, and in which they frequently made use of ambushes, disguises, etc.

2. The Kanaima is a typical case of the psychology of fear or of hysteria, which makes them see and hear what does not exist and to believe in their own lies and to be frightened of fictitious creations, like a certain type of animal which is frightened of its own shadow.

3. Frequently the true Kanaimas are the Indians themselves, the most evil and immoral of them, who take advantage of the fear that the others have of this scarecrow in order to take vengeance, to rob and to kill; then they say that it was Kanaima and thus they are free from punishment and have no responsibility in the eyes of the others.

So that these three causes: the stories of bloody fights, perhaps not very far in the past; the great imagination and innate timidity of the Indian; and a few real cases of treacherous attacks, have come to create this phantom of the Kanaima, which obsesses the Indians and of which it would be difficult to free them even over a long period of time.

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142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this ma[illegible] he
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

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159 himself in the field. But this time playing Kanaima did not
776 serve him any purpose, since his companion recognized him
578 and, far from being frightened, fell upon him with blows of a stick, so that, going for wool, he came back fleeced and, with his back redder than annatto, ran off to hid his sad fate.

538 144. The Indians themselves, for whom it is easier to let the imagination run to create a tale than to tie together the
776 ends of various facts and ideas to form a well-reasoned out argument, have in their folklore this extremely significant story:

In a certain place there lived two Indians, each one married to the other's sister. During the night they heard Kanaima's whistle, who, or so it seemed, was going around the house with the intention of catching someone. One of the women with the greatest secrecy got down from the hammock and began to spin cotton. The Kanaima whistled again: Soé, soé. The Indian woman opened the door as though to throw out the seeds, and she saw the Kanaima hiding behind a tree. Then speaking in a loud voice in order to cover her intention, she said to her husband: Here is a rat which is eating up my cotton seeds, come shoot it with an arrow. Her husband leaped out of the hammock, picked up his bow, and approached his wife; she said in his ear: The Kanaima is there behind that pole, shoot it. The Kanaima was watching, fooled, to see what would come of that scene, when all of a sudden he received a blow with an arrow on his forehead. Protected by the darkness of the night, he went running to his rancho; to hide what had happened he told his mother that he was shooting at a toucan and that the arrow had come back and wounded him on the forehead.

When day came the Indian woman went to her mother's house and found her brother sick; her mother explained to her that in trying to shoot a toucan he had wounded himself. She returned to her house and told this to her husband. He suspected

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538 that he could be the Kanaima of the night before and went to
776 see his brother-in-law; he wanted to see the wound but he resisted showing it to him; then he was even more suspicious and by force he tore off the bandage. The arrow was still stuck in; then he recognized that it was his own and, pulling it out of him violently, he said:

"This arrow is mine; you were not shooting toucans, /68/ you were trying to act like Kanaima, and this happened so that you will learn a lesson."

And let what has been said suffice, since the proverb warns us that "intelligentibus, pauca."

Chapter XVII

Are the Indians Shameless or Modest?

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145. Clothing and virtues, modesty and morality. 146. Individual morality. 147. Modesty seeks clothing. 148. Nudists and Freudians. 149. Accidental morality. 150. From the word to the act. 151. Knowledge of morality or ethics. 152. Polygamy. 153. Negative and positive morality.

145. This question, asked perhaps in a merely physiological sense, gives us the basis for dealing at the same time with the morality of the Indians, since, according to what St. Paul said, clothing is the image of internal virtues and modesty, of moral decency.

156 146. In the first place, it is clear that one cannot talk of the Indians in the plural without making any distinction, as one can about mice, since for them, as for everyone else, there is value in the saying that "not even the fingers of the hand are the same." Every individual among them, simply because they

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156 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "their faces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/. Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

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/69 cont./

148. The propagandists of nudism as a very natural and comfortable thing should have seen or tested somewhat the preference of all kinds of insects for the parts that modesty hides in order to be conscious of how erroneous their theories are.

In error a number of ethnographers and Freudian writers state that clothes have the function of aphrodisiacs (to veil for more attraction), based on the fact that the Indians use adornments even on their miserable guayucos. It is true that this phenomenon does occur indirectly; but with better discernment before them did Cicero say that clothing, used at first to satisfy necessity, later served for adornment and seduction; thus it is a natural law of man in his dwelling, food, language, and in all other things, to mix what is sweet and attractive with what is useful and necessary.

291 In any case, all theories aside, what is certain is that the Indians in their rustic clothing, more in their words by means of euphemisms, and even more in their acts, which they resolutely guard, are in general modest.

149. In the moral system, developing the comparison which we set forth at the beginning, there occurs the same thing as in the physiological system. There is a positive, accidental morality which is based on and confused with customs or practices; in this regard the famous saying of Pascal comes to mind: "True and good on this side of the Pyrenees; false and bad over on the other side." But there is another universal morality independent of the practices and the will of man, the same in all geographic latitudes hither and beyond the seas, invariable in the midst of the variability of times and of climes, which strikes us and his upon the soul like a categorical imperative, just as corporal light strikes us through the eyes. This is simply natural morality, which accompanies every man as instinct accompanies every animal. /70/

150. It is true that practice does not always arrive at the level of the moral concept or knowledge of duty, but this is a failing common to all men. The saying, "video meliora

/70 cont./

proboque, deteriora sequor," is a truth from the days in the Garden of Eden up to the present. And this is because from the desire to the deed, from the word to the act, there is a great gap. "It is necessary to confess that, even when we know what is good, we do not follow it, some out of laziness and others because we postpone virtue in favor of pleasure," many centuries ago the Latin poet, the Greek Euripedes, wrote.

151. We recognize, thus, the deficiencies of the Indians in the practice of good, but we affirm roundly their knowledge of morality. This would be a good occasion to repeat what was said by Msgr. Le Roy and previously referred to, but I am going to copy, rather, what Father Topinard says in his /Antropologia /Anthropology/, so that no one will think that we are talking just for the sake of talking or beating the air.

"Man," says the French writer, "is in no way distinct from animals as regards family: he is monogamous or polygamous and woman polyandrous like them.... Man unites, as they do, without scruple with his own relatives or relatives by marriage.... The father is the master of the life of his children, practices infanticide at will, without having to be circumspect, just as the son later gets rid of his old and infirm parents, who are a burden to him." This is what is called reciting by heart, not to say without understanding.

577 Much to the contrary, lying, stealing, disobeying parents on the part of minors, simple adultery (not to mention incest), simple homicide (not to mention parricide and infanticide), etc., seem to be firmly condemned in the daily life and the oral literature of the Indians.

595 152. Let us speak in particular of polygamy. With regard to this question not long ago an unperceptive journalist wrote that we missionaries had managed to clothe the Indians, but that we had not managed to clothe them in our Christian morality. With statistics in hand we can prove that polygamy, in spite of not being clearly reproved in the natives' moral code and in spite of having been quite widely practiced in

/70 cont./

595 ancient times, today does not reach the figure among the Pemón Indians of even three per cent. This is due, and we must recognize it, to the leavening of Christianity which the missionaries have worked into this native dough for several generations from Brazil and the Guianas. Thus, in all, concerning the polygamy of the Indians, we must say with Msgr. Jorge Caruana that, as they practiced it, it is preferable to the prevalent pandering and divorce which is sanctioned /71/ in so many countries, since the latter certainly is polygamy and polyandry in fact, although not simultaneous but successive.

000 153. Let there still be heard this other statement by Topinard: "Only man must have the notion of duty. Could this be true?... His most certain criterion, 'do not do unto others what you do not want them to do unto you,' is as applicable to animals as it is to man. The dog knows that in order not to be bitten he must not to bite, and he operates accordingly. He also has his morality." The dog neither knows such a thing nor learns it as morality. In any case, this is only the negative part of morality, thou shall not hurt. Where is the positive part, thou shalt love, kindness to strangers, self-sacrifice to meet the needs of others?

I believe that the curiosity of the one who asks this question must be satisfied. We shall not get into minute details because the nature of this publication does not allow it and because we believe that what we have said is sufficient for those who are going to the Indians in search of the truth and without preconceptions.

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Chapter XVIII

Are the Indians Grateful or Ungrateful?

154. A universal complaint. 155. Beggary. 156. Ingratitude through ignorance. 157. The legend of Makunaimá and of the Government. 158. There are no gifts among Indians. 159. Practical advice. 160. Pleasant memories.

154. One of the proverbs most widely spread against the Indians is the one which is contained like gall in its bladder in the thousand times repeated quatrain:

The Indian flees from work
And looks for idleness:
Where they beat him up, he stays,
Where they pay him, he goes away.

431 577 This matter of ingratitude is more than a common, universal complaint of all against all others. And the fact is that since "gratitude is an interminable debt," -- (for which reason it is very correctly said that money is worth more than favors), many make excessive use of their gifts, by always and endlessly asking for the loan of services. As a result of which there exists that other little verse:

"Give him always, don't give him one;
You haven't given him anything," /72/

which is a two-edged blade, which cuts equally ingrates and the excessively demanding.

155. Another very similar thing and one which many confuse with ingratitude is excessive asking for favors, from which doubtless missionaries and Indians suffer. However, I [123] myself, who a great many times have suffered the bother of this defect (?) of the Indians through not being able to remedy

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful,
829 as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

2:Armellada--96a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

The Gran Sabana, an area of luxurious vegetation and of the finest fruits, as is shown by the example you have before you.

/73 cont./

431 123 437 Practice has taught us not to accept any gift from them or to try to pay them back immediately with another gift; since were we to do otherwise 50 years later they would ask us for a corresponding payment. And this does not only apply to gifts offered by the natives to civilized persons, but also to those that they make among themselves. As a result the most reflective and delicate Indians (and there are such), when they are guests, try to pay back their hosts by helping them in their usual chores, bringing some game or fish, carrying firewood or water, etc. This observation has been expressly made to me by them and shows the delicacy of some of them not to be obligated and in others the fear of being recriminated for favors received completely gratis.

159. With respect to the matter under consideration, we must reiterate as very practical advice in dealing with the natives the following:

1. Not to accept any gift without the appropriate paying back of it. /74/
2. The best way to be freed of their demands, when this is a nuisance to us and we don't have any way of quieting it, is for us to ask for anything they may have.
3. When we stay among them we must lend a hand with the common loads or the expenses of food, and thus we shall be free from their recriminations.

123 437 On a certain occasion some Indians of a certain place made me a gift of some pineapples, which I immediately had peeled and divided among them themselves. Hardly had they eaten when the splendid donor came to ask me for bread; the pineapples belonged to the women and they wanted some little combs, which I didn't have. Then I divided among them all a half pound of chocolate, the pieces of which were a very good equivalent for the rings of pineapple; and as the women also ate, I asked them in payment for a uenek for carrying children. As they had not received the little combs, they

/74 cont./

123 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry
437 children across their chest --;but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fond-
123 ness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirits are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged
538 more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/77 cont./

512 young people) do not speak again even though they may be almost hammock to hammock.

576 And if these and other similar rules are not outstanding examples of rules of courtesy and education in social dealings, neither are they to be scorned, and they certainly are very valuable examples of their delicate feelings.

Chapter XX

Isn't the Labor of Regeneration of the Indians Useless?

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168. Anecdotes. 169. Principles. 170. Conversions 171. Practical cases. 172. Maternal love. 173. Results. 174. Proverb. 175. N. B.

168. Anecdotes. This question is one of the most frequent ones. It is usually asked concerning some Indian or other who has been adopted by some family or other and who after many years, with permission or taking an opportunity to take flight, returns among his relatives and to the life of his ancestors. The anecdotes which are told go from the simple Indian captured for free service, who is very little different from a slave, to the one who gets to be a lawyer, doctor, or priest, and who has left an elevated rank, his toga, his uniform, his vestments, to go once more to submerge himself in the barbarism from which he had come forth.

Since so many are the anecdotes related, I am not going to transcribe any of them nor am I going to deny them. I simply ask: What is the cause of these cases and these failures? If they are admitted, are they sufficient reason to state, in general, that all labor of regeneration and all attempts to incorporate them into our way of life are useless?

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100 169. Principles. Those who are interested in the education of the Indians and in elevating them in culture and assimilating them to us should remember as incontrovertible pedagogic axioms: /78/

1) that "nature does not go forward by leaps and bounds" and that therefore it is very natural that the goat runs back to the mountain and the savage to the forest;

2) that "like seeks like," and therefore, when trying to form a family in an orderly way by means of marriage, it is natural that they seek their relatives;

3) that "it is better to be a mouse's head than a lion's tail," and that therefore when they feel themselves masters of themselves and ready for the burdens of life, they wish to live in their own land rather than in a strange one.

797 170. Conversions. We are all in accord that a man must be prepared for the struggle for life for his environment and ordinarily in his own environment. The natives (individually or collectively) ought not to be extracted or transplanted permanently from their lands. From this results the failure of many of the ancient reductions /conversions/, a method which unfortunately still has its proponents and not entirely among missionaries. This is a case of the application of the theory of the least resistance: what is desired is that the Indians come to us so that we won't have to go to the Indians.

Many propose that collections of Indians be made (if not raids) and that artificial colonies be built like so many zoos.

By contrast the national laws of the Missions, and the missionaries with them, affirm that the Indian should be educated in his environment and that only transitorily can he be authorized by the Director of the Mission to visit civilized centers. Therefore the Most Excellent Señor Apostolic Vicar of the Caroní writes in his official report of 1944: "Someone might be able to advocate that they be removed into civilized towns so that the contact and living together with civilized people might work toward the completion of the work of the

/78 cont./

797 missionaries. But experience has taught us that none of those whom we have removed from the Missions has gained in morality, respect for property, sense of responsibility, and love of work." Educators should go live among those being educated and there in the face of the reality of facts and in the face of concrete difficulties, they should try to raise the level of their own and others' lives. And there is no doubt that, in a sea of difficulties, in a hostile geographic environment, etc.... they will learn (as is said of the Supreme Missionary, Jesus Christ) benignity, patience, obedience, etc.... Let the educators go in among them.

And even when educated in their environment, in their own lands, the Indians ought not to be deprived of their ancestral ways of life and of their own instruments (either intellectual or physical), but only slowly and to the degree that their adaptation to our ways and the acquisition of our instruments become possible to them.

Humboldt particularly affirms this when speaking of language as an intellectual instrument, best for conserving /79/ the psychology of the race itself and the best agglutinative agent for relating families together. And Simpson warns very correctly this same thing about physical cultural means, since there exists the danger that the Indians may forget or scorn their own arts and not learn ours, and this makes their life difficult with the anxiety to acquire what they see in others. Thus, for example, it is preferable that the Indians live naked but well fed, rather than well dressed but lacking food.

171. Practical cases. It is better (and there are examples) that the Indian use moriche sandals and tend to his chores rather than that he attempt to buy shoes at the expense of prolonged absences from his fields and his home. It is better that the Indians live dispersed, each one on his hilltop with an abundance of water, fish, and agriculture, than to live on a beautiful plain, with well lined-up houses, but lacking proper means of life. Such is the practical case of the Goagiro /Goajiro/ settlement called "Ziruma" at the doors of Maracaibo.

797 /79 cont./
[177] The Indians have very good dispositions; they do not resist our civilization, nor do they refuse to learn our language, nor are they systematically opposed to exogamy or matrimonial union with those of other areas. But they ought not to be educated for our benefit, but for their own; we should not seek our own well-being in them, but to dedicate ourselves in truth to procuring for them their own physical and moral well-being.

172. Maternal love. One of the causes which, in the native oral literature, appears as the most frequent reason for their flights, is that attraction which in our language is called patriotic love and maternal love. And it is quite clear that, far from being a reprehensible feeling, this is on the contrary a most noble feeling and one worthy of all praise. And this is what those who would like to always keep next to them the Indians whom they have educated should think of, without thinking about what greater rights the mothers who bore and nursed them have.

A short time ago an employee today attached to a Venezuelan embassy abroad said to me (without realizing that I was a missionary) that all work carried out on behalf of the Indians was useless, that missionaries were wasting time and energy and the Government its money. I replied to him that I was a missionary and that we missionaries had a higher opinion of his Indian compatriots, and that far from wasting time and energy, the fruit gathered both in former times as well as in the 20 years of this second stage of the missions was sufficient.

[113] 173. Results. Today I can refer to Cuaderno 42 of the Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, entitled Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní /Labor of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, by /80/ the Reverend Father Baltasar de Matallana. I recommend the reading of this, particularly pages 73-80, since they expound clearly and simply our mission methods and their effects.

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797 I also recommend the reading of the official report of the Most Excellent Señor Apostolic Vicar of the Caroní, previously cited, concerning "Results obtained from the natives with regard to their incorporation into national life." -- (Memoria de Relaciones Interiores /Memoirs of Interior Relations/, Year 1945, p. 355.)

And the final conclusion of all is our emphatic and energetic affirmation that the Indians are, in effect, regenerated, and against facts no theoretical arguments are of any value. And if their regeneration is slow, this is due to the fact that the economic means of which we dispose are minimal. And if there were invested in the Missions what is invested in Frontier Guards or what is invested in Foreign Colonists, and if preference were given to the aid of internal immigration of the native races rather than the expensive protection of foreign immigrants, by this date a different rooster would be crowing for us and there still would not be crowing to us the "poor man in his hut asked for liberty."

174. Proverb. A popular proverb says: "He who makes one basket makes a hundred, if he is given material and time."

Give us missionaries good economic aid; not a few miserable pennies drop by drop; set forth lavish budgets for the Indians and not just a few crumbs from the national wealth, and they will see how we missionaries, who formerly built towns along the whole length and breadth of America, will build them now as well, and they will see how the Indians will come forth "to where there is and to where they are giving."

To hope that we might attract the Indians with good words is as though we were fishing with a hook that had neither lure nor bait.

Finally, it is necessary to calm our impatience and remember that "Zamora was not won in an hour," and that the total regeneration of the Indians is a great work and undertaking involving much time and several generations. Time does not pardon what is done without it; what is done too fast rapidly goes to pieces; what is slapped together does not last.

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797 175. N. B. Reading the Memoiria y Cuenta del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores /Memoir and Account of the Ministry of Interior Relations/, I find that the budget of only one year of the work colony "El Dorado" is as high as 400,000 bolivares, a quantity which was not given to the mission of the Caroní in 13 years. /Four plates appear here./

/81/

Chapter XXI

What Material Culture Do the Indians Have?

176. Culture and civilization. 177. Material culture. 178. A brief enumeration. 179. The influence of European civilization. 180. The division of arts and labor between the sexes. 181. The fool knows more in his own house....

176. The question, such as was asked us by a "lover of the Indians," went as follows: What material civilization do these Indians have? We have changed the word civilization to culture in order to avoid confusion of words, which necessarily engenders confusion of ideas.

Civilization is a word which should be reserved to indicate the higher degrees of complete material and spiritual culture, obtained by means of organization into cities, a complete and perfect society within itself, from the union of which come forth State and Nation and will eventually come forth the International Human Community, a goal as yet not reached. By contrast, culture means culture, a dominion over nature or of the faculties themselves by means of reflection and instruments, a personal thing of man among all the beings of creation and which (at least in its lowest degrees) no man is lacking, whatever he may be and to whatever subrace he may belong, since every man is homo faber, maker and artisan.

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--107b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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First buildings covered with roof built by the Mission of Santa Elena.

/81 cont./

177. What has been said about the modesty of the Indians and (by analogy) of their moral feelings and what has been briefly noted concerning their language is enough to form an idea of their spiritual culture; now the study of their physical inventions will complete the view of their material culture, which, however rudimentary it may be, will always speak to us very highly of its authors. "The most simple and crude of instruments and utensils discovered in the areas where lived and worked men of the first ages reveals to us the presence and action of a mind which knew the relationship between cause and effect, deducing from it another relationship, that of means and end.... No animal ever did so much, crossing the Rubicon from the shore of instinct to the shore of reason." (Msgr. Fernández Valbuena.)

By the manner in which the question is asked us, it is seen that our questioner is not one of those whose opinion is that Indians are "one more animal" or that "they live like real flocks of animals," but rather that he supposes that they have some culture and wants to know how much it is. Happily, it is thus: The Pemón Indians, whose material advance is not great if compared with ours, do not fail to have an appreciable
192 culture and one worthy of study. /82/ The mere enumeration of words referring to instruments and utensils would fill several pages.

114 The material culture of these Indians has been most minutely studied by Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson in his book Los Kamarakotos and before him and with greater perfection by T. Koch-Grünberg in his monumental work Von Roroima zun Orinoco /From Roroima to the Orinoco/. (To be sure in the study of their language and psychology we do not believe these to be so correct nor can we recommend them unconditionally, especially the first of them.)

178. Well then, whoever may wish more details and minutiae can find them in the afore-mentioned authors about the things we shall hereafter list and others as well. Hunting

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

/83 cont./

And thus we have, in conclusion, the fact that the Indians, now studied in their moral ideas, now in their language, now in the artifacts made by their hands, are hundreds, nay, thousands of cubits above mere animals and are only a few degrees or steps away from our own cultural advances.

181. We have still another reflection to make and that is that, when considered in their own environment and compared one by one, the Indians in general are superior to any one of who call ourselves civilized and who believe ourselves superior to them. Thanks to the division of labor we have been able to make so much progress; but owing to that same division, in the hard and practical life of the almost virgin lands we find ourselves impotent for many things which are childs' play for the natives. They are very conscious of this and more than once I heard them shut the mouths of braggarts who were scornful of them. It is not any new truth but yet a very wise one which is contained in those two well-known proverbs: "More does the fool know in his house than the wise man knows in the house of another" and "He who dresses in another's clothing is stripped naked in the street." /84/

Chapter XXII

Do the Indians Have a Well-formed Language?

182. Transformist or evolutionist poison. 183. The eloquent araguatos! 184. Languages are learned through love and effort. 185. The labor of the indigenist. 186. The hand and the tongue. 187. Literary wealth.

182. It seems incredible that certain questions would be asked, and nonetheless they are asked. To this number belongs

/84 cont./

the question at the head of these lines and which was asked us by no less than a university student.

It is too clear; we are so poisoned by Darwinian transformism, and the primitives have been so denigrated, that only by effort are they thought of as being endowed with reason, moral knowledge, and the faculty of language. Thus, for example, we read in the sociology text of an American university: "The vocabulary of the uncultured man is not made up of more than 300 words...: The remote origins of society is the place we must go to in order to seek out the times when man is still an animal lacking words or an incipient language."

183. On the other hand, should it come to hand, and to further lower mankind and further lower the barrier which separates us from mere animals, after having almost totally denied a language to sundry tribes, they exalt the language of the howlers or araguatos /"monkeys," "mimics"/, saying that "they talk for hours on end in the midst of a general silence, followed by a great hubbub, which ceases as soon as the orator again takes the floor." (Topinard.) We wish him good ears for such eloquent words! It is already known that T. writes from hearsay (and remote at that) and that he did not have to endure as we have the howlings of such eloquent orators but a few meters away from our hammock!

In vain do we missionaries repeat that the Indians have a well-organized language, suitable for the expression not only of matters of material life, but also those of intellectual life; time and time again do they come to us with the same questions and the same prejudices, a thousand times refuted.

197 127 184. To those who ask us how we missionaries manage to reach an understanding with the Indians, I reply that love and labor conquer all and accomplish anything. As Mons. Le Roy tells us in these words: "When a missionary goes to establish himself in an unexplored country, among a tribe which he does now know, one of the first cares is to learn the language. He may perhaps find some native interpreter; but even in such a

/84 cont./

797 a case and despite the value of this aid, during the first days
122 all will seem to him /85/ confused and tangled, and in those strange cries, which break his eardrums, he will not make out sentences, words, nor even syllables. And nonetheless it is necessary to make a grammar! Days pass, the months, and years... and happily the time comes when the grammar is done. And that language which once seemed a heap of inarticulate cries, now appears with the parts of speech, with its system, its rules, its philosophy, and its beauty. The natives themselves, who speak it with surprising correctness, are incapable of saying how it was formed. This is another task which the missionary must carry out with ingenuity and reasoning."

797 185. It would seem that we missionaries and true indigenists must still fight hard in defense of the Indians in this and other matters and to refute what imperceptive writers say against the Indians, whom they only know by references or by a hasty glimpse, without a long stay among them nor daily, unhurried study.

000 First it is denied that the Indians have a well-formed language; at most they are conceded to have a tiny vocabulary without any logical grammar. And then, when they have been convinced of the falsity of these assertions, with the vain pretext of unitarianism (not to say totalitarianism), they want the native languages, whatever may be their intrinsic value, their literary productions, and the number of natives who speak them, to disappear by degrees or by force. The North Americans confess that they even went so far as to apply punishments to the children; but they confess their error and they are now on the way back while others still are going to bring punishment upon their own heads. There will come, God willing, a coexistence of Spanish with the native languages (since the Indians are neither rebellious nor incapable of learning our language); then there will come the disappearance of the latter

/85 cont./

just as Kumanagoto, Guaikerí, etc., have disappeared, but this must take place by a spontaneous, slow and natural process. What more sacred right /is there/ than the use of the mother language?

The abuse of seditious minorities must not hinder the legitimate use of minorities, who are slowly moving toward national unification so desirable on every plane.

And, since things are thus and not otherwise, since with so great zeal they are legislating about time /zones/ and zones closed to hunting and fishing so that the national fauna may not disappear and so much is being spent upon zoological parks, even with exotic examples, so much and much more ought to be done to preserve living ethnological and linguistic wealth, in museums, chairs in universities, and academies.

Somebody might like to call all this snomism but in reality it is pure and simple indigenism or Christian love for one's fellow-man. /86/ Furthermore, here in Venezuela, the question is a live and palpitating one, although without great absolute proportions, but we ought not go against the international current nor drag behind other American nations.

186. Man, recognized as the social animal par excellence, did not achieve his complete civilization except through gathering together in cities, for which he needed all of his theoretical and practical knowledge directed by the ductility or flexibility of his tongue and the turnability of his hand: Homo sapiens and homo faber. Both faculties, the most influential in the material and spiritual progress of mankind, are not lacking in any tribe. And thus Saint Paul wrote: "There are in the world many different languages; and there is no people which does not have its own."

As for those who still doubt the linguistic wealth of these Indians, I refer them to the Colección E. V. I. so that they may obtain the books therein published and take the trouble to read them; and as sure as can be they will set aside their scornful ideas about the Indians, should they perhaps have had

/86 cont./

them. And I particularly call attention to what is written in the prologue of the Diccionario Pemón on various linguistic topics.

187. Moreover this is not just a wealth of vocabulary and of grammatical forms; the Indians have their set idioms, clichés, proverbs, songs, stories, legends, and myths, that is, a whole folklore, or popular wisdom, transmitted as spiritual riches by means of lingual communication: a whole flowering, a whole harvest of fruits coming from the root of words, a whole treasure of the native soul. When, very soon the Colección E. V. I. is continued, our readers will see that we are not exaggerating.

The study of the language alone would suffice to give a very high opinion of the Indians, since, as S. de Madariaga says: "A grammar is a philosophy.... Languages, the most direct expression of the national character."

Time and again they come to us with the same question, and on occasions when they hear me discuss the richness of the vocabulary and the grammatical ductility of the language of the Pemón Indians, little would be needed for my interlocutors to call me mad or at least blinded by affection. And this has happened to me not just among befuddled people but also among people who, because of their occupation or profession, should have general knowledge and comprehension of these matters.

And (what is more regrettable), our aboriginal Indians have been defamed in this and other particulars not only by excursionists or vulgar globetrotters, who are off hunting hoaxes for fools in remote regions, which cannot be checked because of distance, but also by understanding compatriots, who talk about /87/ the Indians with the greatest scorn in the world. Always the same phenomenon: scorn or belittle what is unknown, the boldness of ignorance.

/87 cont./

Chapter XXIII

800

What Social Organization Do the Indians Have?

188. Does the organ create the medium? 189. The horde. 190. In the beginning was the family. 191. The captains or tusauá. 192. Personal influence. 193. The nonexistence of "totemism." 196. Formation of the family. 197. What organization did the Caracas have?

188. We are fed up with hearing from the evolutionists that "the need, or the environment, creates the organ"; now, turning over the disk or the plate, they say to us that "the organ creates the medium in order to operate." Thus, for instance, Dr. Topinard in his previously cited Antropología writes: "Man lives in consociation because he feels impelled toward it like many animals, because, endowed with language and high intellectual faculties, he needs to exercise them; but he also lives thus because it is easier for him to satisfy his material necessities and obtain a greater amount of well-being."

With a different, more logical, philosophy, we say that in effect the faculty tends to set itself into action, to operate; and God, who willed man to be social, gave him faculties and appetites which inclined him to form consociations. And the certain thing is that everywhere man appears associated, a condition which has earned him the name of political animal, that is, citizen, or one who tends to form cities.

189. But there is no lack of writers who, when they deal with the origins of humanity and with the savages, want to conceive of them as in an atomic state of atomic separation. And thus, for example, one of them, arrogating to himself universal representation, writes: "Sociologists sustain that in the beginning there was the horde." He goes on speaking, at this point, of the promiscuity "in the form of intercourse,

/87 cont./

890 public, without their being any stable domestic life between man and woman." He continues discoursing (misleading or misled) upon "the period of transition from the promiscuous horde to the clan" with polygyny and polygamy at will, arriving (after such a long road) at the family, "which perhaps was formed parallel" with the previously described plural forms.

190. It would be very lengthy and beside the point if we were to set out to investigate the development of human organization in general /88/ or, in particular, of the Caribe Indians, to which race the Pemón belong. Let us get to the point. And the point is that these literary deliriums, which are repugnant to the senses, are rejected both by prehistory and by modern ethnography. Both of these together tell us that at the beginning was and is the family, the biological, economic, and cultural unit, the basis of all other consociations. It is possible that many races do not develop beyond the family organization, but none of them comes down from this rung or from this minimum level, which is not reached after lengthy evolutions but which was the state in which mankind was constituted.

621 This is precisely the situation of the Pemón Indians. After several centuries (who knows how many), they do not go beyond the limits of the family with regard to organization, a consociation for obtaining food (and in general the mutual aid of the consorts) and raising children; that is, the preservation of the individuals and the perpetuation of the species. They are, therefore, a horde, not in the previously mentioned sense, but as a "group of families descending from a common trunk and who live in a specific territory."

621 191. The whole organization of the Indian captains or
622 tusauá, beginning with the name, is an exotic one, imposed by missionaries or explorers (commercial or scientific), who conceived of the life of the Indians as molded like our own. Among them there only exists the epurú, a generic word derived

/88 cont./

621 from epũ, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
592 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
621 gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
571 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two
578 plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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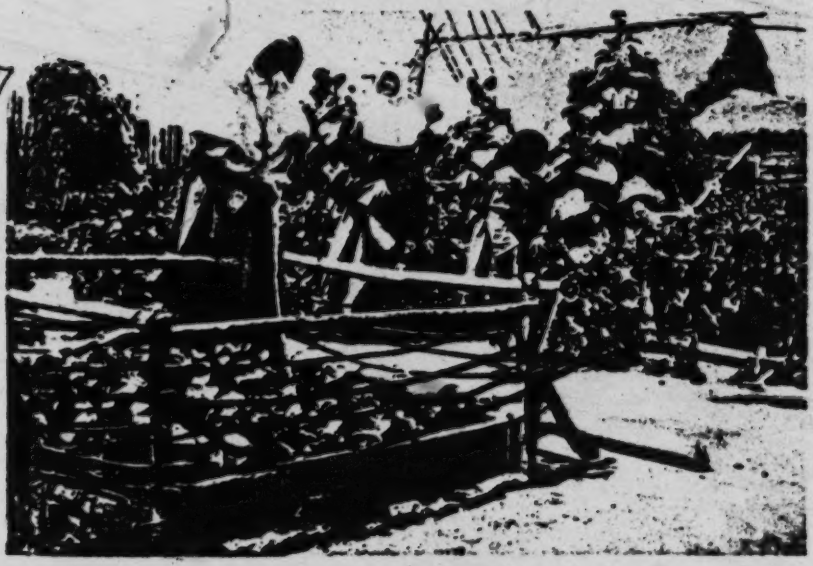

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
156] other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

105 /90 cont./

[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and
[593] these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they
respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more;
and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make
him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

/91 cont./

lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observa-
114 tion, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For
171 lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with
[997] such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

/92 cont./

114 200. Had the Doctor asked the same Indians, when he was trying to make the grammar of their language, what they thought about the verb, the noun, and the other parts of speech, they would have given him the same answer; that they knew nothing of this nor did they worry themselves about it. Had he asked them, when he was trying to describe their houses, what was a circle and a cone, they would have answered him that they knew nothing about this. Had he interrogated them about the musical scale, they would again have answered that they didn't even understand what he was asking them. And he would have concluded, following the same logic, that the Pemón Indians had no parts of speech, nor houses with a circular base nor with a conical roof, nor did they have any melodies; and that only some ex-pupils of the missionaries had any very clear ideas of such things. That is not the method.

The Indian speaks his language and from it one must deduce its grammar; he lives his life and from it one must deduce his moral code and his beliefs; he sings his song and from it one must deduce his music; he weaves his baskets and from them one must deduce the type of weaving and the designs he executes.

It is clear, and very well do I understand it, that the study of beliefs and customs, as a very intimate and at times even reserved matter, needs much time and patience to be studied, very much more than the study of their language and their manual arts; but for this very reason it is a matter and a terrain closed to lightning-explorers, who want to come and kiss the Saint without standing in line.

797 201. It will be said to me that we missionaries come
114 prejudiced in favor of the Indians, inclined to praise and defend everything which is theirs and to see in them primitive man, only just come from the hands of God. To this I answer with the same frankness as Mons. Le Roy in the prologue to his so often cited book, La Religion de los Primitivos: "When I arrived at the mission I also had the ideas which were then in

/92 cont./

797 vogue: fetishistic Indians, without any religion, without family,
114 without morality, worshipers of animals, /93/ trees, rocks,
anything." Only by dint of living among them and through observation did we manage to free ourselves of these bad prejudices and as many others about their language, culture, organization, etc. So that our ideas are not to be suspected
000 of being partial.

All of us who have been there, in contact with the reality of facts and very far away from books, have on more than one occasion exclaimed that "the university teaches more of life than the life of the university," and we have quoted the saying, slightly exaggerated, of Nietzche: "Thoughts that arise when walking are the only ones of value." We do not in any way scorn books, but we do not subordinate to them the living reality, which is more varied than all invented systems, but vice versa.

Apart from this, the fundamental ideas were always before us; thus, turning to the comparison between Religion and Language, just as the majority of grammatical categories or organization turn out to be the same, regardless of variation in vocabulary, thus it will also happen in religious categories or phenomenology, regardless of the variety of shadings.

Something, and even a good deal, has been said about the religion of the Indians when dealing with their magic and their
771 moral sentiments. For now let it suffice to say that the Pemón
797 Indians are not irreligious nor areligious, they have their own native religion; further, for several generations they have been receiving the influence of our Christian religion, as we have also said about our European culture. Believe me, my dear questioner, "in verbo magistri," since you have been so kind as to call me "Doctor in Pemón"; and it shall be left to the next chapter to develop this most important and thorny question: "What is the religion of the Pemón Indians?"

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Chapter XXV

What, Concretely, Is the Religion of the Pemón Indians?

202. A frequent question and a difficult answer. 203. What do we mean by religion? 204. The Indians--the Godless? 205. Two obvious and simplistic answers. 206. My answer. 207. The three essential elements of all religion. 208. Substitutes for these three elements. 209. Where does this mentality come from? 210. What are the potón or pía? 211. Practical conclusions from what has been stated.

202. This question is one of those which are most frequently asked me about the Pemón Indians, but since it is at the same time /94/ one of the most difficult and important, I have been leaving the answer to it for the last. The difficulty lies in the matter itself and also in the small amount of space which I have available to synthesize such a complex question(1).

> 1. Well did Grandmaison warn us that to pretend to study religion precisely in its most rudimentary manifestations or lowest elements and among the most backward or retrogressive people is to try to study life purely in buds, where there is no doubt that all of the buds have potential, but where a very fine microscope is needed.

203. At the beginning of its study we would need a concept of religion, although it might be provisional, in order to classify, define, and recognize religious phenomena or those attributed to religiousness. But in this work, which cannot be extensive, I am obliged to assume that my

/94 cont./

500 interrogators, together with the majority of those who discuss it, understand that within the word religion are included these three things: beliefs or dogmas, morality or precepts, and worship or prayers, sacrifices, etc.

204. For a long time there circulated very validly through the lands of America the humoristic saying that the Indians did not have "Dios, ni fe, ni ley, ni rey /God, nor faith, nor law, nor king/." This saying, in addition to being a mnemonic device for remembering the consonants which native languages are apt to lack, also included a satirical intent and meant to say that Indians in general lacked religious organization (God and faith) and social organization (King and Law).

In conversations upon this very subject more than once I have heard it said, making a clever play on words, that the Indians are godless /"los indios son los-sin-Dios/.

771 205. In the previous chapter we categorically rejected
829 this statement and we saw, especially, that the proof that the Indians didn't know how to answer whether or not they had any religion nor how to define or explain it is of no value in this matter, since these are theoretical questions for theorists.

To answer directly the question under study there exist two obvious and simplistic answers:

778 a) The negative one, which consists of saying: That the
782 Indians do not have idols or images, nor sacred places or buildings, nor offerings or sacrifices, nor persons consecrated to religion."

771 b) The positive one, which runs on a par with the former one and is, like it, simplistic (and into which I confess to having fallen at times through a fondness for synthesis and brevity and through trying to make myself understood by those who are not very versed in these matters), which consists of saying: That /95/ Indians believe in the devil (ancient thesis) or that they are animists (modern thesis).

C 114 771 /95 cont./

Both answers are included in the Pimentel's statement relative to the Caracas Indians: "They have neither acts of adoration, sanctuaries, house, nor any place dedicated for this; they only have their belief in the devil." In another chapter of this small work, in which we spoke of the piaches, we insisted upon clarifying the point that only in a certain sense could these people be called invokers of the devil.

? 771 206. My answer, making a tacit comparison between the religious organization and the social organization, is: "That the Pemón Indians have some religious elements or rudiments, but they are disconnected and not interrelated and are little developed." Their organization has not climbed, we have said, above the family level; but neither has it descended from the same. Their religion, we here say, has not arrived at a complete development, but neither is it lacking in the basic or essential elements: a concept of our personal soul, which does not die; our finiteness and dependence; the concept of morality.

To further clarify, using another comparison which is very familiar to me and of which I am fond, I say: That the Pemón Indians have of religion what they have of clothing. It is well known that their garments are limited to a miniscule loincloth /perizoma/ or guayuco, the necessary minimum to protect or cover the modest parts. Well then, their religion, in this aspect, is limited to the natural concept of morality or immorality of certain actions of greater transcendancy in life.

And with regard to dogma, what are the beliefs, legends and stories of the Indians? They are what their necklaces, earrings, bracelets, anklets, garters, wristlets, halos or crowns, feathers, rattles, and paintings are with respect to clothing: "A lot of noise and few kernels"; much beauty, but little protection and utility.

207. Examining now each of the three essential elements, following common opinion, of every religion, I answer:

/95 cont./

776 a) The Pemón do not have an autochthonous idea of a God Creator and Savior of each of his creatures, nor particularly of man. I believe very apt Joubert's statement: "Seeking words, ideas are found," and from it I deduce that, since the Pemón lack any word of their own to say "God," they also lack this concept. And I do remember with no little laughter that the "pra man, there is none," with which /96/ they answered someone who was interrogating them about this, was interpreted as the equivalent of "Brahma."

771 b) Their moral code, although it is known, is not made
577 dependent upon a supreme will, nor is it thought that moral actions might have the sanction of a reward or a positive punishment, external and not inherent to the action itself either in this life or in another one, although this life is clearly admitted with regard to its existence but very confusedly regarding its form and manner.

Those who state flatly that "there neither exists dogma without morality, nor morality without dogma," should explain this anomaly. I believe simply that they ought not to exist logically; but from this it cannot be deduced that they do not exist in fact.

782 c) No acts of worship are known of: neither of love and adoration, nor of sacrifice and placation. Neither are images or idols seen, nor anything, in general, of what makes up the external demonstrations of respect to God and his saints.

208. And in lieu of these three essential elements, they have the following:

776 a) A belief that each one of the species of animate and inanimate beings, which exists in the world, has its progenitor or its own primogenital ancestor, endowed with specific qualities, from whom individuals derive their faculties, of whom he is the protector and avenger in a purely physical order. These are the imá, the piá, said in generic form, and the potorí and the pachí, according to whether these ancestors or genealogical trees are considered masculine or feminine.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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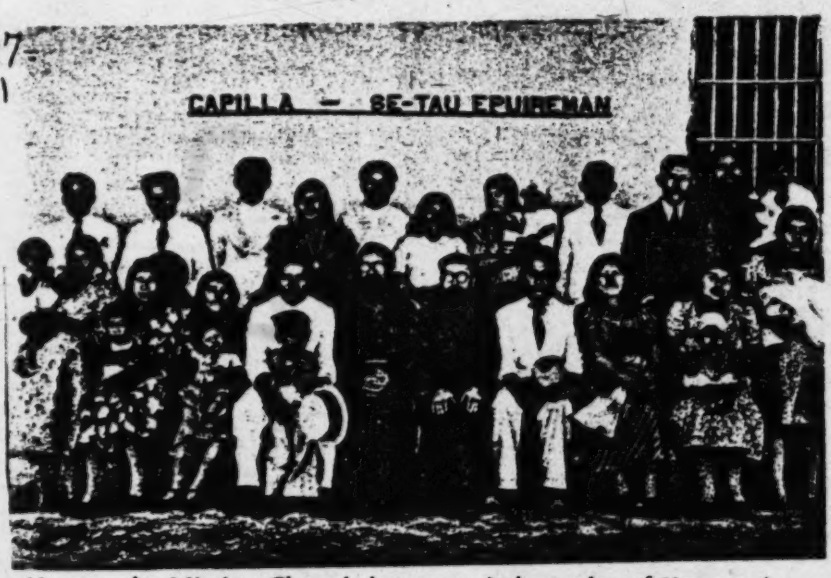

Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

/97 cont./

789 body; consequently magic is more medicine than religion with regard to its intent, though in appearances it may well resemble the latter more than medicine.

And the charms, we have said, are not prayers or supplications, but conjurations. A. Condamin says that "the mere praising of the Gods without ulterior intention (interest) does not exist in Assyrian-Babylonian worship." We can say this much more about the Pemón Indians. The charms do not employ a deprecative form, but a positive one, and they do not use the active voice, but the reflexive, for example, esesati, e-taremba, e-puirema, to be asked /ask itself/, to be charmed /charm itself/, to be prayed /pray itself/, etc.

209. To know whence the Indians may have got this mentality, it would suffice to recall what we said at the beginning of this work about the imagination of the Indians. Throughout the course of these dissertations there appears most clearly this truth: That the road of religion and of science, as the truths that they are, is a narrow and hard way (ratiocination and syllogism); by contrast, the road of magic with all of its ramifications is a broad and easy way (imagination and paralogism). We ask with E. Hello: "What is it that characterizes the savage state?" And with him we answer: "It is the fantasy of the individual, it is the absolute license given to that fantasy ... the license overflows on every side just as liquid escapes from a broken glass."

When speaking of imagination, we also emphasized the facet of terror. And we would now say with Grandmaison that "fear mixed with respect, which is the beginning of adoration, could thus be attached to the great natural /98/ celestial or meteorical forces: the sky, sun, and moon, the stars and planets, the hurricane and lightning, the rain and fire. With no difficulty is worship directed toward these elevated, terrible or beneficent powers -- regular and regulating or instantaneous and disturbing." We could apply this fully to the Pemón if we expect the fact that they do not render any adoration.

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
955 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

789 /98 cont./
755 stop hemorrhages or discharges of any sort, they invoke the pia or pachí, let's call them the mother of ashes and sand, which are driers.

[221] e) Indians observe that when the wind blows, it moves away the clouds and the sky becomes clear; thus they invoke the big wind, the father of the wind, when their vision is clouded. /99/

No less than a hundred examples like these could be presented of beneficent charms, to obtain good things or health, or maleficent ones, to produce evils to enemies; but I believe that those here noted are sufficient.

[40] 211. From this cursory exposition which we have just made of the religion of the Pemón, it can clearly be deduced how deeply in error are those who believe that in order to teach them our Christian religion we must forcibly enter into their soul casting devils from it as one casts down idols from an altar; nothing of the sort, all we need do is get out of their heads the anthromorphization of natural forces and the magical invocation of the same in order to substitute for them the true physical concept of things and their qualities and the true application or appropriation of the same by means of medicine, whether it be by external application or by ingestion.

Nor need we make any great effort to eliminate these ideas, which can remain as adornments or threads to be used in the flowery work of the imagination, always so long as upon them we can place the true rational and Christian theology of a Creator and Savior God of all things, especially of man; the future life, not of fantasy and conjecture, but a real and eternal place after the terrestrial and temporally ephemeral one, and different, depending upon the actions taken here below, and above all things, God's love for us and that we must profess Him, and the love of charity which must always reign among all men on earth.

/99 cont./

291 Returning to the comparison with clothing, it can be seen quite clearly that it is not necessary to deprive the Indians of their beads and rustic adornments in order that they may adopt our ways of dressing, which are more useful against the inclemencies of the seasons and biting insects; nor is it necessary that by force we oblige them to dress and to wear footwear; their own need and their own desire stimulate them sufficiently 77/ toward it. Thus, neither more nor less happens to them with religion, since they scarcely have the rudiments of it, they are desirous of completing them with our explanations and teachings.

And to want us, as some would have it, not to give them any religious instruction whatsoever, is like wanting us not to give them clothing for their bodies, nor to explain physics to them, nor that we assist their agriculture, nor give them medicine. Could it perhaps be that life is not worth more than nourishment and the body more than clothing? /100/

Conclusion

Now, to end our ethnographic notes, here is an anecdote of something that happened to me on a certain occasion and at a certain place, the name of which is of no matter. Besieged and roasted by questions on the most varied matters regarding Indians, after I had run out of explanations, I chose to answer everything with the aforesaid "more or less like ourselves." Then one of my questioners, half in jest, struck me this blow: "Father, however much you may say, the most that we shall concede you is that Indians are the animal most similar to man."

I hope that my patient readers will have gotten a slightly higher idea of the Indians in the course of the chapters in which I have tried to study their soul and present it just as I have seen it during my years of living happily among them.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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COMITE EJECUTIVO — TERCERA CONFERENCIA
INTERAMERICANA DE AGRICULTURA

Cómo son los Indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana

ESTUDIO ETNOGRAFICO

POR EL

R. P. CESAREO DE ARMELLADA
MISIONERO CAPUCHINO

[title page]

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DEDICATORIA

Estos comentarios psicológico-etnográficos, surgidos de preguntas, que se me hicieron sobre los indios Pemones de la Gran Sabana y a las cuales sólo pude contestar por mi asidua observación de sus costumbres y pensamientos durante mi larga permanencia entre ellos y por la franquicia que me dieron para penetrar en el santuario de su alma, se las dedico paternalmente a los mismos Indios Pemones.

No sólo respondieron sencillamente a mis preguntas y se dejaron observar sin recelo, pues vivía entre ellos "quasi unus ex illis"; hubo quienes, enseñados por nosotros, respondieron por escrito en su misma lengua para evitar equivocaciones y para que la narración fluyera natural y espontánea; de modo que en muchos casos soy mero traductor.

Aunque agrupados con algún orden lógico, estos comentarios no constituyen un estudio etnográfico completo ni mucho menos; predominan las observaciones psicológicas y deliberadamente traigo con frecuencia a mi cauce los refranes de la filosofía perenne y los dichos acertados de pensadores eminentes para amenizar mis pobres elucubraciones.

Vayan, pues, a manos de los amantes de los indígenas como avances y primicias de otros estudios más vastos, que irán viendo la luz pública bajo los signos E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas), si nos dan tiempo y medios, pues vivimos en las avanzadas y primera línea de las Misiones.

Machiques, 1º de mayo de 1946.

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PROLOGO — PRESENTACION

Prologar una obra del P. Cesáreo de Armellada, sería tarea harto difícil y bastante embarazosa, si hubiese de enfocarse la cuestión que él trata en el mismo tono y con idéntica maestría con que él lo hace. Pero no es cuestión de hablar o de escribir sobre estos asuntos, sino de hacer la presentación de una de sus producciones.

¿Hacer la presentación de una obra del P. Armellada? No es el Autor de este interesante trabajo un desconocido en el campo de la lingüística y de las letras; no es un dilettante o un ensayista en esta clase de estudios indigenistas. Misionero de los de primera línea en el Vicariato Apostólico del Caroní desde 1933; morador de las regiones de la Gran Sabana, Estado Bolívar, durante cerca de doce años, y más que todo acucioso investigador de la lengua, de los usos y costumbres de los aborígenes, sus estudios y observaciones se convirtieron en realidades en la Gramática de la lengua Pemón (1), *respetable volumen de 316 páginas, y de la que nosotros mismos escribimos oportunamente: "La labor ha sido realizada sin apresuramientos, concienzudamente, pacientemente, sin alharacas, sin el ruido del bombo y el platillo, y ahora sale a luz pública sin alborotos, sin alardes de vana ostentación, pero de una manera completa y muy acomodada a las modernas exigencias de los estudios filológicos. Por eso creemos que los enten-*

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(1).—Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón. — Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Tomo I: Gramática, por el R. P. Cesáreo de Armellada, Misionero Capuchino del Caroní. — C. A. Artes Gráficas. — Caracas, 1943.

didos en la materia no le escatimarán sus aplausos y sus frases de aprobación, (2).

Más tarde editaba el Diccionario de la lengua Pemón, (3) *del que en nota bibliográfica también dijimos: "Sólo un ánimo tan esforzado como el del P. Armellada, una voluntad tan decidida por la causa indigenista y un cariño tan acendrado como el suyo a estas regiones de la Gran Sabana, donde ha pasado la mayor parte de sus días como Misionero, han podido llevar a cabo una obra de esta índole, y un estudio, que él sólo, será más que suficiente para inmortalizar su nombre, colocándolo entre los primeros y más destacados hombres de ciencia en esta Patria Venezolana,* (4).

Por eso decimos que el P. Armellada no es un novel escritor sobre asuntos indigenistas, ya que sus estudios son numerosos y bien pensados, y su nombre y su fama han traspasado las fronteras de la Nación. Constante colaborador en nuestra revista Venezuela Misionera, *desde los días de su fundación, 1939, ha sabido volcar algo de los muchos conocimientos suyos en sus páginas, ha publicado estudios más científicos y profundos en distintas revistas venezolanas y extranjeras; artículos que han merecido la unánime aprobación de los entendidos y calurosos aplausos de los etnólogos.*

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COMO SON LOS INDIOS PEMONES DE LA GRAN SABANA es un estudio bastante completo sobre la vida de los indios de la Gran Sabana y regiones limítrofes.

Pero ¡qué clase de estudios y qué obra de etnografía! Es algo original, propio y muy del Autor; algo que él mismo ha observado, y tras de la observación vino el apuntamiento, y después la meditación seria, reposada, y con la meditación se juntaron las comparaciones, las discusiones científicas con otros Misioneros, que también han convivido con los indígenas, y luego el cotejo con los principios asentados por los etnó-

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(2).—Venezuela Misionera, Revista Mensual. Año V. Junio 1943.

(3).—Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Pemón.—Taurepán, Arekuna, Kamarakoto. Tomo II: Diccionario, por el R. P. Cesáreo de Armellada, Misionero Capuchino del Caroni. C. A. Artes Gráficas.—Caracas, 1944.

(4).—Venezuela Misionera. Año VI, Julio de 1944.

logos y mejores tratadistas de asuntos indígenas. En total, que el P. Armellada armó su tinglado y ha llegado a elaborar un estudio bastante completo de etnografía de los indios pemones de la Gran Sabana.

En Venezuela el P. Armellada es de los pocos buenos y auténticos etnólogos, y forma parte del glorioso escuadrón de abnegados Misioneros, que marchan a las avanzadas de los ejércitos civilizadores y colonizadores; Misioneros cabales que hacen obra religiosa y de Patria. Pero, eso sí, siempre con el lápiz en ristre y su cuaderno de anotaciones en la mano, para atacar al indio y robarle a la naturaleza su secreto.

Y digo que es de los buenos etnólogos, que ha estudiado las costumbres del aborigen en sus mismas fuentes, es decir en los indios, con los que ha vivido con los que se ha sentado, no digo ya a la mesa, pues carecen de ella, pero sí en círculo y en el duro suelo, a los que ha tratado como amigo, diré más, como hermano, como una madre trata a sus hijos. Y ¿cómo no compenetrarse de la vida del indio en esta forma tan sugestiva y democrática? ¿cómo no beber en su fuente pura las aguas cristalinas, cómo no entrar en esta forma tan insinuante en las reconditeces del alma reservada del aborigen? De ahí su aporte de datos interesantes, de circunstancias, que ningún otro, por muy observador que sea, podría captar en la vida de estos naturales de la Gran Sabana, y de ahí el valor de sus afirmaciones, la robustez de sus principios y las consecuencias prácticas que deduce. Es por esta razón que el P. Armellada se hace acreedor al aprecio de los entendidos y a la gratitud de los venideros.

Se excusa el Autor, quizás sea en su sencilla humildad, al decir que no es un tratado completo de Etnografía de los indios. Si no lo es, mucho se le parece y bien merece serlo. Nosotros diremos, sin adulaciones ni exageración, que sí es un verdadero tratado de las costumbres de aquellos aborígenes. Que admite ampliación y mayor complemento tampoco lo negamos.

Tratado y estudio lleno de erudición y de originalidad; ya que no se contenta el Autor con relatar simplemente los hechos observados por él o por otros Misioneros, ni se limita a consignar datos descarnados, ni, lo que sería peor, se toma la libertad de adornar con el ropaje de la fantasía o de la literatura, lo que vieron sus ojos y captó su talento observador, llenando luego con tintes y retoques de artista, alguna laguna vacía, una circunstancia no comprendida, un hecho mal interpretado,

un silencio misterioso y malicioso del indio. Todo lo contrario, el P. Armellada es testigo de los hechos, estudia, compara, deduce conclusiones prácticas, para ofrecérselas al público lector, interesado sobremanera en la vida de aquellos indígenas.

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Hasta que los Misioneros Capuchinos penetraron en 1930 en aquellas apartadas regiones de la Nación Venezolana, poco o nada de ellas se sabía; de sus naturales nadie se preocupó, mucho menos de su lengua que nadie comprendía y de sus costumbres desconocidas de un todo y para todos. Apenas si algún que otro explorador o aficionado se lanzó por allá en arriesgado viaje de turista, en correrías de aventurero; pasó como el ave que cruza los espacios, sin dejar rastro alguno en pos de sí. Los Misioneros Capuchinos asentaron en la Gran Sabana su campo de operaciones, para llenar el cometido que el Divino Maestro les había señalado, y para cumplir un deber sagrado ante el Gobierno Nacional: Reducir al seno de la Iglesia y al cuadro del mundo civilizado aquellos auténticos venezolanos, que aún vivían al margen de los acontecimientos religiosos y nacionales.

Pero los Misioneros Capuchinos de hogaño no han querido abandonar el camino de antaño ni se han desviado de la gloriosa tradición de sus mayores. Por eso, juntamente con los conocimientos, la cultura y la civilización que llevaban a aquellas regiones, supieron aprovechar el tiempo en el estudio de la lengua, de las costumbres autóctonas, haciendo abundante acopio de conocimientos lingüísticos y etnográficos, para luego ofrecérselos, como lo hace el P. Armellada, a la Nación y al mundo científico.

Prueba evidente de que no han perdido el tiempo y que no han escatimado trabajos para realizar su obra: obra religiosa, obra patriótica, obra cultural y obra científica. Con lo que una vez más vienen resultando ciertas aquellas afirmaciones que hiciera Don Arístides Rojas: "A los Misioneros se deben los primeros trabajos, no sólo sobre la historia antigua de América, sino también los primeros rudimentos sobre geografía, hidrografía e historia natural, como igualmente la introducción y cultivo de los productos naturales de Europa. Los misioneros fueron los primeros maestros en la enseñanza de los pueblos del continente, y también los "primeros etnógrafos" americanos. Sin las elucubraciones filológicas de los

misioneros, la ciencia moderna no habría podido estudiar las diversas lenguas del Nuevo Mundo, ni fijar su filiación científica. En el estudio de las lenguas y de las razas que poblaron la América, los trabajos de los Misioneros constituyen la base indispensable y necesaria de la etnografía de una gran porción del género humano, (5).

Con sobrada razón ha dicho el notable indigenista mejicano Sr. Manuel Gamio: "Qué grandiosamente se destaca en la perspectiva histórica de México la obra de aquellos insignes investigadores coloniales, que, como Sahagún, Gante, Motolinía y otros, estudiaron los grupos indígenas desde puntos de vista que hoy denominamos etnográfico, sociológico, psicológico, etc., cuando aún no se vislumbraban los principios y los métodos de las ciencias sociales, siendo de tanta importancia esta labor que sin ella nuestro conocimiento sobre la evolución social del pueblo mejicano sería incomparablemente más defectuoso e incompleto que lo es en la actualidad. El éxito alcanzado por tan sapientes varones (6) se debió en buena parte a que, con lógico criterio, previamente aprendieron los idiomas y dialectos de los grupos autóctonos con quienes estaban en contacto y elaboraron los correspondientes textos gramaticales que, no obstante las explicables deficiencias de que adolecen a la luz de los conocimientos modernos, es indiscutible que son la base y el punto de partida de la lingüística contemporánea, (7)".

Otro tanto podríamos afirmar de la labor realizada en este sentido por los primeros Misioneros que trabajaron en Venezuela, como claramente se deduce de un estudio de Arístides Rojas, (8) y de unas notas biográficas y bibliográficas del P. C. de Carrocera, (9) aún cuando algunos espíritus menguados han querido arrebatar esta gloria a los Misioneros Franciscanos y Capuchinos en Venezuela.

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(5).—Arístides Rojas.—Obras escogidas.—París, 190[illegible] Pág. 201.

(6).—Bueno será aclarar que Sahagún, Gante y Motolinía fueron Religiosos Franciscanos y los primeros Misioneros que llegaron a Méjico.

(7).—Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Méjico, D. F. Diciembre, 1945. N. 4. La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües. Pág. 294.

(8).—Arístides Rojas. Op. cit. Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela, Pág. 230.

(9).—Venezuela Misionera. Año VII, 1945. Pág. 5 y siguientes.

Cuando oímos hablar o vemos los escritos de ciertos aficionados modernos, referentes a los indígenas, sin que se hayan tomado la molestia de dar un paso fuera de las grandes ciudades para estudiar los hechos en sus orígenes, no acabamos de comprender el atrevimiento que esto supone, ya que en estos escritos y en aquellos discursos se dice tan solo cuanto se ha leído en autores, tal vez exagerados en sus apreciaciones o de imaginación alborotada, que en un acto, o simplemente en una sencilla afirmación del indio, quisieron descubrir un rito, una ceremonia religiosa, una divinidad, un espíritu maligno de venganza, cuando de hecho no ha sido otra cosa que una simple gracia o una ridícula morisqueta, queriendo burlarse de la simplicidad y de la terca curiosidad del investigador. Son indigenistas estos, que a nosotros se nos ocurre llamar de bufete o de cátedra, sin haber estado jamás en contacto con el indio, sin haberlo visto más que en el papel y en su fantasía ardiente.

En cambio nuestros Misioneros, que han pasado años y más años en comunicación con los indios, no se atreverán a asentar principios ni a lanzar afirmaciones, sin antes pesarlas en la balanza del juicio recto, sereno, desapasionado. Más nos atrevemos a decir: se reunirán en consejo, discutirán el hecho observado en distintas ocasiones, en circunstancias muy diversas, para sacar conclusiones prácticas o, tal vez, para dejar, como ha sucedido en más de una oportunidad, el juicio en suspenso, esperando otra ocasión más propicia y tomar nuevos datos; porque el indio, taimado en ocasiones, receloso con frecuencia y siempre retraído, no quiso hablar ni se dejó sorprender in fraganti *por el Misionero observador.*

Estos ESTUDIOS ETNOGRAFICOS que presentamos tienen el mérito excepcional de la observación detenida de parte del Autor, que sin prejuicios de ninguna clase, sin predisposición de espíritu y sin animosidad contra los indefensos indígenas, a ellos se llegó, hablando su misma lengua y por este conducto tan fácil como seguro, pudo asomarse al alma de sus catequizados, brindándoles su confianza y su cariño, esperando otro tanto de ellos. ¿Obtenía su objeto el P. Armellada? Podemos asegurar en general, que sí, que lograba conquistar la confianza de los aborígenes; de ahí los muchos e interesantes datos que pudo recoger y que ahora ofrece al público lector.

Quizás algún espíritu menos conocedor del asunto encuentre exageradas ciertas aseveraciones del Autor de este trabajo; tal vez alguno menos escrupuloso juzgue con rigor otros principios establecidos con respecto a los indios; pero debemos

tener muy en cuenta que el indio, como el pueblo, es un niño, el eterno menor de edad, y además que ha carecido hasta la fecha de principios religiosos, de base de cultura, de educación de afectos y por lo mismo sus obras y sus acciones están en correspondencia con la vida aislada y de selva que ha llevado hasta hace muy poco, y que no es tan fácil, como algunos creen, cambiar de hoy para mañana la naturaleza y la vida del indio.

Por otra parte, el cariño que el P. Armellada profesa a los indígenas le hace disminuir sus defectos naturales y las deficiencias que en ellos se encuentran. Y como remate y término, podríamos añadir, que ha querido atenerse a las normas dadas por la Sda. Congregación de Propaganda Fide para tratar con mucha prudencia y máxima caridad los asuntos indigenistas, ya de palabra o bien por escrito.

Esta norma la ha tenido muy presente el Autor de este trabajo, y mejor quiere pecar por carta de más que por carta de de menos en sus apreciaciones sobre ciertas costumbres de los indios, procurando defenderlos y cubrirlos con el manto de la benevolencia.

Por lo demás, la obra corresponde a una necesidad y a un interrogante. A una necesidad, ya que hasta la fecha poco o nada se sabía en concreto de estos indios de la Gran Sabana, siendo los Misioneros Capuchinos los primeros que ofrecen a la Nación y al mundo entero estos estudios interesantes y comentados técnicamente sobre las costumbres y el modo de vivir su vida. Corresponde la obra a un interrogante, puesto que por todos los ámbitos de la Nación se habla de la Gran Sabana, y todo ciudadano consciente siente el deseo, muy natural, de saber cómo son, cómo viven, qué hacen y cómo proceden aquellos aborígenes.

Muchas de las cuestiones que aquí trata el Autor le han sido propuestas por los curiosos observadores, que sabían algo o tenían noticias aisladas por la prensa, de aquellas ignotas regiones; otras, se las propone el mismo Autor y las resuelve con acierto después de diligente estudio y no poca observación.

Repetimos; no es un tratado completo y perfecto de Etnografía sobre los indios pemones de la Gran Sabana; son estudios serios y concienzudos, que tienen íntima trabazón entre sí y que reclaman un trabajo posterior, que con el tiempo verá la luz pública. Ojalá que así sea, y que, salvando dificultades económicas, pueda el P. Armellada brindarnos algunos estu-

2: Armellada SS16 Pemon

dios más de los que tiene en preparación. Entre tanto, esperamos. (10).

Y vayan al Autor de este trabajo nuestras felicitaciones más sinceras y nuestro aplauso más ferviente. No dudamos que el público lector sabrá apreciar el mérito de la obra que en sus manos pone el R. P. Cesáreo de Armellada, Misionero Franciscano-Capuchino.

Fray Antonino Mª de Madridanos.
Religioso Capuchino.

Caracas, abril de 1946.

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(10)—Anteriormente se había publicado algunos trabajos referentes a la Gran Sabana. He aquí indicados los principales de ellos:

a). Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana, por el P. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales. T. IV. N. 29, 1937.

b). La Música Indígena Taurepán, por el R. P. Baltasar de Matallana, Caracas, 1938.

c). Pantón Ichipupué—Así cuentan los indios, por el R. P. Cesáreo de Armellada. Serie de artículos publicados en Venezuela Misionera, Año 1944.

d). Exploración a la Guayana, Revista de Fomento, Año III, No. 19, 1939.

e). Los Indios Kamarakotos, por el Dr. George Gaylord Simpson. Revista de Fomento, Año III, Nos. 22-25, 1940.

CAPITULO I

DATOS ETNOGRAFICOS GENERALES DE LOS INDIOS PEMONES

1.—Son indios Karibes. 2.—El denominativo Koto. 3.—El nombre de Arekuna. 4.—Id. Taurepán. 5.—Id. Pemón. 6.—Número de individuos. 7.—Tribus limítrofes y naciones vecinas. 8.—Condiciones morales e intelectuales. 9.—Características etnográficas.

1.—La primera cosa que solemos preguntar a todo individuo, con quien vamos a entrar en conversación, es su nombre o *su gracia*. Por eso juzgo muy del caso averiguar el nombre de la tribu, sobre cuyas características generales voy a disertar en el presente trabajo, colocado en un plano etnográfico y psicológico a la vez.

Apoyándonos en el criterio glotológico, hoy prevalente, y, aún más, afianzándonos en el principio lingüístico de que el "tema más breve es el más antiguo", fácilmente llegamos a la conclusión de que *estos indios son de raza Caribe*, y de los más primitivos, con primacía tal vez sobre los mismos Bakairí propuestos por Von Steinen como los primígenos.

Una simple mirada a un mapa lingüístico, v. gr., el del P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D., nos hará ver que *estos indios pertenecen al "grupo del Roroima"* Este grupo es actualmente el más numeroso y denso de todos; y el Roroima es el nudo orográfico, en torno al cual se agrupan más indígenas, emanados del prolífero tronco caribe, pues los otros grupos "del Orinoco" y "de las Islas" han desaparecido casi totalmente por absorción u otras causas.

Pero los Karibes del grupo del Roroima están subdivididos en numerosas tribus, sobre cuya clasificación y nomenclatura reina gran divergencia entre los escritores, a causa principalmente de los factores siguientes:

a) la tendencia innata en todo investigador a recalcar

pequeñas diferencias observadas y con ellas crear nuevas tribus, de las cuales se dice descubridor;

b) la creencia errónea de que todas estas tribus han de tener su nombre propio, su organización social propia y su territorio trazado con cadena de agrimensor;

c) la tendencia universal (no sólo de los indios) a ocultar los nombres, dado que los haya; pues las tribus, lo mismo que los individuos, no se imponen nombres, los reciben, según el dicho popular de "no me llamo, me llaman", y, generalmente, estos nombres impuestos se fundan en defectos o peculiaridades, que excitan la hilaridad.

2.—Durante mucho tiempo y en los mapas más antiguos aparecen aplicados a indios de estas regiones los nombres de *Arinagotos, Cachirigotos, Barinagotos, Purukotos,* etc., barajcados a placer. Y mis lectores recordarán los otros de *Cumanagotos, Esmeregotos, Boquiracotos,* etc.

Actualmente también usan los indios para sí y para su vecinos los nombres de *Roroima-kok, Inkari-kok, Tei-koi, Pichau-kok, Kapono-kok; Apoipueri-kok* y *Kamara-koto.*

Estos nombres son gentilicios, que indican la procedencia del lugar o comarca en que moran. *Koto, goto, kok y koi* significan "habitantes en". Y según esto pueden interpretarse todos los nombres arriba transcritos; y así tendríamos *Kamara-koto,* habitante en *Kamara (ta); Roroima-kok,* habitante del *Roroima; Inkari-kok,* habitante en Inglaterra (Guayana Inglesa); *Tei-koi,* habitante en la Sabana o sabanero; etc.

3.—*El nombre de Arekuna* les fué aplicado con posterioridad y con las pequeñas variantes de *Yarekuna* y *Yarikuna.* Este nombre generalmente lo admiten nuestros indios para sus vecinos, pero lo rechazan para sí por la interpretación etimológica (aunque falsa), que le dan de "rata de laguna" y la leyenda algo obscena con que lo relacionan.

Después de muchas indagaciones he llegado a la conclusión de que esta palabra no es de su léxico, razón por la que no aciertan con su significado verdadero. Si algún día publicamos el minucioso estudio etnográfico, que tenemos en preparación, puntualizaré las razones en que me fundo para creer que esta palabra es transformación del aruako *Yarijuna, español,* y el porqué del cambio semántico o de significación.

4.—*El nombre de Taurepán* aparece por primera vez en los escritos del explorador alemán Koch-Grünberg, quien afirma habérselo revelado los indios como algo secreto, después de haber intimado con ellos .Detrás de él, exploradores, etnólogos, misioneros y cartógrafos hemos seguido a ojos cierros la

terminología por él propuesta, levemente modificada, pues él escribió *Taulipang*.

Hablando en plata, debo confesar que, al menos los misioneros, sólo por seguir la corriente, proseguimos usando la palabra *Teurepán*, a pesar de no creerla consistente en sí misma. Pero es lo cierto que la tal palabra, no obstante nuestra intimidad y larga convivencia con los indios y no obstante haberla procurado con preguntas ya directas ya capciosas, jamás salió espontánea de boca de estos indígenas; y, dicha por nosotros, nunca supieron darnos el significado.

Para el año 1935 lanzaba yo la hipótesis de que la palabra *Taurepán* pudiera derivarse del verbo *tauré*, decir, y la partícula *-pan*, de variadas significaciones, pero advertía que esta partícula jamás aparece unida con verbos sino con nombres substantivos. Años después tuve la buena suerte de encontrar la Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe del P. Martín de Taradell, de nuestra antigua misión del Caroní, donde leí: *tauropún*, ignaro, salvaje, bárbaro. Y me convencí de que la palabra oída por Koch-Grünberg pudo ser *tare-puen*, apelativo con que tal vez los indios de nuestras antiguas Misiones del Caroní motejaron a los actuales misionados, por considerarlos más salvajes y atrasados que ellos y sobre todo menos ladinos o *lenguaraces; taure-puen*, el que nada dice o habla.

5.—*La palabra Pemón*. Desde el primer año de mi permanencia entre los indios (1933) venía madurando la idea de que esta palabra sería el más exacto denominador de todas estas pequeñas subdivisiones de indios, pues invariablemente la respuesta que se obtiene al inquirir el nombre tribual o gentilicio, es éste: *Pemón yuré*, yo soy Pemón. Y cuando se les pregunta cómo dicen ellos tal o cuál frase o palabra en su lengua, dicen también: *Pemón damá* (o *Pemontón*) *maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá*, en lengua Pemón nosotros decimos así o así.

Esta es precisamente la palabra que oponen a todas las otras razas por ellos conocidas, a saber: *españoró*, español-venezolano; *karaivá*, portugués-brasilero; *mekoró*, negro; *parana-kirí*, costeño, holandés, inglés, francés; y en general *tepon-kén*, hombres vestidos, por oposición a los indios desnudos.

Hace al caso recordar que esta palabra pluralizada, *Pemontones*, ya fué usada por algún otro misionero (R. P. Nicolás de Cármenes en relato de viaje por entre los Kamarakotos), quien en versos religiosos sencillos escribió: "Divina Pastora", —rogad a Jesús— por los *Pemontones*,—que adoran la Cruz".

Retraíame, no obstante, del uso de esta palabra la creencia de que *Pemón* significaba en general "cualquier individuo o tribu de raza cobriza", *indio*, como nosotros decimos. Pero en la excursión de reconocimiento del río Paragua, hube de retirar esta idea, pues cuantas veces interrogué de algún *sapé, arutaní* o *sirianá*: *¿Pemón nak mueré?*, ¿ése es Pemón?, otras tantas se me respondió: *Aké, pemón neké mueré;* no, ése no es pemón.

De modo que, por las razones expuestas, propongo a misioneros y etnógrafos usar preferentemente esta palabra *Pemón* al hablar en común de estas pequeñas tribus o de su lengua.

6.—Del censo publicado en el Boletín de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, t. VIII, Nº 53 y que contiene casi completo el relato de "Exploración del río Paragua y sus afluentes" y de otro censo incluído en una memoria inédita sorbre "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán" y publicado por Mons. Gómez en la memoria del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores, 1941. Y por el Padre Baltasar de Matallana en su libro "Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní", resulta que el número de Indios Pemones es de sólo 2.500 (dos mil quinientos).

¡Buen desengaño para los que creen en bachaqueros humanos de indios!

El número de indios generalmente se exagera por las razones, que apuntamos en la referida "Exploración del río Paragua", Misionero hubo, que, sorprendido en su buena fe por los relatos de los criollos, afirmó haber en la Gran Sabana no menos de 14.000 indios.

Aunque sólo sea de paso, aprovecho la oportunidad para decir que el censo oficial, que computa el número de indígenas existentes en Venezuela en 130.000 es exageradísimo. Por conocimiento personal y otros datos fidedignos puedo asegurar que el número de indios no alcanza los 60.000.

7.—Los Pemones tienen por tribus limítrofes a los makuchies y uapichanas hacia el Brasil; los uaika, seregóng, patamonas, etc., hacia la Guayana Inglesa; los sapé, arutaní y pauaná hacia el río Paragua. Además hay que tener en cuenta que desde hace cuatro siglos los españoles, portugueses, holandeses, franceses e ingleses vienen lanzando sus respectivas influencias culturales hacia el corazón de Guayana.

8.—Como al hablar de estos indios puedo parecer parcial por el gran cariño que les profeso y a la vez me profesan, prefiero ceder la palabra al ilustre etnólogo de Stutgart, quien afirma ser los indios *taurepanes* los más afables, inteligentes

y hasta físicamente más perfectos entre todos los indígenas, que él conoció en sus muchas excursiones por el continente suramericano.

En algún artículo de propaganda recuerdo haber escrito: "Son estos indios afables en su trato, en sus modales y en su lenguaje; son hospitalarios, son recelosos, pero nunca hostiles con los forasteros; son muy amantes de su tierra, de sus ríos y de los lugares en que habitan y gustan mucho de ponderar sus bellezas y de que otros se los alaben".

En otra parte escribí también y debo repetirlo aquí: "Respecto a sus cualidades intelectuales creo, con la generalidad de los misioneros, que los indios no son tardos de ingenio ni tarados morales. Tienen sin duda exceso de imaginación con sus consecuencias, propiedad ésta de todos los que viven en contacto directo y como absorbidos por la naturaleza virgen. La falta de estímulo para todo lo que es fuera de su norma ancestral o canon de vida ha originado el que se les moteje de perezosos e indolentes, lo cual creemos un sambenito injusto".

9.—Las características etnográficas o raciales de los Indios Pemones pueden considerarse en estas palabras, que para mayor brevedad copio del Dr. Simpson: "Se sustentan principalmente con cásabe y ají; usan tabaco; emplean cerbatanas y flechas envenenadas; envenenan los ríos para conseguir pescado; construyen casas semipermanentes y duermen en hamaca; primitivamente no usaban vestido o solamente un simple taparrabos; practicaban antiguamente el empollamiento (couvade); tienen un sistema puramente exorcista, animístico, y no sacerdotal o teístico; fabrican objetos de alfarería; viajan en canoa..., cultivan e hilan algodón y hacen tejidos complicados con esta fibra.. ; exprimen la yuca en una prensa de labor de cestería de dibujo característico; fabrican numerosos objetos de cestería típica y fina".

CAPITULO II

LA TIERRA EN QUE HABITAN LOS INDIOS PEMONES

10—El área general. 11—El núcleo principal de la Gran Sabana. 12—Situación de ésta. 13—Clima. 14—Extensión. 15—Orografía. 16—Hidrografía. 17—Nombre de Gran Sabana. 18—Nombre de Alto Caroní. 19—Nombre de Serranía de Guayana. 20—Riquezas de esta región. 21—Bellezas de la misma. 22—Caroní y Roroima. 23—Vías de comunicación.

10.—Las tribus de Lengua Pemón viven en la parte más central de Guayana en la región de Venezuela, que orográfi-

camente podemos llamar Monte Roroima (N., S. y O. del mismo) e hidrográficamente, Río Caroní.

Creo necesario repetir que las fronteras de los indios, como las de los pájaros, no son las demarcadas por los tratados internacionales; y así los indios Pemones rebasan las fronteras de Venezuela y se extienden también en los campos brasileros de Río Branco y en las selvas de la Guayana Inglesa.

11.—Hay una porción de Pemones, que viven en Kamarata y Urimán (sabanas); algunos menos viven en las selvas del Tiriká, del Caroní y del Paragua; pero el núcleo principal de esta tribu se asienta en la Gran Sabana, pues hay que convenir en que estos indios son preferentemente sabaneros y no selváticos.

Copio, por estar completamente de acuerdo con mis observaciones, las palabras del Dr. Simpson: "Un indio requiere tres cosas para su vivienda: 1º, un espacio abierto, una sabana de extensión más o menos grande para su casa de habitación; 2º, una corriente de agua perenne, suficientemente ancha y profunda para poder nadar y pescar o, a lo menos, que asegure el abastecimiento de agua durante todo el año; 3º, una selva en cuyo margen pueda cultivar frutos y disponer de madera y, secundariamente, pueda cazar".

12.—La Gran Sabana está situada "entre los paralelos 4º 34' y 6º 45' de longitud norte y los meridianos 60º 34' y 62º 50' oeste de Greenwich. Hállase, pues, la Gran Sabana en el ángulo más suroriental del Estado Bolívar y de Venezuela, en la parte en que ésta colinda con el Brasil y la Guayana Inglesa.

La Gran Sabana viene a formar como un inmenso abanico abierto, cuyas nervaduras serían los varios ríos, que forman el Caroní, vena o nervadura central de toda esta gran cuenca u hoya hidrográfica.

13.—En general, el clima de la Gran Sabana, apesar de la proximidad al trópico, es templado; esto se debe a la altura sobre el nivel del mar y a las altas montañas circundantes.

14.—La extensión de la Gran Sabana es de aproximadamente 35.000 kms. cuadrados.

15.—Las pricipales Serranías, que circundan este recinto casi virgen y le dan un aspecto de majestad y grandiosidad inimaginables, son: *Roroima, Irurtepui, Putari-t, Lema (Itoto-yeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán y Uei-tepui.* Siguen en importancia *Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui* y otros

16.—Los principales ríos, que reunidos forman el Caroní, son: *Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú y Tiriká.*

Hay además una pequeña franja de terrenos, que vierten sus aguas hacia el río *Karumán* o *Karmuarán* (Guayana Inglesa).

La abundancia de agua es una de las características de la Gran Sabana; y aun lo es más la fuerza hidráulica, también llamada metafóricamente "hulla blanca", pues todos los ríos se lanzan hacia el Caroní en innumerables cascadas o saltos, cuya sola enumeración ocuparía varias páginas.

17.—La *Gran Sabana* debe su nombre a predominar en la región los campos naturales de paja, que crece en mechones; sobre todo recibió su nombre por oposición a la selva de la Guayana Inglesa y las otras regiones limítrofes del Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. Mas no se piense que esta comarca es toda ella una sola altiplanicie uniformemente plana a la manera de los Llanos venezolanos o de las Pampas argentinas; muy al contrario, es esta región sumamente quebrada, con innumerables cerros, lomas, valles, ríos, riachuelos y arroyos.

18.—Atendiendo a la hidrografía, sería mucho más acertado llamar a estas tierras "Alto Caroní", como lo hicieron los autores del Catecismo taurepán-español; pues en verdad todos los ríos se derraman hacia la hoya del Caroní.

19.—Inversamente atendiendo a la orografía, sería más exacto, expresivo y castizo denominar a esta región "Serranía de Guayana", como lo hizo el célebre historiador Caulín cuando escribió: "En esta Serranía, que da origen a los ríos de su Costa, y corre hasta las cabeceras del río Suriñama, habitan diferentes naciones de Indios Infantiles... Estos son Zaparas, Macusis, Torumas, Cariguanas, Aturayos y Guacavayos... Serranía que llaman los indios Tumukurake..., y lleva consigo a los ríos Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni y Apamoni".. (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, pág. 221).

Los mismos indios en su lengua llaman a esta región "Uek-tá", que quiere decir "lugar o tierra de cerros", en contraposición de "Remono-tá", tierra de campos o sabanas planas", nombre con que ellos conocen la región limítrofe de Río Branco de la vecina república del Brasil.

20.—Creo que se ha hablado y escrito con exageración manifiesta sobre las riquezas tanto actuales como potenciales de la Gran Sabana. (No hablo aquí, naturalmente, de las riquezas mineras o del subsuelo, enigmáticas, problemáticas y

casi nunca de resultados positivos reales para la región en que se encuentran).

Las posibilidades agrícolas y pecuarias no pueden decirse óptimas; y aun existen extensiones considerables yermas o con muy escasa vegetación.

21.—Empero hay una gran riqueza actual y positiva en la Gran Sabana, de que vienen disfrutando los Indios Pemones desde hace siglos y de la que podemos participar cuantos allá vayamos, a pleno pulmón, a manos llenas, con los ojos rasgados por la emoción; es el clima bonancible, las inexhaustas corrientes de agua y las bellezas de los paisajes encantadores.

Quienes hayan tenido la fortuna de visitar esta región, no encontrarán exagerados estos versos de uno de los cánticos de nuestros niños indígenas de la Misión de Sta. Elena: "Viva la Nación —y viva, viva la Sabana,— que es lo mejor—, que es lo mejor de la Guayana".

Es ésta una región bella, ciertamente la más bella de toda la Guayana: bella en sus paisajes indescriptibles, en el perfil casi artificial de sus montañas, en sus valles y salientes, en sus morichales mecidos por la brisa, en sus innumerables veñajes de aguas puras y cristalinas y, sobre todo, en sus ingentes cascadas con irisaciones de arco iris.

Estas bellezas las vienen cantando, a la vez que gozando, los Indios Pemones en sus cantares de danzas, en sus cuentos y leyendas, habiéndoles faltado tan solo la pluma que viniera a copiarlos y la imprenta que los hiciera volar en alas del papel.

22.—Todos los cerros de esta región son bellos, pero ya la literatura ha dado el cetro de la primacía y el incienso de la glorificación al Roroima. Todos los ríos son bellos, pero ya está reconocido como el más mozo y brioso el Caroní, tan acertadamente descrito por Eloy Blanco, sin haberlo visto, en estos versos:

"El quinto es la piedra, que va monte abajo,
potro desbocado, cola y crines negras,
piedra de diamante,
luminosa piedra.
Camino arduo de los Conquistadores,
zarzal de la limpia rosa misionera,
breñal por donde se mete
el Cristo buscando ovejas,
milagro de la conquista,
Caroní despeñado, Bucéfalo de América".

2: Armellada

SS16 Pemon

[p.8-A]

El Autor de este trabajo se adentra en las malocas y en el alma de los indios.

Caserío y pueblo en formación de Kavanayén formado por los Misioneros Capuchinos.

2: Armellada

SS16 Pemon

[p. 8-B]

Hermosas perspectivas de la Gran Sabana.

2: Armellada SS16 Pemon

Caroní y Roroima son dos nombres, que encierran en sí todo el poema de estas tierras. Caroní y Roroima: es decir, hijo y padre, lágrima y ojo, agua y piedra.

Caroní nunca es manso arroyuelo; desde su nacimiento en Roroima hasta su sepultura en el Orinoco es siempre corcel brioso, que corre de tumbo en tumbo piafando y arrojando espuma con los ijares rasgados en sus interminables raudales y cascadas.

Roroima es mesa de piedra, castillo almenado, padre de las aguas, fuente inagotable porque cada noche, en decir de los indios, las estrellas vierten muchas camazas de límpida saliva en sus veneros. Roroima es la cabeza, casi siempre coronada de nubes, de esa gigantesca espina dorsal que se llama Sierra de Pakaraima.

Una descripción poética más detallada puede verse en el "Boletín de Ciencias Naturales La Salle" en su número 14, año 1945, a donde me remito.

23.—Inaprovechables para la navegación las vías fluviales, a causa de las torrenteras, que a cada paso estorban la subida de embarcaciones, aún pequeñas curiaras indígenas; y rodeada esta altiplanicie al Norte, Este y Oeste por escarpadas serranías y selvas inmensas, esta región es, respecto de Venezuela, un verdadero nido de águilas o de aviones. Sólo por el S. le quedan algunos caminos más fáciles a través de algunas gargantas de Pakaraima hacia los campos brasileros de Río Branco, que ha sido y aun es en gran parte la nodriza y como el cordón umbilical de esta porción de Venezuela. La carretera decretada ya en los años lejanos del Gral. Gómez aun no asoma su cabeza por aquellas tierras; y allí se vive pendientes del zamuro-canoa, *kurún-kanhuá*, que dicen los indios.

CAPITULO III

EL ALMA DE LA GRAN SABANA Y EL ALMA DE LOS INDIOS PEMONES

24—Los pata-muná. 25—Verdades de perogrullo. 26—¿Alma cobriza? 27—Conclusiones. 28—El indio es un niño. 29—La maloca símbolo del alma del Indio. 30—La imaginación facultad predominante en los Indios.

24.—Para evitar cavilaciones a mis lectores, quiero decirles sin rodeos que el alma de la Gran Sabana, a que aquí me refiero, son los Indios.

Efectivamente; si en todas partes la forma es lo que da vida a la materia, y los habitantes de una región con sus costumbres y actividades típicas son los que dan vida e interés a sus tierras, dicho se está que los que han dado y dan interés y vida a la Gran Sabana son los indios, sus habitantes naturales, sus dueños natos, los *pará-muná* y los *tarenó*, como ellos mismos se denominan.

Sin indios, esta región sería bella, sin duda; pero muda, fría y sin atractivo: sin lengua, que diera nombre a los ríos, lagos, cerros y montañas; sin pies, que trazaran los senderos y buscaran los vados de los ríos y los desfiladeros de las sierras y los trillos que unen unos caseríos con otros; sin imaginación que poblar estos lugares de seres fabulosos y legendarios y explicara poéticamente los grandes fenómenos naturales; sin corazón y sin cariño para albergar en sus chozas a pasajeros y visitantes; y sin brazos para dominar y amansar las fuerzas de la naturaleza salvaje.

Que esto han sido y son los indios que pueblan estas comarcas: literatos a su modo, que crean cuentos, leyendas y seres fabulosos no sólo con imaginación viva e infantil, sino también con vis cómica y moraleja implícita; geógrafos, que conocen el relieve de su tierra hasta sus mínimos detalles; naturalistas, que llaman por sus nombres propios la infinidad de seres que componen la flora y fauna de su patria chica; ingenieros, que han trazado con la brújula certera de su instinto y el pisón robusto de sus pies las rutas hacia los cuatro puntos cardinales por entre precipicios y montañas enmarañadas; y, finalmente, sirvientes y hasta amigos fieles con espaldas anchas y alma aún más sufrida y ancha de todos cuantos hemos llegado a su solar.

25.—En contra de aquel mal refrán que dice: "ni el casabe es pan ni el indio es gente", es necesario afirmar, aunque sea una verdad de perogrullo, que los individuos de la raza cobriza son tan gente como los otros de raza blanca, negra o amarilla.

Anda también muy valida la opinión de que los indios llaman *racionales* a los crillos, y por lo tanto es señal de que ellos mismos se consideran irracionales. Además de haber en esto manifiesta contradicción lógica, ya quedó declarado que los indios llaman a los civilizados, cuando los oponen en general a sí mismos, *te-pon-ken*, hombre que tiene vestido, no hombre que tiene razón.

26.—Esto no obstante, así como sin destruír la unidad de la especie humana, se admite universalmente la división de la misma en blanca, amarilla, negra y cobriza, atendiendo a cier-

tas diferencias somáticas más aparentes; así también, sin menoscabo de la unidad específica del alma humana, debemos admitir diversidad de mentalidades, psicologías, aptitudes. Y, aunque solemos decir que el alma no tiene sexo, edad ni color, decimos no obstante psicología femenina, psicología infantil, mentalidad indígena, etc.

¿Tendríamos, pues, un alma indígena, un alma cobriza?— No habría dificultad en admitirlo en el sentido no heterodoxo de la expresión.

27.—De lo anteriormente expuesto podemos deducir lógicamente dos conclusiones o principios incontrovertibles, que para algunos serán dos perogrulladas más de padre y señor mío, a saber:

Que los indios tienen su alma racional con todo lo que esta palabra incluye de facultades, tendencias y aptitudes.

Que esta alma racional es de otra mentalidad, psicología, tendencias, aptitudes, etc., a causa principalmente del medio en que viven y de sus herencias atávicas.

Estos dos principios debemos tenerlos muy en cuenta todos los que escribimos de asuntos indígenas a fin de no querer meter todos los pies en una sola zapatilla ni medir todas las razas por el solo canon de la europea.

Además, no basta conocer los indios por la piel o por su cultura material para de ahí propasarse a hablar de todo cuanto a ellos se refiere, de su carácter, de sus usos y costumbres, de su inteligencia, de su idiosincrasia, etc.

El alma de los indios, no obstante diga el refrán que la cara es el espejo del alma, más que por el rostro se conoce por la lengua, que sí es la manifestación de nuestro pensamiento y de los sentimientos del corazón.

Por eso acepto y digo con otro misionero, el R. P. Alvaro de Espinosa, que una colección de cuentos, leyendas, cantos, refranes, etc., de los indígenas pueden muy bien rotularse: "Los indios pintados por sí mismos".

28.—Desde niños estamos acostumbrados a ver clasificadas las razas humanas en blanca, amarilla, negra, cobriza, etc.; trazábanse allí las diferencias somáticas y hasta se nos presentaban a la vista tipos escogidos de las mismas razas. Ahora, que ya me acerco a los cuarenta, aun no he tenido la dicha de tropezar con una nota semejante, para las almas ni con un canon con que medir las diferencias psicológicas de las razas.

Efectivamente, sintetizar los trazos del alma de los indios o de cualquiera otra raza, resulta tan difícil como fácil es ver la diferencia de rasgos en el semblante.

Aunque larga, voy a copiar una descripción, que otro misioneros (P. Ch. Louwers) hace de sus misionados, por creerla muy ajustada a la realidad y conforme con mi manera de pensar en este asunto. Dice el misionero: "El indio es naturaleza. *Es un niño:* niño en sus alegrías prontas, inconsideradas, retozonas como en sus tristezas de corta duración; niño en su incuria y en su imprevisión que raya en bobería; niño en su inconstancia, que le incita a cambiar de oficio o echar de menos el bosque cuando se le ha iniciado en su bienestar; niño sobre todo en sus flaquezas morales. No conociendo gran cosa lo que es hacerse fuerza, es ladrón de ocasión como mentiroso de circunstancias, y está a merced del más fuerte que quiera llevarle al bien o al mal. Pero también tiene de niño el buen humor siempre agradable y sonriente, la sencillez (no exenta de zalamería), el sentimiento innato de justicia delante de las faltas de otro que él juzga inexorablemente, o delante de las suyas que deplora con pronto arrepentimiento; el cariño, ciertamente superficial, pero pronto, brotando en expresiones candorosas. Juntamente con esto tiene un sentimiento delicado de confraternidad, que lo lleva a partir espontáneamente con sus vecinos la comida y las provisiones (pero no los inmuebles o los de uso personal). En una palabra, toda esa mezcla, tan llena de contrastes, de las cualidades y defectos del niño: esto es el indio."

29.—No me hubiera atrevido yo a decir tanto como: el indio es naturaleza; pero sí repito y comento que el indio es el espejo fiel de la naturaleza virgen en que vive; y también digo que el alma del indio, tiene su símbolo más perfecto en su casa o *maloca*. (Esta palabra es brasilera y equivale a *bohío* o casa rústica).

La *maloca* es un microcosmos: circular en su base, fabricada de palos y barro (bahareque), con su rasgadura hacia el oriente, yérguese sobre cualquiera colina o montículo, cual si fuera un observatorio; cónica en su techumbre de paja o palma, parece aguzarse como un pararrayos para recibir todas las vibraciones del cosmos, que la rodea y envuelve. En su interior la maloca está llena de burdares traídos de los cerros para tostar el casabe, de ollas de barro arrancado del fondo de las lagunas para cocinar el picante kumachi o el refrescante kachiri, de todo el reino vegetal desde las raíces y los tallos hasta los frutos y las hojas, transportado en sus guayares. Añadid a todo esto el reino animal, pájaros, venados, etc., domesticado por el cariño de la mujer, y alegrando los crepúsculos de la mañana y de la tarde y la *maloca* aparecerá a vuestros ojos como una nueva arca de Noé, flotando en medio de la creación, como un templo rústico de la misma naturaleza.

De este mismo modo el indio vive como embriagado, dominado y absorbido por la naturaleza; al volver cada tarde a su maloca con el mapire lleno de peces, con el guayere repleto de frutas o con su venado a las espaldas, viene también con el alma preñada de naturaleza, que después la maga de su imaginación transforma de mil maneras durante las sombras de la noche y pare más tarde en cuentos y leyendas, saturados de fantasmagorías.

Para entender bien la gran asimilación del indio con la naturaleza, debemos tener *in mente* que la metamorfosis, el antropomorfismo y el animismo forman, por así decir, la base de su mentalidad más imaginativa que lógica.

30.—Sabios etnólogos notaron ya que los pueblos primitivos, que viven en medio de la naturaleza bravía y salvaje, aun no domeñada por el hombre, sufren un desarrollo extraordinario de la imaginativa. Y, por eso, si de todos se dijo que la imaginación es *la loca de la casa*, hablando de los indios deberíamos decir que la imaginación es *la señora y dueña absoluta de su alma.*

De este gran predominio y desbordamiento de la imaginación sobre las otras facultades intelectivas y volitivas creo yo que dependen todos los defectos y aptitudes morales antes enunciados de los indios: inconstancia, imprevisión, debilidad moral, buen humor, sencillez, confraternidad.

La imaginación de los indios, en su faceta de temor, a veces terror y pánico, pobló las nubes de *uaranapí*, los cerros de *mauarítón*, las montañas de *piaimá*, las aguas de *ratá* y *tuenkarón*, las sepulturas de *orodán*, los árboles huecos de *amariuak*, las llanuras de *seipán* y las oquedades subterráneas de *tiripueni*.

Otra de las grandes creaciones de la imaginación de los indios es el *Kanaimá*, del que deberemos hablar particularmente en alguno de los apartes de esta obra.

Aquí se cumple al pie de la letra la célebre frase del poeta latino, en que dice: *"Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit"*, que el temor de los hombres ante los grandes fenómenos naturales creó los diosecillos, por oposición al raciocinio que nos asegura la existencia de un solo Dios.

¡Imaginación creadora ésta de los indios, que modela su carácter y llena el mundo de seres fantásticos!

CAPITULO IV

¿LOS INDIOS SON TRISTES O ALEGRES?

31—Testimonios contradictorios. 32—Alegría somática y alegría psicológica. 33—Debajo de una ruin capa... 34—El chiste. 35—¿La ansiedad religiosa?

31. — Dice Humboldt, hablando de los Indios Chaimas: "Taciturno, sin alegría, replegado sobre sí mismo, afecta un aire grave y misterioso. Cuando alguien ha vivido poco tiempo en las misiones y cuando todavía no está familiarizado con el aspecto de los indígenas, se ve tentado a tomar la indolencia de éstos y el embotamiento de sus facultades por la expresión de la melancolía y una propensión a meditar".

Opuesto diametralmente a este juicio es el de Simpson, quien, hablando de los Kamarakotos, dice: "Son todo lo contrario de retraídos y silenciosos... Por lo contrario su cháchara es interminable y el rostro trasluce corrientemente sus emociones. La expresión habitual del rostro es una sonrisa amplia y cualquier incidente divertido les hace prorrumpir en sonoras carcajadas. Poseen un sentido acentuado del humorismo y siempre están de broma. Son muy inclinados a hacer chistes". (Pág. 600).

Clara es la dificultad que hay en querer reducir a una sola categoría a todos los individuos de una tribu (por pequeña que sea), mucho más de tribus distintas, aunque sean de la misma raza. Sabido es que ni los dedos de la mano son iguales, ni hay dos caras iguales, ni dos carecteres perfectamente parejos. Por otra parte, esta cuestión es muy compleja: somática y psicológica. Poco tiempo de permanencia entre ellos y conocimiento superficial de su lenguaje (la expresión más viva del alma) no nos pueden dar sino atisbos y conclusiones más o menos erradas. Por lo contrario, larga convivencia de 10 años, íntima, familiar y coloquial, creo que me dan algo de autoridad para terciar en el asunto.

32.—Dividiendo, para vencer y bien definir, nos encontramos, en primer término, con una alegría somática o, más particularmente, facial.

En este sentido puede afirmarse la falta de vivacidad en la expresión de todas las pasiones, así las del amor como las del odio, en los indios. Estoy conforme con Humboldt en que la semiinmovilidad de las facciones es un rasgo característico en las tribus indígenas; y me extraña grandemente

lo dicho por Simpson sobre la sonrisa habitual y mucho más sobre las sonoras carcajadas y que siempre están de buen humor. Muy al contrario, los indios, por su fisonomía, parecen siluetas recortadas con tijeras o estatuas broncíneas del templo del fatalismo; con sus ojos apenas entreabiertos y entornados hacia abajo, "como soñolientos de lasitud", su nariz roma, su frente diminuta y sus labios gruesos y toscos poseen (como dice Humbeldt) "más bien una fisonomía de tribu o de horda que una fisonomía propia de tal o cual individuo".

33.—Mas ya nos advirtió el explorador alemán que no debemos tomar por melancolía la indolencia y embotamiento o falta de vivacidad. Además debemos tener en cuenta que cada raza tiene su canon de expresión y de belleza, que no puede ser precisamente la helénica o caucásica. Y así como dice el refrán que "debajo de una ruin capa se esconde un buen bebedor", así también tras de una cara amorfa, que a nosotros tal vez nos parezca careta, esconden generalmente los indios un corazón alegre y rebosante de buen humor. Esta es la alegría verdadera o psicológica.

Facilidad en la vida material, ausencia de preocupaciones psicológicas, buenas relaciones sociales, contemplación asidua de la naturaleza, escasez de ambiciones, etc., no pueden menos de producir cierta complacencia íntima, si no llega a euforia y felicidad.

Naturalmente que esta es una alegría no muy alborozada, pero sí más verdadera que "la risa de tierra seca o cocida", de que nos habla la tribu tuarez o "risa de espinas en el fuego", de que nos hablan los Libros Santos.

34.—El chiste, muestra de ingenio y arma contra el fastidio y el aburrimiento, no es raro en el lenguaje de los indios. Véase sólo por vía de ejemplo y no de catálogo algunos de éstos:

¿E puek av-ichí? — Ue-yepué puek edaí?

¿Qué haces, en qué estás? — Estoy en mis huesos.

¿E puek av-echiri-pueti? — Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

¿Por qué gritas? — Yo no, son los habitantes de mi hombro (cerro) que se acongojan (v. gr., al cargar palos).

Al pedirles el asentimiento a una cosa discutible, en vez de responder iná, iná, sí, sí, o iná-pe-ré, así parece ser, responden con estas frases casi homónimas, pero de significado absolutamente distinto: "ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón", tu nariz, llena de granos o "euná piré", tu nariz rojiza.

Para decir que tienen mucha hambre con frecuencia les

oigo: "u-paná kuntá karé euayichik", estoy con una barriga hasta el lóbulo de las orejas.

En viajes fluviales, en que el aburrimiento suele llegar al máximo, con frecuencia les oía buscar alivio ya gritando a un pájaro negro, "esta no es tierra de negros", ya a una tijereta, "esa se robó unas tijeras para rabo", ya gritando a un guacamayo "ese se cogió una flecha de los indios para su rabo y una fruta para cabeza"; ya a un mono que huía asustado "hermano, ahora que vengo a visitarte tú te vas", etc..

35.—Otras muchas manifestaciones de la alegría no cabe estudiarlas en el breve espacio de estos capitulillos. Pero no quiero terminar sin hacer una llamada al sectarismo, mal disimulado, con que el doctor Simpson y su señora Ana Roe quieren desprestigiar las ideas religiosas, diciendo que son malévolas para los indios y causa de "ansiedad" nada menos que "neurótica".

Esta afirmación, tan gratuita y tendenciosa, corre parejas con otra del mismo autor, en que afirma que el vestido crea el pudor y no es la vergüenza la que busca el vestido, y aquellas otras gramaticales en que dice no haber "distinción clara entre nombres y adjetivos" e "imposible distinguir el adverbio, la preposición o la conjunción como partes especiales de la oración".

Lástima que el doctor haya echado en saco roto la advertencia que él mismo hace en el prólogo: "En lo referente a los problemas harto más dificultosos de cultura social, mis observaciones son forzosamente menos completas. El mejor trabajo en esta especialidad requiere años de residencia, un dominio absoluto del dialecto local y la confianza plena da los indios. Disponían solamente de pocas semanas..."

De modo que confesada la ignorancia por su parte, no creo necesario insistir en la refutación de tal aserto.

CAPITULO V

¿LOS INDIOS SON ACTIVOS O PEREZOSOS?

36—El cuarteto popular. 37—La posición del verdadero indigenista. 38—Rendimiento útil. 39—Carencia de estímulos psicológicos. 40—El medio geográfico. 41—División del trabajo entre ambos sexos. 42—La excepción confirma la regla. 43—Testimonio del Dr. Simpson. 44—De dónde, pues, el atraso e incultura de estos indios?

36.—Vaya por delante la advertencia de que no ignoro el cuarteto pepular.

[p. 16-A]

Una familia de la Gran Sabana, cuyos hijos han sido educados en la Misión.

SS16 Pemon
[p.16-B]

Tipo auténticos de niña indígena educada en la Misión con las Hermanas Franciscanas.

Ranchito de paja que sirvió de casa al Misionero y de Capilla donde celebraba los divinos Misterios

Huye el indio del trabajo
y busca la ociosidad:
donde le pegan se queda,
donde le pagan se va.

No desconozco ni niego que el pecado o vicio de la pereza les ha sido imputado casi unánimemente por todos los escritores. Hasta el Santo Obispo Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, tal vez el más grande panegirista de los indígenas americanos, en su tratado "Virtudes del indio" no les excusa de este vicio capital; aunque advierte que, si bien muy inclinados a él, la avaricia de los colonos no los dejaba incurrir en su práctica.

Aducir testimonios a favor de la incuria, desidia, pereza y haraganería de los indios, sería la empresa más fácil; no habría más que dejarse rodar cuesta abajo. Lo contrario es remontar contra la fuerza de la corriente y dar la cara a los ramalazos del viento; pero la verdad se ha de decir.

37.—Claro es que la rehabilitación del indio y el amor a él no consiste en desconocer u ocultar sus defectos, pero menos puede serlo el despreciarlo o prejuzgarlo sin conocimiento de causa y coadyuvar con sus denigrantes a imponerle sambenitos inmerecidos. En este asunto no vamos a hablar de oídas; hemos convivido largos años con los indios y hablamos por experiencia diuturna e íntima, que nos obliga a decir la verdad, aunque las bolas sigan corriendo.

No venimos a romper lanzas en favor de los indios, sino en favor de la verdad. Esta idea de la pereza innata de los indios creémosla hermana gemela de la leyanda negra de los españoles, contra la cual muy poco han valido las voces de Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Tal vez, la voz del misionero, muchas veces motejado de cegado por el cariño, sea también despreciada y resulte predicar en desierto, pero, así y todo, *magis amica veritas*.

38.—Es cuestión muy distinta, de que aquí no tratamos, la resistencia física y el rendimiento útil de los indios, que dió origen a la traída de negros para el laboreo de las minas y los ingenios de azúcar. También es distinta la otra cuestión de la desnutrición o nutrición incompleta y la degeneración producida por el alcoholismo, paludismo, etc., aunque se tocan con el tema primordial, que aquí nos ocupa. Hablando del rendimiento útil, anoto que, respecto de los guaraúnos, el R. P. Gaspar de Pinilla, misionero entre ellos, muchas veces me dijo que en manejo de hacha, canalete y arrastre de temi-

che él no los cambiaba por ningún negro al criollo, a pesar de que los guaraúnos son de los más mulejados de haraganes y perezosos. Lo mismo puedo decir de los Pemones de la Gran Sabana respecto a marchas con cargas, construcción de ranchos, etc., es decir, de todo aquello que forma su vida cotidiana y su actividad propia.

Personas, que hablan muchas veces para desahogo de su impaciencia sobresaltada en los viajes contra la pachorra, estoicidad, pereza, etc. de los sufridos indios, a los dos días, desaparecidas ya las incomodidades, los oiréis deshacerse en lenguas sobre lo guapos que son para cargar y mil cosas más.

39.—También es harina de otro costal, aunque relacionado tangencialmente con lo que nos ocupa, el asunto de la carencia de iniciativas, la falta de ambición y la no apetencia de cierto bienestar temporal, al que no están acostumbrados y que por lo mismo no echan de menos con injusta sorpresa nuestra, pues no debemos dejar en el olvido que el hobre es un animal de costumbres. En este sentido es cierto que el indio, sin darse cuenta, parece repetir el adagio, que los Libros Santos ponen en boca del necio: "Más vale un puñadito con descanso, que las dos manos llenas con trabajo y aflicción de espíritu". (Eclesiastés, IV, 6).

40.—Para la acertada solución del problema enunciado, debemos más tener en cuenta que el lugar donde viven los indios, debe ser ponderado, pues no en vano se nos dice que la Geografía es upo de los dos ojos necesarios en todo enfoque o estudio sobre el hombre.

a) Evidentemente, en los *climas cálidos* nadie puede desplegar la misma actividad que en los fríos. El sabio Creador no dió a los animales de los trópicos el mismo instinto de ahorro o almacenamiento que a los congéneres de otros climas.

b) Los *frutos tropicales, en* general, no pueden ser almacenados, sino que deben ser consumidos rápidamente: de ahí la tendencia más o menos remota a la orgía.

c) La *carencia de sal* no les permite tampoco aprovisionarse de comida animal para largo tiempo y racionar su consumo. Las presas moqueadas o curadas con sólo fuego no duran indefinidamente como las saladas.

d) La *no existencia de estaciones* bien contrastadas y definidas no ayudan al hombre de estas tierras al cálculo preciso: de aquí que gran abundancia y derroche vengan frecuentemente seguidos de gran escasez.

e) La *enorme lejanía* de los centros de comercio, para remate de males, no les permite cultivar sino lo que ellos mis-

mos van a consumir. En general, no se nos negará que el trabajo es aceptado como medio ingrato para librarnos de la miseria o indigencia o para procurarnos otro goce; considerarlo como noble en sí mismo y sobre todo practicarlo por puro amor al arte, es aún patrimonio de muy pocos.

A la luz de estos principios geográficos sin duda que la tan decantada pereza de los indios queda reducida a muy poco. Y la áurea regla de San Francisco de Asís, "según los lugares y tiempos y frías regiones" quizás nos sugiera ideas más benignas respecto de los indígenas. Para un indio sería el colmo de la flojera decir de él que no contrae matrimonio o limita el número de hijos: en cambio en nuestras ciudades eso es la comida diaria y el pan nuestro de cada día, a pesar de proclamarse trabajadores e industriosos y amos de la naturaleza. ¿Qué tanto quiere exigirse de los aborígenes residentes en comarcas incomunicadas, dominados y casi absorbidos por una naturaleza bravía, sin los estímulos de placeres refinados y ambiciones y sin la posible acumulación y transporte de la riqueza por medio de la moneda?

41.—Muchas veces se nos pregunta sobre la división del trabajo entre varones y hembras y con frecuencia también se oye decir que los indios agobian de trabajo a sus mujeres mientras ellos pasan la vida en la holganza. Naturalmente, si comparamos a las mujeres indias con mujeres maniquíes, tal vez llegáramos a decir que aquellas son esclavas; pero estudiadas en el plan natural de una vida campesina, nuestra conclusión es que sus labores están equitativamente repartidas y que la división del trabajo que entre ellos se observa, bien puede tomarse por modelo. En efecto; el hombre desbroza el terreno, derriba árboles, abre picas, perfora canoas, construye íntegramente ranchos y casas, hace sandalias, fabrica cordeles y toda suerte de armas y artefactos para caza y pesca y hasta los objetos de cestería; él sólo hace todas las operaciones de caza y pesca.

La mujer, siembra, arranca, transporta y prepara los alimentos; de los tejidos hace sólo los que son usados por ella o por los niños, como adornos de abalarios ensartados, bandas para cargar los hijos y chinchorros; fabrican ollas (donde encuentran barro apropiado); y cuidan del aseo de las casas y alrederores y de la crianza de los niños. En fin, que pertenecen al varón el manejo del machete, hacha, armas, etc., y a la hembra las ollas, adornos, escoba, etc.

Unicamente en los viajes, considerados desglobados del resto de la vida, aparecen las indias cargando como el ba-

chaco, en tanto que los indios caminan lindamente con las armas en la mano. Pero debe reflexionarse que el indio viaja de esa manera siempre en espera de la presa, que puede presentársele en un momento impensado y que con frecuencia hasta se aparta del camino trillado para correr hasta el punto convenido de reunión o término de jornada.

Muchas veces se encontrará al indio acostado en su chinchorro en tanto que la india le prepara la comida; pero muchas otras se verá a la india reposando o tranquila en su rancho mientras el indio, abandonando el reposo, con viento, frío y lluvia persigue la comida animal (no tan fácil de conseguir como la vegetal) en las madrugadas, en los atardeceres o corriendo el día entero con un pedazo de casabe en la bolsa.

Claro que entre los indios también se debate la eterna y odiosa cuestión (sobre todo en momentos de disgusto) de si las mujeres trabajan más que los hombres o víceversa y que la conclusión final es siempre a favor del locutor en contra de los del grupo contrario. Pero esto nada prueba, pues nadie es buen juez en propia causa.

42.—Así resuelta la cacareada pereza de los indios como grupo, no negamos que entre ellos, al lado del *arikenak*, diligente, existe el *enakinî*, el flojo y perezoso, tan hábimente retratados en el cuento del buho y el pato. Dicen también que a la par del *tapui amuenín y mua akenín* (constructor de casas y organizador de labranzas agrícolas) existen el *kamî tarén* (que vive en el chinchorro) y el *tereutasén naké* (el eterno andariego), que no puede reposar por llevar un palo aguzado en el punto crítico y el *karán* (viajero), que muchas veces resulta ser un *karán-karán* (insecto de la cabeza), que vive del trabajo de los otros. Precisamente sobre estos últimos recibí hace pocos días un dibujo de uno de los educados en nuestro internado de San Francisco de Luepa con la siguien expresiva inscripción: *"Kamî tarenkon, iuantón"*, "Los que viven en el chinchorro, viven hambrientos".

43.—Para mayor abundancia de pruebas quiero transcribir las palabras del Dr. Simpson en su obra "Los Kamarokotos", pág. 541 sobre este mismo tema, pues estamos plenamente acordes: "Los Kamarakotos tienen un nivel de vida muy definido y al cual casi todos llegan. Trabajan duro para mantener un hogar propio, con buena casa, conuco adecuado, chinchorros, cestas y todo el ajuar que necesitan, adornos personales, y demás propiedades inherentes a su manera de vivir.

Cuando estas necesidades se satisfacen por el momento,

los indios descansan y se divierten. El amontonar riquezas, el ahorrar para el futuro y cualquier acumulación de bienes que no sean para el disfrute cotidiano, ni siquiera se intentan. Sólo en este sentido pueden ser considerados como verdaderos vagos.

Tomando en cuenta su standard, tienen abundante energía que despliegan cuado, con ese mismo standard, tienen una razón cualquiera de trabajar; resulta completamente injusto aplicarles en absoluto el calificativo de haraganes". "Tampoco es cierto, dígase lo que se quiera de otros indios que los Kamarakotos asignen a las mujeres una porción no equitativa del trabajo".

44.—¿De dónde, pues, se dirá, el atraso e incultura de estos indios? Soy el primero en conocer y palpar con mis propias manos la incultura y atraso de estas tribus, sin que esto pruebe la contra-tesis de la pereza superlativa de los indios.

La tierra más feraz necesita del arado y la semilla traídos de fuera para que pueda fructificar; un país riquísimo se empobrece sin vías de exportación, es decir, sin puertas al exterior; y la historia de todos los pueblos, antiguos y modernos, nos dice que la civilización no es autóctona, sino exotérica o, cuando más, mixta. Del choque y mezcla de razas e ideas saltan los genios, los inventores, los conductores, las civilizaciones; a la manera que el fuego salta al choque del pedernal y del hierro.

De ahí, precisamente, la necesidad de una *misión*, —envío, iniciativa, estímulos, fermento,— a toda región estancada, inerte, empobrecida y atrasada; de un camino por donde esa misión marche llevando las semillas, los reproductores, el arado, las máquinas, los libros y los demás adelantos de la vida moderna civilizada, y por donde los indígenas exporten sus productos; en una palabra, se necesitan medios para establecer el intercambio, el comercio de productos agrícolas, ganaderos y minerales, de cultura, religión y de sangre.

Muy acertadamente se escribió en una revista de Ingeniería: "El camino es el primer paso y el primer auxilio para la redención de una nación; el éxodo del estancamiento en cualquiera sociedad; el llamamiento en cualquier tribu para apartarse del salvajismo".

CAPITULO VI

¿LOS INDIOS SON BRAVOS O PACIFICOS

45—Juzgando por las apariencias. 46—El animal inmanísimo. 47—El supuesto salvajismo de los primitivos. 48—Emigración de las leyendas. 49—Las leyendas modernas. 50—La timidez pueblerina. 51—La psicología del miedo. 52—No negamos hechos. 53—Los Sirianá del Paragua y los Motilones del Perijá. 54—Conclusiones finales.

45.—Para responder a esta pregunta, que nos hacen, no creo necesario que vayamos a consultar con Buffón o cualquiera de los naturalistas sobre las características del Homo Sapiens; es suficiente que nos miremos a nosotros mismos, a nuestra piel suave, a nuestro cabello lacio, a nuestras uñas planas y anchas, etc., para convencernos de que el hombre es por su misma naturaleza un animal manso y hasta tímido. De tal manera que, en principio y para mi ver, preguntar si existen hombres bravos es lo mismo que preguntar si existen ovejas agresivas.

Con todo, como ésta es una pregunta, que tan a menudo nos dirigen, no vamos a soslayar la respuesta ni a escaparnos por la tangente. Además no podemos negar que, juntamente con los caracteres somáticos, hay que estudiar los psicológicos, cuando se quiere dar respuesta adecuada y completa sobre cualquier problema referente al hombre.

46.—A los caracteres psicológicos debió de referirse el príncipe de los filósofos antiguos cuando escribió que "el hombre era un animal inmanísimo, glotón y lujurioso". Y, hasta dolernos la cabeza, estamos oyendo cada día el adagio de "homo homini lupus".

No se puede negar que existen momentos de fiereza en el hombre. Como individuos, cada uno de nosotros sabe de ello; como agrupaciones políticas, bastaría la sola presente guerra para convencernos. Pero de ahí a suponer un estado primitivo de la humanidad, en el que los hombres vivieron en perpetua guerra como las fieras (o peor, pues, en general, ninguna ataca a los de su misma especie), saciando sus instintos de sangre o disputándose la comida o las hembras, es dejarse llevar de una creencia o leyenda, muy extendida en verdad, pero completamente falla de principios científicos, aun prescindiendo de los irrebatibles relatos bíblicos.

47.—Repetimos lo antes dicho a la inversa. Falso, pero muy popular y universal, es el mito de un estado primitivo de los hombres bravos y fieros durante un largo período de

milenios; mito recogido hasta por científicos en gracia a teorías preconcebidas.

Y este mito, junto con los otros de las Amazonas, del país dorado, de la piedra filosofal, del elixir de vida, de las islas encantadas, etc., ahuyentados, como sombras que eran, por la luz de los descubrimientos geográficos, se fueron alejando de Europa al Asia, de aquí al Africa y Oceanía, para venir finalmente a refugiarse en América, el nuevo mundo, el mundo desconocido, el refugio de todos los mitos y leyendas de la antigüedad, que se niegan a desaparecer y se asen al clavo ardiendo de la imaginación popular y a los rincones geográficos, rara vez pisados por planta del hombre blanco.

Por esto no debe extrañarnos que los descubridores del nuevo mundo, inbuídos en estas ideas, siempre a caza de sorpresas y ganosos de desquitarse con narraciones maravillosas de las arduas exploraciones, vieran en islas remotas y en tierras inaccesibles ejércitos de amazonas, indios con rabo, indios con tres ojos, indios blancos, indios de orejas tan enormes que una les servía de colchón y otra de cobija, y desde luego (lo que es menos que todo eso) indios salvajes y bravos, carniceros y antropófagos.

48.—Y aún menos debe extrañarnos que los antiguos creyeran en tales simplicidades, cuando hace apenas unos días y a nuestras mismas barbas se estampan barbaridades como éstas: "Buenos Aires, junio de 1943.—El doctor Peña partió con cuatro indios de su propio distrito... se dirigieron hacia el Sur del Brasil... En el camino encontraron algunos de esos terribles seres que los indígenas llaman "cabeza de porco". Esos "cabeza de puerco" son tan feos, agazapados y feroces que apenas pueden llamarse humanos. Viven en los árboles, comen carne cruda y matan por el gusto de matar". (Stanley Ross.—Publicado en "La Esfera", 27 de julio de 1943).

Siguen después otras no menos notables verdades, basadas en la autoridad del doctor Peña, del famoso explorador y piloto Jimy Angel y del aventurero checoeslovaco Frank Herbst, sobre las amazonas y los indios blancos y termina el escritor para bobalicones o tontos de capirote con el siguiente epifonema: "¡Tocó así a Lucas Fernández Peña, transformar en realidad una leyenda encantadora!". Risum teneatis, amici!

50.—Por otra parte, no era necesario que los descubridores europeos arribaran a estas tierras prevenidos con tales leyendas, pues aquí mismo los indios, a manera de gente simple y que no han ido más allá de su aldea, tenían y tienen esas mismas ideas de sus vecinos. Todo lo aquí dicho lo tenemos los misioneros comprobado hasta la saciedad. Siempre que hemos tratado de emprender excursiones a lugares apartados

y más o menos ignotos, criollos e indios se han aunado para decirnos que vayamos armados, que aquellos indios son muy bravos, que usan enormes flechas, que trepan como monos, que usan substancias venenosas, que saben de magia maléfica para producir toda clase de enfermedades (incluso la locura), que sus palabras son más bien alaridos, etc. ¡Tan cierto es que estrechez de horizontes geográficos suele andar de la mano con estrechez de ideas y que "el sueño de la razón engendra monstruos", en frase de Goya! Y cada vez que hemos tornado de una de estas excursiones sanos y salvos, pasado el primer momento de sorpresa mal disimulada, después que declaramos haber estado entre los tan temidos indios y lo comprobamos con fotografías, planos levantados y notas de sus lenguas, la conclusión invariable ha sido siempre la de que o nosotros no llegamos a los indios que *propiamente* ellos decían ó que los tales indios se han retirado a lugares más apartados. En este último sentido estamos conformes. En efecto: los tales indios bravos, como todos los otros seres imaginarios y legendarios, existen siempre en el más allá intangible e inaccesible; y terminarán, no lo dudamos, por irse a la luna.

51.—Hace pocos años, viajando por las Sierras del Perijá, (de las que, por cierto, no éramos nosotros los primeros exploradores) todos los hombres enviados por el Gobierno iban provistos de pistolas; uno de ellos, que creyó haber perdido su arma, no obstante ir todos los demás armados, negábase ya a seguir el viaje. Cuando íbamos llegando a una ranchería (a veces un solo rancho) me advertían con acritud que no me adelantara mucho; al mismo tiempo de dormir, colgando yo mi hamaca algo separada del dormitorio común que ellos usaban, me advertían continuamente que estuviera con cuidado porque en la confianza está el peligro; y, cuando yo les decía que aquellos indios eran muy buenos y muy mansos, y que más bien ellos estaban o estarían con miedo de nosotros, y que nuestra timidez no disimulada podría parecerles a ellos agresividad y que el miedo hace ver fantasmas y es muy mal consejero, invariablemente me contestaban: "Que estos indios sean mansos es lo que nos falta por saber".

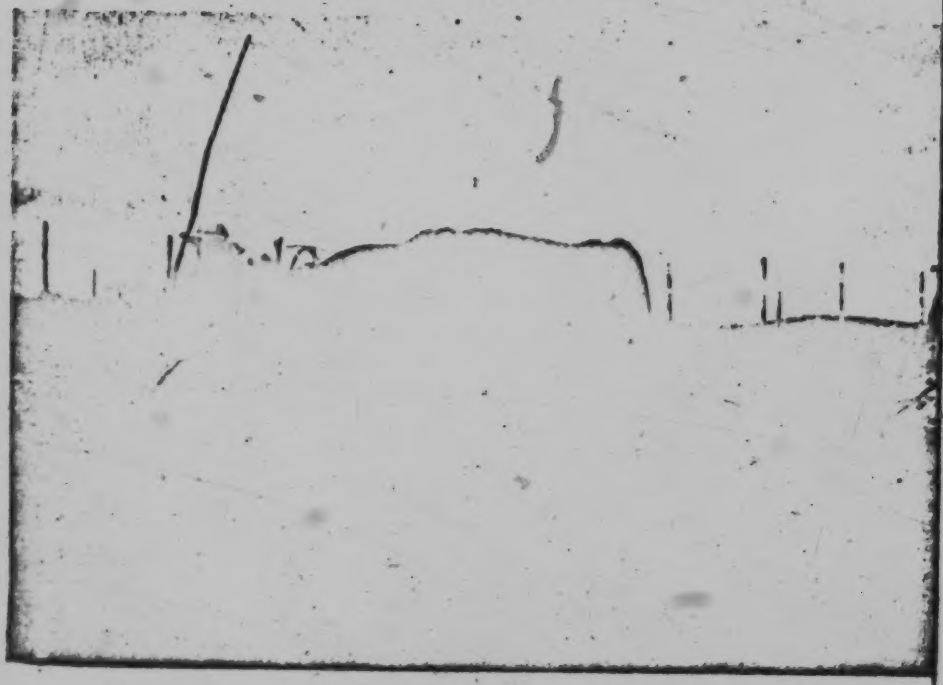
Yo, que realmente me hallo entre los indios como el pez en el agua, reíame para mis adentros de aquella mutua desconfianza; pero la sonrisa se me helaba en flor al pensar y recordar la infinidad de accidentes desagradables y hasta trágicos a que ha dado lugar, según la Historia, la nefasta costumbre de internarse entre los indios siempre con el revólver a la cintura o lanza en ristre. Chanzas de los indios, timideces de los mismos y sobre todo su lenguaje desconocido fueron

2: Armellada

SS16 Pemon

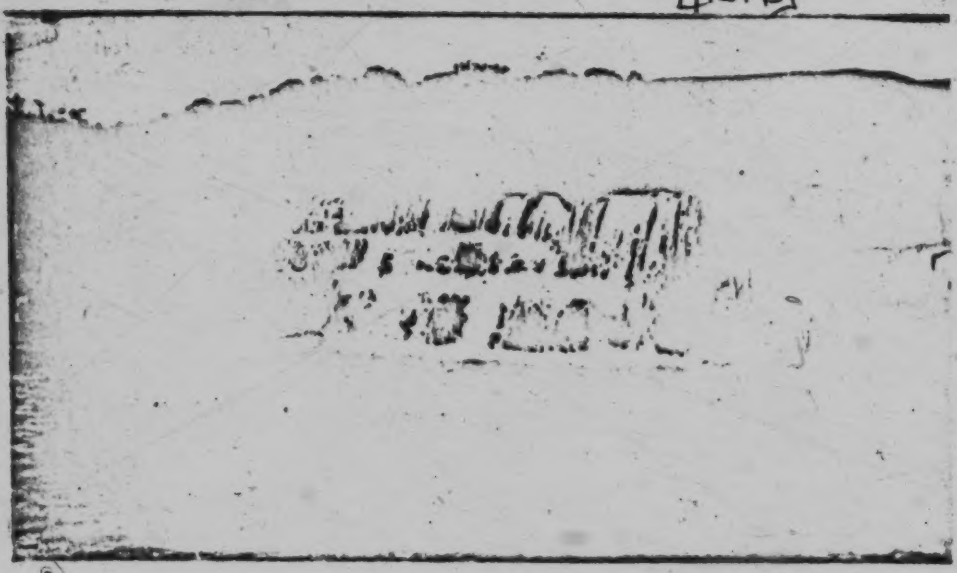
[A.24-A]

Los indígenas de la Misión alegres y satisfechos en un día de asueto.

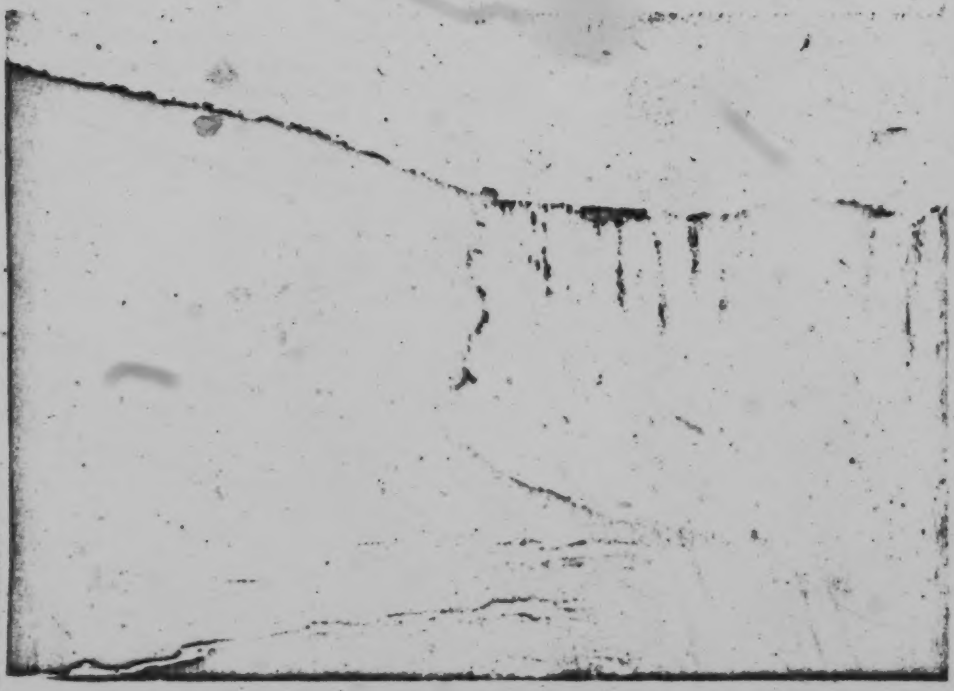


El Misionero roturando la tierra para hacerla producir.

[p 24-B]



Las grandes cascadas, fuente de energía y de riqueza aun sin explotar.



muchas veces tomados por confabulaciones y agresividad y de allí vinieron las catástrofes de magníficas expediciones.

Y nada digamos de las repetidas veces que los mismos excursionistas chocaron las armas entre sí o trocaron balas. ¡Para su mal le nacen alas a la hormiga y carga su veneno la culebra!

52.—Con esto no queremos negar la inexistencia absoluta de hechos sangrientos entre los indios, sobre todo cuando están bajo la influencia del alcohol y de los celos, pues nos consta de varios casos. Tampoco negamos casos concretos y comprobados de ataques de los indios a criollos; de varios tenemos probanzas ciertas. ¿Pero, no sucede esto mismo entre nosotros en toda ciudad, pueblo o aldea?

53.—Particularmente se viene hablando de la braveza indomable de los Sirianá del río Paragua y de los Motilones del Zulia. En cuanto a los primeros, no cabe duda alguna de que no existen tales carneros, como pudimos comprobar en la excursión hecha el año 1940 e informamos en una reseña publicada en el Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, tomo VIII, Nº 53, al cual nos remitimos.

En cuanto a los segundos, lo cierto es que tienen relaciones comerciales con los del río Tukuku; con lo que queda destruída a lo menos la mitad de la leyenda, según la cual los Motilones no admitían ni siquiera el trato o acercamiento de las otras tribus. Y respecto a sus odios a los criollos y agresividad, aténgome al juicio del señor Gsell, copiado por A. Jahn en su libro "Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela", pág. 99, en que dice: "En cuanto a la índole de los Motilones, opina Gsell, que no los considera peligrosos mientras no hayan sido molestados por los criollos; de modo que su hostilidad hacia los blancos es siempre originada por un espíritu de venganza.

Dice él mismo: "los peones criollos son demasiado cobardes e imprudentes para poder entrar en trato con los Motilones y cuando han tenido la suerte de tropezar con una plantación de yuca y plátanos, hecha por los indios, arrancan los tubérculos y cortan los frutos en sazón, provocando de esta manera su ira". Abundando en las mismas ideas del señor Gsell, podemos añadir que, según nos consta por el no poco tiempo vivido entre indios y el no estrecho círculo de nuestras observaciones, los abusos denunciados por él son los más pequeños; otros de mucha más importancia, que no hay para qué nombrarlos, dan y darán origen a represalias; y lo admirable es que no se den más casos, pues fuera de los territorios

misionales, el remedio casi único para los indios es recurrir a la justicia catalana, es decir, a la justicia por propia mano.

54.—Así desenmarañada la cuestión, que se nos propuso sobre el pacifismo o braveza de los indios, puede concluirse en términos generales:

1º Los indios son tímidos, recelosos y hasta huilones;
2º A veces están o se ponen bravos y hasta toman represalias.

CAPITULO VII

¿LOS INDIOS, SON SOBRIOS O GLOTONES?

55—Sobrios por necesidad, glotones al haber ocasión. 56—El gran borrón del carácter del indio. 57—Atenuantes de este defecto. 58—Destemplanza en la bebida. 59—De la panza sale... 60—La embriaguez falsamente religiosa. 61—Medidas gubernamentales contra el alcohól. 62—Idea pagana de la embriaguez. 63—Digresión sobre los antiguos indios de Caracas.

55.—La pregunta, que alguien nos hace, está concebida en los siguientes términos: "¿Es verdad, como dicen algunos, que los indios son un pedazo de estómago, un animal que simplemente se alimenta y procrea o son, al contrario, como dicen otros, sobrios y abstinentes como ascetas?"

Amo a los indios, pero debo amar más la verdad. Y la verdad en este caso me obliga a decir que, en general el indio es sobrio y templado por necesidad, pero, habida ocasión, se entrega fácilmente a la destemplanza y glotonería.

Los que hayan observado la pobre manera de alimentarse los indios tras largas jornadas, a veces transportando grandes pesos a sus espaldas, es decir, con un frugal pedazo de casabe y el aliño de ají en polvo o en caldo, me dirán si por doquiera se encuentran hombres tan abstinentes.

Pero, dada la vuelta a la plana, hay que ver la cantidad de bebida que son capaces de trasegar o la comida que se atreven a ingerir cuando la buena suerte en la pesca o caza les depara buenas pitanzas.

56.—Acerca de este asunto no tengo escrúpulo en copiar lo que los Autores de la Geografía Universal (Barc., 1917, ed. Montaner) dicen de los indios de Guayana extractando a J. Rodway: "Por lo regular, las provisiones de los indios son limitadas; su cultivo está regulado por el hecho de que la mu-

jer ha de hacer el trabajo. Una mala estación, una innundación, por ejemplo, lo reduce casi a la nada, y entonces se enseñórea el hambre de la tribu... Aun teniendo buena cosecha, las provisiones se gastan a veces en deplorables orgías y festines. Este es el gran borrón del carácter del indio".

57.—Pero recordemos, en descargo de los indios, que esta mala condición de entregarse a la glotonería los de ordinario hambrientos o que andan de comida a la cuarta pregunta, fué ya atribuída por Cervantes a los estudiantes pobres, cuando escribió de ellos: "y aquel ahitarse con tanto gusto cuando la fortuna les depara algún banquete". Y nuestro refranero popular contiene estos dos dichos bien significativos: "Muera Marta y muera harta" y "El refrán del pobre: antes reventar que sobre".

Recordemos también que a esta glotonería son incitados, en parte, por la condición de los frutos tropicales, que son inalmacenables. De los frutos cultivados por los indios casi el único, que puede conservarse indefinidamente, es el casabe, pan de yuca, en forma de torta o mejor en forma de mañoco o harina tostada. Expresiones como "hacer su agosto" y semejantes no tienen sentido en estas regiones. De ahí que muy acertadamente digan los autores: "El indio no es económico; esta virtud es desconocida en los trópicos".

58.—Peor que la intemperencia de los indios en la comida es su destemplanza en la bebida. Seguimos copiando: "Su vehemente afición es la bebida, que ellos mismos preparan"; el kachirí propiamente tal y diversos caratos. Y de la bebida excesiva, aquí como en todas partes, y más cuando la fermentación se continúa en el estómago, vienen las espumas de la ira y de la lujuria. "Cuando el indio está bebido, ya no es el hombre pacífico de la selva, alardea de valiente y provoca pendencias que acaban en batallas, con su consiguiente tributo de sangre... También las mujeres toman parte en estas orgías y pierden su porte habitualmente modesto", recatado y casto.

El kachirí de los indios, que en sus muchas variedades es siempre un puré en fermentación, lo juzgan tan necesario para su dieta diaria que, como escribió con bella hipérbole el P. Eulogio de Villarín, "antes faltaría agua a los ríos que kachirí a los indios". Su falta es causa de graves disgustos de los varones con sus mujeres; y con más sonrojo que los esposos de Caná dirán los indios a sus huéspedes que no tienen kachirí.

Hambre propiamente para el indio es la falta de comida vegetal, en forma de kachirí, sakura, etc., que ellos llaman

iuán; en cambio la falta de presa (comida animal) es llamada *tarui*, que no se refiere a la hartura sino a la fuerza. Para entender bien todo esto, téngase en cuenta que la alimentación de estos indios se asienta sobre las siguientes bases: *bebidas*, diversos purés, fermentados o no, hechos con plátanos, cambures, maíz, ocumo, etc. y que reciben los nombres de *yeuká* y *kachirí; pan*, hecho con yuca amarga, en forma de harina tostada o mañoco y preferentemente en forma de tortas de casabe; *salsa*, el yare de la yuca amarga cocinado hasta punto de melado, *kumachí*, y el picantísimo ají en diversas formas;*presas de* pescado, volatería y montería, dependientes de la riqueza de la región y las habilidades y armas de los varones, que a esto dedican preferentemente sus días.

59.—Pareja con la intemperancia de los indios en la bebida, y como consecuencia de ella, corre su afición a las danzas. Para todos los pueblos se hizo el refrán: "De la panza sale la danza"; pero entre los indios danza y kachirí forman una ecuación perfecta; en la práctica pueden tenerse por sinónimas las palabras danzantes borrachos. El tambor, hecho con piel de mono, el pito de *rué*, el ronco tubo de yagrumo y las alegres sonajas de *kevei* empiezan y terminan exactamente sus sones al comenzar y al terminar el trasiego del *parakarí*, *paiuá* o cualquiera de las otras clases de kachiri. Interrogados los indios sobre el objeto de su viaje de fiestas, con la misma naturalidad y sin el menor rubor contestarán que van a bailar o que van a emborracharse. Y, cuando hacen su siembra muchas veces me dijeron que estaban sembrando con qué embriagarse, en vez de pensar en su pan.

60.—Infelizmente para los indios, la danza, acompañada del aderezo del alcohol o de las bebidas alcohólicas, tuvo en los contornos del Roroima, en las tres naciones agrupadas en torno a este nudo hidrográfico (Venezuela, Brasil y Guayana Inglesa) propagandistas protestantes, llamados aleluyáticos. La lucidez imaginativa y esa sensación indefinible de liberación de la materia, que momentaneamente parecen comunicar a danza rítmica y el alcohol y otras drogas e infusiones, fueron presentadas a los indios por dichos propagandistas como ilustración celestial, liberación del espíritu y comunicación con el mundo suprasensible.

Fué esto llover sobre mojado, pues demasiado inclinados a la bebida eran ya de suyo los indios, y esa teoría de la liberación del espíritu era también la de sus piaches: de modo que la afición al licor les quedó como un clavo remachado.

61.—Así pues, reconocida esta gran debilidad de los indios y este gran borrón de su carácter, es incumbencia de los Go-

biernos dictar o hacer cumplir medidas severas contra el alcoholismo, máximo defecto, que se opone a la plena regeneración de esta raza y que con frecuencia quieren explotar comerciantes y amorales, pues del indio ebrio saben que pueden hacer fácil presa.

Y como estos breves comentarios pueden llegar a manos de varios de nuestros ex-alumnos indígenas de Sta. Elena, a ellos también me dirijo para pedirles que sean con sus palabras y con sus ejemplos apóstoles de abstencionismo cristiano y de la cristiana sobriedad, que siempre les inculcamos sus Padres Misioneros. Sin llegar al extremo de llamar al kachiri bebida diabólica, y a las camazas y canoas, recipientes de pecado, como dicen los Adventistas, no cabe duda que este vicio de la excesiva bebida es la causa más frecuente de inmoralidades y hasta enfermedades: siendo por lo tanto espada para el cuerpo y para el alma.

62.—No para disculpar la embriaguez (de indios o no indios), si no para que se conozca mejor la idea de los no cristianos sobre este problema de la abstinencia, que no sólo en la moral sino también en la política ha ocasionado tan grandes propagandas, voy a transcribir un pasaje de Eurípides en "Las Bacantes", que dice así: "Dos dioses, oh joven, son los principales entre los hombres: Demétre (la Tierra es, llámala como quieras), que les da alimentos secos; y en segundo lugar, y distinto de ella, el hijo de Semele, que inventó el llamado licor de uva y quiere divulgarlo entre los mortales, librándolos de dolores en sus infinitas miserias cuando de él se hartan, y entregándolos al sueño, olvido de los cuidados. Con este mismo dios se hacen libaciones a los demás"... Y poco después dice también que el licor es "dios adivino, ayuda a profetizar" y le atribuye el "furor" o valentía en las batallas.

63.—Los primitivos habitantes de Caracas, también caribes, son motejados de este mismo defecto de la gula y embriaguez en el informe de Juan Pimentel (año 1572), en que se dice de ellos: "Toda su manera de vivir se funda sobre pereza; hacen sus labranzas y, cogidas, cómenselas o, mejor decir, bébenselas en breve porque el beber es su principal mantenimiento y regalo; y después pasan necesidad por no conocer a mañana", quiere decir, que no piensan en el día de mañana, que no saben ahorrar ni almacenar. Y añade más: "Quisieran tener sus labranzas y todo lo necesario debajo de sus camas, que aquí son hamacas, y de allí sembrar, coger, comer, beber y dormir".

Con todo, no deja de aparecer la frase atenuante, pues luego a continuación se dice: "Los que están hechos al trabajo son para mucho".

2: Armellada SS16 Pemon

CAPITULO VIII

¿COMO SON LAS DANZAS DE LOS INDIOS?

64—El estímulo del baile y su finalidad. 65—El éxtasis orgiástico considerado como mágico y religioso. 66—No se festejan con danzas nacimientos, matrimonios ni entierros. 67—Los motivos más ordinarios del baile. 68—Pinturas y adornos. 69—Instrumentos musicales. 70—Forma del baile. 71—Monotonía. 72—Versificación. 73—Otra digresión sobre los indios Caracas.

64.—Con lo dicho en el capítulo anterior sobre la no sobriedad de los indios, bastaría y hasta sobraría; pues si dicen que "de lo bueno, poco" de lo malo o que denigrara, menos. Mas ya que algún curioso lector vuelve sobre el tema, hablaré del mismo, pero en otro sentido.

Aunque escribí que los indios no mueven los pies para la danza sin el estímulo del kachirí, esto no quiere decir que la bebida sea la causa y menos aún el fin de todo baile entre ellos. En ninguna parte del mundo la condición o el estímulo deben confundirse con la causa.

Además, aunque afirmé que los bailes suelen degenerar, como entre nosotros, en pendencias y actos menos decorosos, no quise decir tampoco que todo en los bailes se reduzca a cometer actos reprobables, ni que siempre la embriaguez sea extrema.

Entre indios los más primitivos, como en las sociedades más cultas, el baile es ante todo manifestación de alegría, como la bebida es su causa fisiológica. *Vinum laetificet cor hominis.*

Barriga harta, corazón contento, dice el refrán. Lo primero que intentan los indios en sus bailes es la diversión (en sentido etimológico) y la alegría; librarse del cotidiano bregar y del prosaísmo del diario vivir, estrechados como están en el pequeño círculo de actividades y relaciones sociales.

65.—Además el baile en grandes coros, con música, disfraces, mimetismo, bebidas, etc., viene a producir necesariamente aquella exaltación orgiástica, fiebre de inspiración fantasmagórica y como liberación del alma por el cansancio y extenuación del cuerpo, aunque esto parezca una paradoja. No hay duda de que en este sentido escribió Menéndez Pidal aquellos versos:

"Benditas las noches—claras del verano,
en que vuelan las almas tan libres
mientras quedan los cuerpos tan lacios".

Y de aquí también que las danzas tengan en los orígenes de todos los pueblos un sentido religioso o mágico. Recordemos las danzas de David delante del Arca, las de nuestros seises delante del Santísimo, por un lado; y por otro, recordemos aquellos bailarines del siglo XII, aparecidos en Artois y Flandes, de los que nos dice Proodt en su libro "Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo" que "se entregaban con furia a danzas violentas y ejercicios de dislocación, quienes aseguraban ser favorecidos con visiones celestiales. Bailaban hasta el agotamiento físico, caían como una masa inerte y parecían privados de vida". ¿Qué extraño, pues, que los indios se engañen en esto mismo?

66.—No se organizan bailes para festejar nacimientos, matrimonios ni defunciones, pues está reñidísimo con la manera sencillísima y privadísima de los unos, las restricciones que impone el *couvade* respecto de los recién nacidos y el *asarakpué* respecto de los parientes difuntos, todas ellas incompatibles con las comilonas y bebezones de los bailes.

Tampoco se organizan como preparación a grandes cazatas o pesquerías; al contrario, los varones suelen ir de caza o pesca los 6 u 8 días que preceden, entre tanto que las mujeres preparan las bebidas fermentadas.

67.—Los motivos más ordinarios del baile son: la construcción de nuevas viviendas, el regreso de largos viajes y el simple deseo de reunirse los parientes, pues es de saber que los indios viven muy disgregados, casi siempre dos o tres familias solas en cada lugar. A esto habría que añadir el deseo de hacer ostentación de riqueza en la comida, casi la única de que pueden en veces alardear los indios, cumpliendo sin darse cuenta el caústico dicho de nuestra gente pueblerina: "Si es tan rico, que coma dos veces".

68.—Los bailes autóctonos más usados entre estos indios son el *tukui* y el *parichará;* de los exóticos, cuya procedencia indicamos en nuestro artículo anterior, usan en algunas regiones el areruya chochimás.

En sus bailes usan los indios pintarse el rostro y todo el cuerpo con estos tres colores principalmente: rojo de onoto o achicote, blanco de arcilla o kaolín y azul marino (casi negro) de caruto. No se trata de una embadurnación general, sino de pinturas más o menos geométricas. Como adornos en-

2: Armellada SS16 Pemon

[facim p. 32]

Las indiecitas de la Misión en una representación escénica.

Uno de los muchos ríos que surcan la Gran Sabana y un hermoso morichal.

tran también los rabos de venado, plumajes vistosos de pájaros, élitros irisados de insectos, que los varones llevan colgados por la espalda en el baile *tukui*.

En el baile *parichará* se usan halos o coronas de plumas o palmas teñidas en variadísimas formas y un faldellín o pampanillas de hojas de palma (preferentemente de moriche), que les cuelga de la cintura a los pies.

69.—Los instrumentos musicales usados son: el tambor pequeño (sólo el director o indio cabecero) y pitos de un carricito, llamado *rué*, para el baile *tukui;* más rara vez, el *kaikrá* (flautita de caña) y el *uosekpué*, flauta de tibia de venado. En el baile *parichará* usan: el bastón con sonajas de *kevei* o pezuñas de cochino montés (sólo el director), tubos de yagrumo para emitir sonidos roncos (tal vez a imitación del gruñido de los váquiros). El antedicho faldellín de hojas, por el movimiento que le imprimen, también produce sonido muy agradable de fronda y tal vez esté enderezado a imitar más expresivamente el ruido de los váquiros en la selva. No hay duda de que antiguamente las sonajas que hombres y mujeres usaban en los brazaletes, en las tobilleras, en los collares, en los zarcillo y en las motas o borlas de los *mosá* (guayuco femenino), contribuirán a marcar el ritmo y aumentar el ruido. En el baile *marik* se usan bastones huecos de *uaronká*, especie de bambú, con que se percute el suelo y se marca el compás.

70.—Todos estos bailes son de corro o círculo y lo forman los indios colocando la mano derecha sobre el hombro del que les precede; pero el círculo no se cierra, dejando al director libre por su mano derecha. Los movimientos son acompasados y lentos. Cuando se bailan a la vez el *tukui* y el *parichará* (cosa muy frecuente), éstos forman el círculo interior y aquellos el exterior.

Los que bailan *parichará* siempre se mueven con la cara hacia el centro y acompañan el canto a los resoplidos de sus tubos de *kamadén* (yagrumo) con movimientos oscilatorios del cuerpo de atrás a adelante o de izquierda a derecha para hacer resonar el faldellín y caminan siempre algo encorvados. Los danzantes del *tukui* caminan como en desfile detrás del cabecero o tamborilero, a veces en doble fila o parejas, cogidas del brazo. A veces el director cambia repentinamente y los obliga a caminar hacia atrás, cosa que suele cogerlos desprevenidos y les produce mucha hilaridad. Al final de cada verso o motivo poético repetido infinidad de veces, se dan pasos hacia atrás y adelante mirando hacia el centro, donde se hallan las camazas o canoas de kachirí, se lanzan grandes

gritos y se hace la pausa para beber. Hecho un pequeño descanso, de nuevo el dueño del tambor marca el compás, entona nuevos versos y el baile continúa hasta agotarse las fuerzas o la bebida. Algunos se turnan en el descanso para que el baile no se interrumpa mientras haya kachiri.

71.—De callado está dicho que para los meros observadores un baile así, prolongado por 24 horas seguidas, viene a resultar monótono.

Pero no cabe duda que la monotonía disminuye para los cantores con la variedad de versos; y hasta es necesaria y de efectos maravillosos, cuando se la considera en el terreno religioso o de la magia. (Recuérdense las letanías y la salmodia semitonada). Siempre que trato de este asunto recuerdo la admirable respuesta de un margariteño. Hablábale yo de la monotonía de ciertos bailes y cantares de ellos y contestóme él con este argumento macanudo (contundente como una maza): "Menos tonos sabe el sapo y se pasa las noches cantando".

72.—Los versos son en general pareados, pero sin consonancia o asonancia (fuera de una que otra coincidencia casual); a veces se encuentra el paralelismo lógico; también se encuentra en algunos casos el artificio popular de la concatenación, de tal manera que la última parte forme sentido con la primera, v. gr., el vulgar "tres de la policía quisieron coger a tres, porque decían que eran tres de la policía".

Los motivos poéticos de los versos son variadísimos: los nuevos senderos, la casa nueva, los cerros, los pájaros, los adornos de los danzantes, los instrumentos músicos, los recipientes del kachiri, el amanecer y el anochecer, etc. Estas letras suelen transmitirse de memoria, pero alguna vez invántanlas en el trance mismo del baile.

Véanse algunos pocos de muestra:

1—*Rué ke, rué ke*	*uy-eserumbai*
(Con el pito, con el pito	yo voy a cantar)
2—*U-paruchí kamokí*	*mutá menú karutuá*
(De mi hermanita la camaza	el borde pintado con caruto)
3—*Tavá ke, tavá ke*	*a-patá samerukai, tukuchí*
(Con tierra blanca (bis)	tu morada alegré, danzante de tukui).
4—*Kinó, kinó*	*uayí komankanín, kinó, kinó*
(El arrendajo (bis)	prolonga o sostiene mi canto, el arrendajo (bis).

Apartada la inmoderada bebezón, lástima grande sería que estos bailes, tan poéticos y típicos y, en todo caso más

morales que casi todos los modernos, fueran desapareciendo de las costumbres vivas; y más lastimoso aún que ni siquera se recojan en el cine y en el fonógrafo para solaz al menos de los estudiosos.

73.—Para que se vea que a cuatro siglos de distancia de Colón aun tenemos en varios rincones de nuestra patria las mismas costumbres que entonces, voy a copiar una vez más (y no será la última) un párrafo de la citada relación geográfica de Juan Pimentel sobre los bailes y borracheras de los indios caracas. Dice él en el aparte 14: "Convidan a los comarcanos y días antes hacen mucho *masato;* y lo más de la fiesta es beber hasta caer; vienen a camaradas como salen de los barrios en que viven untados con cierto género de resina, que llaman *orcay* y *mara,* semejante a trementina, y sobre ella o sin ella se ponen y pintan de colorado, que es como bermellón, que ellos llaman *bariquisa* hecha de hojas y de cortezas de árboles; y enmascarados y con figuras del diablo y así entran en la borrachera y el que más fea y horrible máscara tiene, viene más galano; otros traen unos pajaritos, otros, malejos sobre unas varas, hechos de palo, hilo y colores".

Y más abajo dice: "Estas son sus fiestas y regocijos y regalos y toda su felicidad y contento; suélenlas hacer ordinariamente hoy aquí y mañana allí y se juntan muchos a ellas".

CAPITULO IX

¿LOS INDIOS SON LIMPIOS O DESASEADOS?

74—Principio general. 75—El indio comparado con nuestra gente de campo y visto por los que entre ellos vivimos. 76—En la comida y afeites. 77—Olor de puerco-espín y olor a humo. 78—La casa y el patio. 79—Los parásitos vulgares. 80—Los indios semicivilizados. 81—El desquite de los indios. 82—El cuento de "kamotipán".

74.—A boca jarro nos hacen la pregunta y a boca jarro respondemos a nuestro interrogante que al indio típico y su típica vivienda, sin llegar a los remilgos de nuestra higiene, no se les puede motejar de sórdidos y desaseados a boca llena. De este mismo parecer es el autor de "Los Kamarakotos", tan exactamente observados por él en todo lo externo y visible en pocas semanas de convivencia.

Afirmar, como lo hacen algunos, que los indios son animales inmundos que vegetan en la sordidez, que aborrecen la

limpieza y el jabón, etc., es hablar de memoria, repitiendo viejas cantinelas, más o menos verdaderas según las tribus a que tales epítetos se apliquen. Por mi parte no puedo menos de confesar que en la generalidad de las rancherías motilones, la limpieza andaba a la altura del betún.

El refrán popular nos advierte que "toda comparación cojea de alguna pata", pero mucho más cojeará si se quiere comparar lo que no admite parangón. Por este motivo no debe compararse, v. gr., la higiene y limpieza de los indios con la de un médico o palaciego.

El indio debe compararse con la gente pobre de nuestras ciudades o, mejor aún, con nuestra gente de cámpo. Así parangonados los indios, nos atrevemos a sostener que superan a los de nuestros arrabales de ciudad y alcanzan más o menos el nivel de la gente humilde de los campos.

Pero sucede que, en general, los que visitan a los indios son gentes del cogollo, gente de fanal que llevan consigo casi todas las comodidades y que, por ende, sufren un choque muy violento al encontrarse de buenas a primeras con la vida campestre y verse al lado de los verdaderos terrícolas, que viven "nudi in nuda humo". De ahí que regresan hablando horrores de los indios. En cambio los habituados a vivir entre ellos y como ellos constreñidos por las duras realidades de la vida, hablan o hablamos con más benignidad o menos dureza de los indígenas. Así, v. gr., el P. Carry-Elwes, S. J., dice de las indias de Teuonó —falda del Roroima— que le recordaban las amas de casa de su Irlanda y de las tierras de Normandía.

76.—Por otra parte, cosas tan ridiculizadas como el mojar el casabe todos los comensales en la misma olla o escudilla y beber de la misma camaza o taza, forman aún la etiqueta de la mayor parte de la humanidad y nos recuerda el bíblico "qui intingit manum mecum in catino". Y el kachirí masticado, que ya casi todo cedió su lugar al deshecho con molinetes o paletas de madera, no podrá menos de traernos a la memoria la papilla, que no hace muchos años se daba a los niños, o quién sabe si aún se les da.

Además, estas cosas ni son tan repugnantes ni tan peligrosas como se supone. Y así, v. gr., Ramón y Cajal, que en una humorada suya definió el beso como "un intercambio de microbios bucales", contra los que tomaron la cosa demasiado en serio declaró después en sus "Charlas de Café" que los tales microbios eran inofensivos desde el punto de vista higiénico.

Otro tanto podríamos decir de las grotescas pinturas con onoto, caruto y otros tintes vegetales, usados por varones y mu-

jeres para adorno personal en días de bailes y en épocas de enamoramiento, pues no son distintos de los coloretes y ungüentos de nuestras dulcineas.

Y los gusanos, que se desarrollan en los troncos derribados del moriche y otras palmas en fermentación natural, los bachacos y otros insectos semejantes en la época de su desove, las crías de ciertos insectos en estado de larvas o ninfas, de que se alimentan los indios, ni en su procedencia, ni en el olor, o sabor, (hablo por experiencia) tienen nada de repugnantes o de inferiores al queso de gusano, v. gr., tan apetecido en algunas comarcas de Europa. ¡Todo es cuestión de costumbre!

77.—Los indios en su vida natural usan frecuentemente del baño; y les repugna grandemente el olor a puerco-espín, que así llaman al sudor axilar, y que es uno de los motivos de su aversión a los individuos de la raza negra. Pero oler a humo es cosa inevitable en sus personas y casas y hamacas, pues con mucha verdad y no sin cierta gracia dicen ellos mismos que el fuego es su cobija.

78.—Las indias conocen la escoba, *tutumai* o *patá kuimatók*, y en torno a la casa, a 10 o más metros, van formando con las barreduras, mondas y conchas un borde donde brotan generalmente matas de algodón, tabaco y cucurbitáceas y a veces algunos lirios rojos llamados *pareurai*.

79.—Verdad es que no siempre logran los indios verse libres de los parásitos vulgares, cuyo origen atribuyen a los zamuros, sobre todo las mujeres que nutren largas cabelleras, ni de las niguas, amigas del polvo y punto menos que inexterminables en los pisos de tierra.

Pero, ¿acaso estos insectos, con el nombre de animales del monte, no continúan aún entre nosotros dando origen a muchos comentarios y acertijos?

Además las niguas en los niños varones son consideradas como augurio de que, cuando adultos, serán muy diligentes y trabajadores, y en las hembras, de que serán bellas mozas y muy solicitadas.

Este es uno de los motivos de que a veces los niguatosos sean tenidos casi por elegantes.

Quienes conozcan bien la vida campestre comprenderán el no problema y la total inexistencia de utensilios para la satisfacción de las necesidades fisiológicas personales.

80.—En corroboración de lo ya anotado por el observador de los Indios Kamarakotos, debo afirmar que los indios más sucios en sus personas y viviendas son casi siempre los semi-

civilizados, es decir, que ni viven en el estado de naturaleza ni han asimilado nuestra civilización, pierden lo que tenían y no adquieren lo nuestro más que a medias, tienen, v. gr., ropas y carecen de hilo y jabón, tienen zapatos y no medias, etc., etc.

81.—Antes de terminar este somero estudios, debo advertir que por la ley natural del desquite los indios, finos observadores de nuestras costumbres y muy amigos del humorismo, hacen también burla de nuestras costumbres higiénicas y de algunas de nuestras comidas, que también a ellos les resultan repugnantes. Así, v. gr., la carne de puerco, los huevos, etc. También se rien de nuestros corrales y chiqueros de animales domésticos, que no siempre están suficientemente alejados y que no huelen a ambar ni almizcle. Y de nuestros W. C. campestres les he oído infinidad de sátiras muy parecidas al acertijo popular de "¿Qué cosa recogen los ricos, que tiran los pobres?" referente a las secreciones nasales.

82.—Para ridiculizar a los tipos sucios, —que alguno no falta entre los indios como en todas partes—, que huyen del baño como el gato del agua y aborrecen la limpieza como el diablo la cruz, tienen el cuento del indio *kamotipán*, es decir, que le habían nacido hongos y calabazas, a manera de orejas por todo su cuerpo, que resonaban al caminar de tal manera que ahuyentaba la caza y la pesca y hubo de ser sometido por las ranas a un gran raspado y baño, tornándose entonces buen pescador y cazador.

CAPITULO X

¿QUE HAY DE SU CORPULENCIA Y SALUBRIDAD?

83—Exageración en los reportajes. 84—La leyenda de la edad de oro. 85—Las enfermedades endémicas. 86—¿No son perfectos herbolarios? 87—Medicina y magia, curanderos y ensalmadores. 88—Los ensalmos. 89—Un ensalmo egipcio y otro de los indios Pemones. 90—Religión espiritual y medicina corporal.

83.—Como, según parece, quien me hizo la interrogación es uno de los que creen en la felicidad paradisíaca de los indios, inventada y propalada por escritores de gabinete, quienes "han compuesto hermosos libros para probarnos que el salvaje es el hombre natural, y que nada podíamos desear nosotros más que asemejarnos a él" (J. de Maistre), no le contestaré con el consabido "de lo dicho no hay nada", pero sí le

diré, antes de venir a pormenores, que hay mucha exageración en reportajes y noticias de escritores, ávidos de publicidad a toda costa, en casi todo lo que se dice sobre la robustez, longevidad, corpulencia y salubridad de los indios.

Los testigos de vista estarán acordes conmigo y escarmentados y vigilantes para no dejarse sorprender por tantos ditirambos, que se oyen, sobre las razas indígenas, máxime si ya son desaparecidas. A luengas distancias, luengas mentiras.

84.—Estos indios, como la generalidad de los pueblos de la tierra, viven añorando los tiempos idos, en que (dicen ellos) los hombres eran fornidos, corpulentos y hasta gigantes. Añaden a este propósito los indios, que sus antepasados eran de talla tan descomunal que hacían inscripciones en las altas rocas y recogían con la mano frutas, para cuya recolección hoy nos servimos de escalas y garabatos. Dicen además que su raza, a causa principalmente de los matrimonios prematuros, va degenerando de tal manera, que sus descendientes tendrán que usar escaleras y garabatos u horquetas para descargar ajíes, cuya altura no pasa de un metro. Esta tendencia universal, común a los individuos y a los pueblos, fué ya anotada y satirizada por Horacio en aquella su célebre frase: "Que a mi ver, cualquier tiempo pasado fué mejor", atribuída a los viejos.

Esto es pura leyenda; y lo cierto es que los indios ni son de elevada estatura ni alcanzan longevidad que sea notable.

85.—Pareja a la anterior es la utopía de los que imaginan a los indios totalmente exentos de enfermedades y únicamente infectados por el contacto con nuestra civilización. Nada más equivocado. Infelizmente los indios conocen por triste experiencia infinidad de enfermedades endémicas. Además del genérico *parán* y *emorón*, adolecimiento o mal-estar, llaman por sus nombres propios al escalofrío de la fiebre palúdica (*e-komí-ma*), al sarampión (*apikoroimá*), a la viruela (*apotoimá*), a la disentería (*kuasuk* y *uenarok*), a la diarrea con sangre (*muenimá*), a la tos ferina y otras (*arautaimá*), a la tisis (*apuekú*) al catarro vulgar (*atón*), a la anquilostomiasis (*motó, poriké*, etc.), a la hinchazón del brazo (*achín* y *yeuán muré*), a la biliosidad (*e-ve-ropiká*), a la ceguera (*enumí*) y hasta las enfermedades venéreas en general (*samoroní*). Todas estas palabras no son exóticas o importadas, lo que demuestra con mucha probidad que las enfermedades por ellas significadas tampoco lo fueron.

Acerca de las últimas el mismo P. Las Casas, nada sospechoso cuando algo afirma contra los indios, dice que los indígenas antillanos le confesaron que aquellas enfermedades eran

ya conocidas entre ellos antes que los cristianos llegaran a sus tierras.

86.—Pero a lo menos, se dirá, ¿no son los indios perfectos herbolarios, conocedores de infinidad de vegetales y de sus propiedades curativas? También esta es una suposición gratuita y falsa.

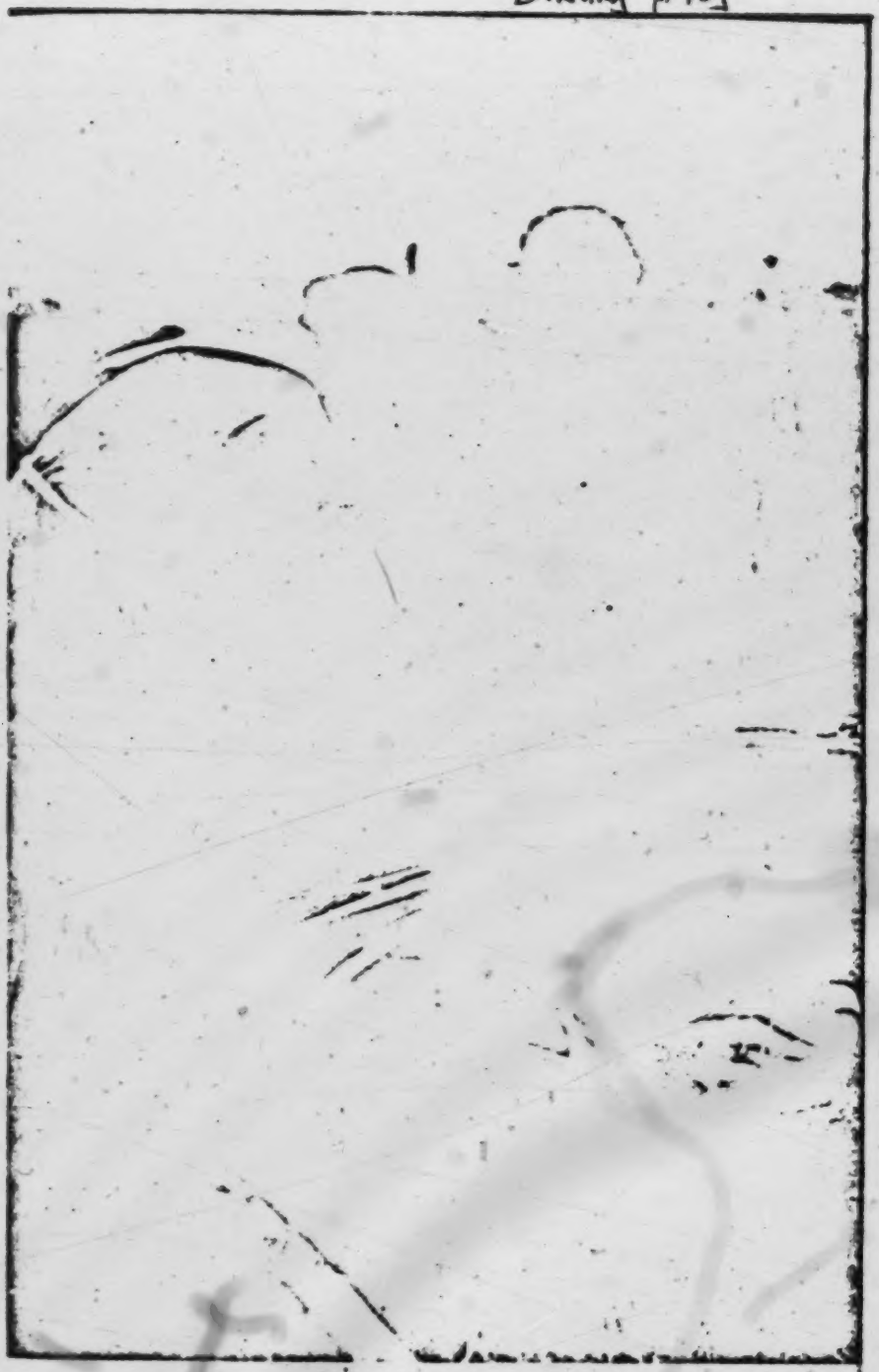
87.—Verdad es que los indios conocen infinidad de vegetales; y no hay duda que, dado su espíritu de observación y su contacto íntimo con los otros reinos de la naturaleza, hubieran descubierto muchas de las propiedades terapéuticas de las plantas si la medicina hubiera sido para ellos algo distinto de magia y la enfermedad distinta de influencia maléfica de seres ocultos. Pero sucedió lo contrario: la imaginación los desvío de la observación y el animismo del fisicismo.

Por eso los indios despreciando la observación natural, acuden con fe ciega a sus piaches o ensalmadores, que deben ser considerados como médicos o curanderos y nunca como sacerdotes. Ya Plinio el Viejo advirtió y escribió: "Nadie duda que la magia ha nacido de la medicina. En las sociedades primitivas el mago era ante todo un médico". Muy acertadamente escribe también Proodt que "como los primitivos atribuyen la enfermedad a la acción de un espíritu, no se contentan con la administración de infusiones o polvos".

El uso de algunas pocas tisanas, purgantes y emolientes, de algunos emplastos de conchas con más o menos ácido tánico (y por consiguiente desinfectantes) y la aplicación del ácido fórmico directamente por medio de la picada de hormigas o avispas, es casi seguro que fué aprendido de los criollos. En todo caso, constituye una excepción en su régimen medicinal y en su mentalidad o manera de concebir las enfermedades y sus remedios.

88.—La manera típica de curarse los indios es por medio de los *tarénmurú* (ensalmos o rezos mágicos) y las prácticas de los piaches, que son del mismo género. Tal vez tengamos ocasión de volver sobre el tema de estos ensalmos; por ahora baste con decir que son "una oración breve dirigida a un *pid* o *pachí* (tronco o cabeza) de cierto animal, planta o ser legendario, poseedor de cualidades o poder contra el mal que se desea alejar, o de virtud para producir algún bien que se desea o vehículo de alguna enfermedad, que se intenta infiltrar en otro". Estas palabras se pronuncian sobre algún objeto receptor-transmisor y además se sopla sobre él, no con la boca sino con la nariz: de ahí también el nombre de soplo (*tarén*), que se da a los ensalmos. Estos, como se ha visto, pueden ser para beneficiar *tarem-bá*, o maleficiar, *mui-má*.

[facing p. 40]



Con cuánta confianza se acerca el Misionero a la presencia de los indígenas, pues ven en él a su gran bienhechor.

89.—Para mayor claridad de lo aquí dicho copiaré un ensalmo de los Pemones y transcribiré otro ensalmo egipcio, que copié hace pocos días por su gran similitud con los usados por nuestros indios, en todos los elementos esenciales.

ENSALMOS

Ensalmo para cuando hay muchos zancudos. — Se invoca al oso palmero y al ave nocturna llamada *masak-yún*, que literalmente quiere decir padre de los zancudos. "Yo, yo sí hago que de todos los animales a mí no me desvelen los zancudos. Y diciendo esto, se abanicaba con su grandísima cola. Y se ensalmó a sí mismo diciendo: Yo soy el progenitor de *uasunsuk* (*uasunsuk piá*); yo soy el progenitor del *kochirí* (*kochirí piá*). "Con este ensalmo se ensalma el *uoro-uorí!* o abanico para abanicar a los zancudos. Y haciendo esto, desaparece la plaga y se puede dormir tranquilos".

(Copiado en Pemón por el indígena Pablo Fierro de Kukenán).

Ensalmo para trabajar o tejer manare. — Se invoca a *Piaimá*. Teniendo éste un niño pequeño, no obstante, se puso a tejer manare; pero la enfermedad o mala influencia de éste no alcanzó al niño ni le dobló el cuello ni le hizo otro mal alguno. El dijo, ensalmándose a sí mismo: "Yo, yo sí tejo la fibra del manare; yo, progenitor de *pichiuai;* yo, progenitor de *ipó*. Con esto se ensalman los que, siendo padres de niños pequeños, tejen objetos de cestería. Y con esto también se sopla o ensalma a los niños antes de ponerse a trabajar en lo dicho".

(Copiado en Pemón por el mismo).

Ensalmo para las sandalias y la pintura del rostro. — El trueno-rayo, *uaranapí*, no obstante ser padre de niño pequeño, cogió su *kumí*, pintóse el rostro con estrías y se fué de viaje y los seres maléficos no lo reconocieron, siendo así que estaban apostados para lanzarle mal de ojo; él los menospreció. Dijo él ensalmándose: Aquí estoy yo; yo, progenitor de *chichiu*. Este es el dicho, *taurón*, o ensalmo para las sandalias y para las pinturas del rostro al irse de viaje para que no nos vea *Amariuak*" o sea, el espíritu de los desfallecimientos, de los ataques epilépticos, etc.

(Copiado en Pemón por el mismo).

La fórmula egipcia de magia contra las quemaduras dice así: "Tu hijo, Horus, arde sobre la montaña. —¿Hay agua allí? —No hay,— Hay agua en mi boca, el Nilo está entre mis piernas. Voy a extinguir el fuego. (Díganse estas palabras sobre la

leche de quien haya dado a luz un niño, sobre granos, sobre la lana de carnero. Aplíquese a la quemadura)".

Muchas de las veces que por estudio recogía yo sus ensalmos, decíanme con toda sencillez y candor que esos eran los remedios de que Dios los había provisto. Y cuando yo les ponderaba cómo nosotros, gracias a la vida moderada y a las medicinas, estábamos más sanos que ellos, me replicaban que eso no era debido a las medicinas sino a los muchos rezos que sabíamos los Padres.

90.—Madres indias, amantísimas y celosísimas como ninguna de sus pequeñuelos, atribuyeron en varias ocasiones el casual malestar de sus hijitos a influencia maléfica del papel (*karetá*) o cédulas, en que veían que apuntábamos sus nombres; bien por considerar el papel como misterioso, bien por creer que el alma tierna de los niños podría irse prendida al papel. Otras, en cambio, atribuían el bienestar de los recién nacidos al soplo, sal, cruces y otras ceremonias bautismales.

Esto que digo se entiende naturalmente de los principios, pues, gracias a Dios, paulatinamente van dejando estas falsas apreciaciones, fundadas en los paralogismos de la magia, y comprendiendo la distinción entre la religión espiritual y la medicina corporal.

CAPITULO XI

¿QUE OFICIO DESEMPEÑAN LOS PIACHES?

91—Lo añejo y tradicional. 92—Iniciación del piache. 93—El ajuar del piache.2 94—Substancias ilusógenas. 95—Sesiones de piachería. 96—Honorarios, dieta, no ventriloquía. 97—Los otros curanderos. 98—Piaches legendarios. 99—Nuevamente la imaginación. 100—Los piaches y nuestra religión. 101—No adoradores del demonio.

91.—Esta pregunta, que me hizo uno de mis antiguos compañeros de Misión, viene aquí como anillo al dedo; pues, habiendo tratado en el capítulo anterior de las enfermedadas de los indios, es lógico hablar ahora de sus curanderos. Aparte de las ideas nuevas que podamos adquirir de los piaches, ésta de que son curanderos es fundamentalísima y verdadera.

Piache dícese en lengua Pemón *pia-san*, que es el plurar de *piai* y *piachí* y de donde con pequeña variante viene nuestra palabra castellana. Literalmente significa los *antecesores*, los antepasados, los *troncos* o *bases* del árbol genealógico hu-

mano. La palabra, pues, lleva en sí sabor a cosa añeja y apego a lo tradicional. Y efectivamente los piaches son los sustentadores o mantenedores de la pequeña tradición oral indígena y sus más celosos guardianes y los que amonestan y asustan contra las innovaciones o menosprecios de los jóvenes en asunto de creencias y costumbres.

92.—El *piache*, para ser reconocido como tal, debe someterse a la iniciación. Esta consiste en largos ayunos y grandes pociones de tisanas, hechas con las cortezas en maceración de árboles especiales como el *ayú*, el *pirkavá* y hojas de *kumeré* y *kavai* (tabaco), etc. La bebida les es propinada por el maestro o entrenador en tal cantidad que no les resulte letal. Estas pócimas les producen grandes descomposiciones intestinales y vómitos y hasta desfallecimientos y paroxismos. Precisamente en uno de éstos el iniciador debe depositar furtivamente varias piedrecitas de formas más o menos cristalizadas entre el vómito. Estas piedras serán de ahí en adelante sus *iai* o *yachi* (de donde también es posible derivar el nombre de los piaches), especie de amuletos, en donde suponen vivir ocultos espíritus protectores, que los ayudarán en los trances peligrosos o apurados y en los momentos solemnes del *tumayá* o piacheria.

Además de la bebida, algunos se hacen remedios introduciendo por la nariz y sacando por la boca cordones impregnados en substancias vegetales, a que atribuyen propiedades mágicas o fuerza misteriosa; hasta llegan a pasar hierbas cortaderas (con las supuestas hemorragias) a fin de obtener una voz resonante y potente. El piache debe tener buena voz, saber los cantos usuales y remedar varias voces; esto le será más fácil si sabe varias lenguas, aunque sólo sea algunas pocas palabras o frases de ellas.

93.—El ajuar del piache lo constituyen: el *murei* o banquillo con figura generalmente de mono, en que se sienta para cantar; las antedichas *yachí* o piedrecitas; el *kachiuotó* o camacita especial para ingerir por la nariz zumo de *kumeré* o de las hojas del tabaco; la pipa o *tamui-yén*, pues también usan el tabaco fumado; y, finalmente, manojos de hojas de *ayú* o *pirkavá* en vez de la maraca de uso general en otras tribus, que emplean para acompañar el canto y hacer varios trucos.

94.—El piache entra en trance ingiriendo por las vías nasales las bebidas antedichas; trabaja siempre de noche y en plena obscuridad y total encerramiento. Los piaches hacen creer que su alma se va y que auxiliada por la fuerza mágica

de las bebidas, el humo del tabaco y el ruido de las hojas, abre las puertas de los cerros en donde viven los *mauri*, entra en conversación con ellos, descubre el motivo de la enfermedad, les sustrae el espíritu (fuerza, vigor o salud) que habían arrebatado al indio, y se la devuelve al enfermo, que debe empezar a mejorar.

No hay duda que el piache es un autosugestionado, un alucinado que cree sus propias mentiras. Para mejor comprender esto debemos tener en cuenta que la ingestión de las tisanas dichas y otras como el peyoth, el meczal, el yagé, el miguarano, etc., producen no sólo embriaguez, sino también alucinaciones e iluminaciones imaginativas hasta con colores determinados, por lo que algunos llaman a estas substancias ilusiógenas. Y como el alma es para los indios en cuanto al cuerpo, sangre y vigor, y en cuanto a lo espiritual el ojo interior o facultad imaginativa, que es lo más vigoroso y vivo, de ahí que tenga a la lucided imaginativa por ilustración espiritual. Estos usos y estas creencias ya habían sido anotados para los indios mejicanos por López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir y Lafitau y otros escritores coloniales.

95.—Hay que haber asistido a sesiones de piachería —llámolas así por semejanza con las espiritistas—, para comprender el embrujamiento o hipnotización que pueden producir en los enfermos y aún en los que no lo estén. Tres o cuatro veces logré yo asistir y conservo el recuerdo de algo grandioso e impresionante en el orden estético y psicológico: aún me parece oír la resonancia de los variados cantos del piache en el profundo silencio de la noche y dentro de las malocas redondas; aún sigo escuchando la cadencia de los manojos, que ya se agitaban como selva con huracán o ya se sosegaban como alameda mecida por sueve brisa; aún me siguen sonando el remedo de los pájaros o cuadrúpedos, la admirable imitación de ruidos que se alejaban o acercaban, de espíritus que subían o bajaban batiendo el suelo con fuerza, de pluralidad de personas, que conversaban, y mil otras cosas, que unas veces adormecían y otras ponían los pelos de punta.

96.—Los piaches no suelen trabajar por un precio fijo, sino que los indios según sus haberes y gratitud y según el buen o mal suceso de la cura, les regalan lo que buenamente quieren.

Los piaches se creen en la obligación de abstenerse de algunos manjares, principalmente el día y víspera en que deben actuar.

En los casos que yo presencié, no vi que los piaches fue-

ran de verdad ventrílocuos o que *hablaran de papo*, como decían los antiguos; sólo remedaban en forma ordinaria distintas voces, ayudados de la mano y cambiando rápidamente de postura y lugar. (La obscuridad me ayudaba a mí a seguir de cerca todas sus tretas y trucos tanto en este como cuando fingían subir por los aires y descender).

97.—Todos los indios, con sus más y sus menos, se creen curanderos por medio de los ensalmos y a la vez capaces de producir maleficios; pero naturalmente creen mucho más eficaces y temibles los ensalmos y soplos mágicos lanzados por los piaches. Entre estos también hay su categoría; y suelen tener por más sabios a los iniciados en otras tribus o venidos de allá. Por este motivo dicen a vecés los piaches que nada pueden hacer en la curación de ciertas enfermedades, a causa de haber sido producidas por otros piaches, que viven en regiones apartadas y poseen otros secretos no conocidos por ellos.

98.—En cuentos y leyendas, más que en la vida real, consideran los indios a sus piaches como adivinos y milagrosos en el orden físico. Así, v. gr., a *Chirikavai* o *Apakavai* le atribuyen: que descuartizaba y ligaba los miembros humanos como quien arma y desarma un reloj; que convertía sus *yachí* y sus *pana-dari* (pendientes) en pájaros; que interpretaba los cantos de éstos como si fueran conversaciones de personas; finalmente, que subió al cielo precedido por su sobrino *Marité* (Escorpión) y que con su ajuar y sus miembros dió origen a varias constelaciones, entre ellas Tamuekán o Las Pléyades. A él atribuyen también los indios que convirtió su mujer en perrito melero, a su hijito en rana y que el desove de los pescados al iniciarse la época de los aguaceros coincide con el día, en que *Chirikavai* se pegó al techo del cielo con gran sacudida dando así origen a las turbonadas y aguaceros del invierno.

De *Maichapué*, otro de los piaches legendarios, dicen que convertía pedacitos de casabe y de ají en diversidad de pájaros para que lo alertaran de la proximidad de sus enemigos, que era auxiliado por sus *yachí* en las empresas difíciles, a que le sometiera como prueba su suegro *Anhuoná* o *Etitó* (el rey de los zamuros de doble cabeza) y en pago de la hija, de que se había apoderado con astucia fingiéndose cadáver en descomposición.

No hace mucho tiempo el indio Daniel Karoi, residente en Santa Teresita de Kavanayén y su hermana Luisa, procedentes del río Tiriká, me decía que su abuelo había sido pia-

che y que encendía la pipa sin necesidad de fuego y que hacía levantarse y actuar al *murei* como si fuera un mono verdadero. No sé con certeza hasta dónde podrán llegar las falacias de los piaches, pero no creo, —por lo que tengo visto— que pasen de puerilidades y trucos fácilmente revelables; esto lo deduzco de la gran admiración que manifiestan por nuestros trucos de juego y los pequeños engaños de combinación y prestidigitación.

99.—Este somero estudio del piache convencerá una vez más a mis lectores de que la imaginación tomada por inteligencia y sus fantasmagorías tomadas por realidades, entre indios vienen a ser fuente fecunda no sólo de cuentos y leyendas, sino también de religión adulterada, de medicina adulterada, etc. Por eso escribió acertadamente, aunque con evidente exageración, Coué: "no es la voluntad la que nos hace obrar, sino la imaginación". Y A. Bouyssonie escribió también que "la magia es una adulteración materialista de la religión".

100.—El colega, que me hiciera la pregunta sobre las artes y artimañas de los piaches, consultábame particularmente sobre mi parecer sobre el posible choque o la posible oposición entre las ideas de los pieches y las cristianas y sobre la licitud o no de administrarles nuestros sacramentos.

Mi opinión personal es que los piaches no son ni más ni menos aptos para recibir nuestras enseñanzas cristianas que los demás indios y con ellas los sacramentos santificadores de bautismo, confesión, comunión, matrimonio, etc. No encuentro oposición esencial entre sus creencias y las nuestras, que pudiera hacer inválidos o ilícitos los sacramentos; creo que simplemente les falta *completar* y *modificar* algunas de sus creencias. Creo también que tanto los indios, como otras gentes sencillas, no proceden con las ideas como los más lógicos e intelectuales comparando y analizando y, en consecuencia, desterrando unas ideas para dar cabida a otras; creo más bien que ellos proceden *estratificando* ideas, que por colocarlas en distintos planos no aparecen opuestas, aunque a veces lo sean de suyo.

Sucedería, según este mi parecer, en el orden intelectual lo que sucede en la indumentaria, es a saber, que muchos indios debajo de nuestros vestidos conservan sus antiguos cenojiles, ajorcas y taparrabos y, desde luego el tatuaje que no puede cambiarse como una camisa.

101.—Plenamente hay que desechar la idea de que los piaches son invocadores del diablo o del demonio, que ofre-

cen sacrificios al demonio o que ellos son posesos del mismo cuando están en el trance de la piachería. Pueden sí estar poseídos por el espíritu del tabaco o de las otras plantas vegetales; y puede llamárseles invocadores del demonio, o mejor de los *demonios*, tomando esta palabra en su sentido etimológico de *genios* o personificaciones de las fuerzas naturales. Esta idea puede verse más desarrollada en al capítulo que dedicaremos al estudio de la religión de estos Indios.

Al escribir esto, me refiero no sólo a escritores antiguos, que escribían a la manera antigua, sino también a muchos modernos que copian a los antiguos y siguen pensando a la manera simplista de ellos en este asunto de tanta importancia. Me refiero particularmente a esta definición de piache, que hallo casualmente en la Enciclopedia Espasa: "Piache. Juglares que presidían el culto de las dos divinidades *Katchimana* y *Jolokiamo*, adoradas por los indios de Guayana. Declaraban los oráculos por medio de una trompeta sagrada".

De los indios de Guayana, y precisamente de los que viven en el corazón de la misma estoy escribiendo estas notas. Pase el llamar a los piaches juglares, pues son (para nosotros) cantores de juego; pero eso de las *divinidades* y de la *trompeta sagrada* y de los *oráculos* son puras invenciones o malas interpretaciones. No sé a qué puede corresponder el *Katchimana*, pero estoy seguro que el *Jolokiano* es transcripción e interpretación errada de *Iurok-yamá*, las zorras, nombre cuya extensión semántica no es difícil atribuir a nuestras ideas cristianas aprendidas por los indios. No hay que meter el vino nuevo en odres viejos, sino que el vino viejo se ha de meter en odres nuevos: y las noticias antiguas se han de clasificar y acomodar a las normas y pautas modernas de las ciencias.

CAPITULO XII

¿QUE HAY DE LAS ARTES MAGICAS DE LOS INDIOS?

102—¿Atrasados o retrógradados? 103—Oposición de magia y religión. 104—La eterna lucha. 105—Temor mágico y conjuro vs. amor reverencial o invocación. 106—Filosofía de la magia. 107—Deducciones de la homeopatía. 108—Idem de la simpatía.

102.—Hablando, no de la humanidad en general, sino de algunas tribus llamadas primitivas y también aisladas, por que parecen vivir desgajadas del tronco común, existe entre

los etnógrafos la cuestión de si su estado, y en particular su magia es la primera etapa o más bien la regresión o degradación de su religiosidad. Sin prejuzgar ni menospreciar esta cuestión, lo cierto es que la magia, por lo mismo que es una materialización o naturalización del espíritu religioso, es lo primero y más visible con que se topa en los individuos y en las sociedades. Y esta es la razón, que nos ha movido a responder en primer término a varias preguntas que nos hacen sobre la magia de estos indios, dejando para más adelante otras sobre la religión.

103.—Magia y religión, aunque opuestas como el anverso y reverso de una medalla y hasta contrarias entre sí como la planta principal y la parásita, que la cubre y llega a sofocarla y matarla (en expresión de Mons. Le Roy), ambas tienen una misma base, una misma raíz, es a saber la *religiosidad* innata del espíritu humano.

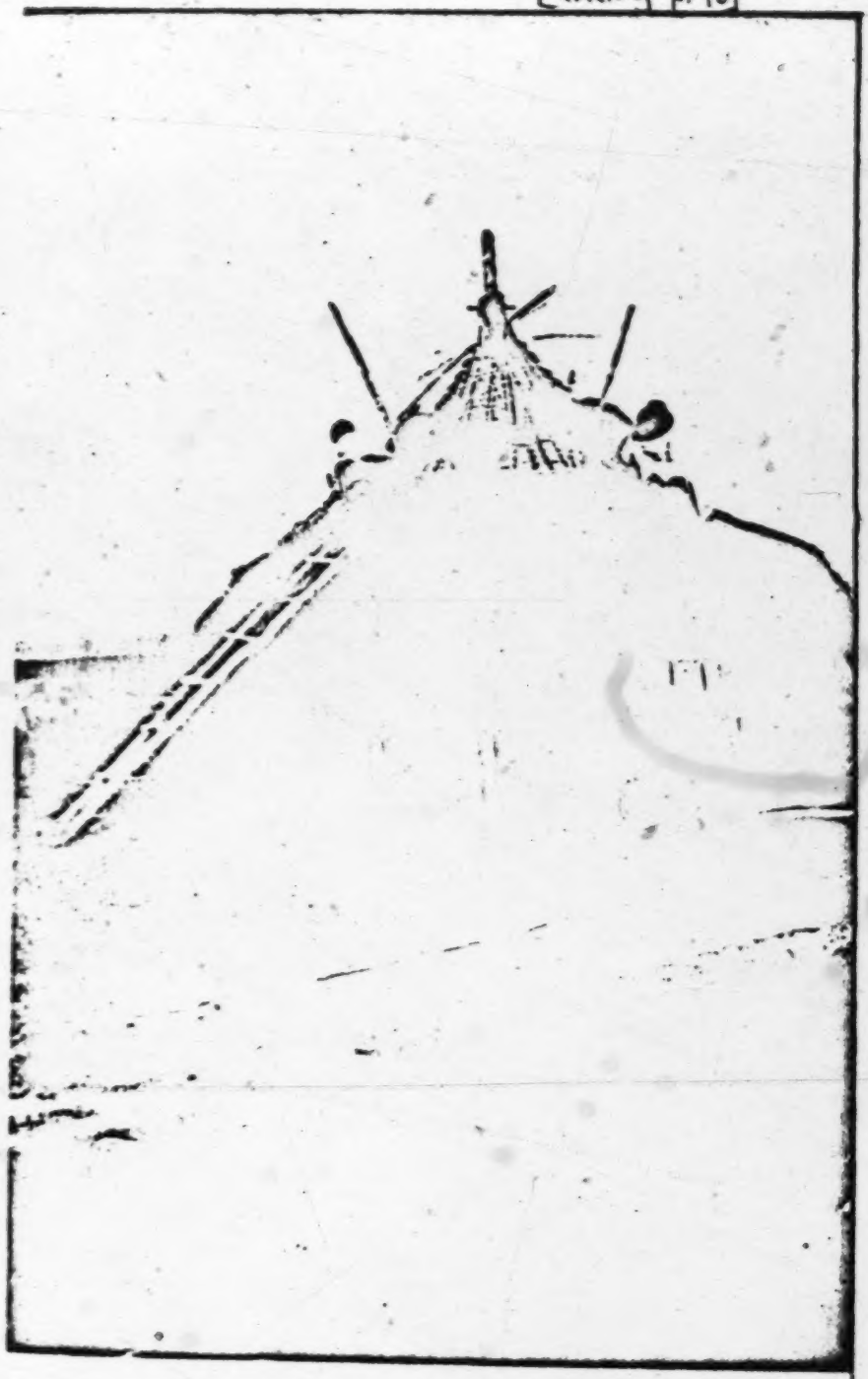
Como apuntamos al tratar de las enfermedades de los indios, la magia tiene por fundamento la observación inexacta de los fenómenos naturales, —si atendemos a la medicina y demás ciencias físicas— y la equivocación de tomar a la imaginación y sus fantasmas por inteligencia y raciocinios, refiriéndonos a la folosofía y religión.

Tal es también la teoría de Henry. De modo, que se trata de una suplantación o sustitución en el sentido de aquel dicho popular: "Quien no cree en Dios cree en el diablo". Tal es también el parecer de Marañón en estas palabras: "En el alma de los pueblos, la ausencia de verdad y de claridad no deja un hueco vacío, sino que su espacio se ocupa y se colma inmediatamente por la obscuridad y el error. Basta medir la superstición de un pueblo, para tener, por una sustracción sencilla, la medida de su ignorancia".

Toda concepción religiosa supone o incluye en sí estos tres móviles: amor reverencial, súplica y gratitud. La magia, en cambio, oculta bajo su careta estos tres opuestos: temor o miedo, conjuro imperativo e interés material egoísta. Por eso se ha llamado a la magia religión vana, es decir hueca, vacía, de sola apariencia, de pura cáscara o corteza. "La magia, dice Grandmaison, no es sino formulismo, puro interés. Ciencia sin base, falsificación o corrupción de la religión verdadera, trata su objeto sin respeto y sin amor".

104.—En el fondo, pues, religión y magia representan la eterna lucha entre espíritu y materia, alma y cuerpo, sinceridad e hipocresía, formulismo y realismo: adoración en espíritu y en verdad contra adoración en este o aquel preciso

[facing p. 48]



La maloca indígena en construcción.

lugar y con muchas y artificiosas palabras, rasgar el corazón contra rasgar los vestidos, ofrecer un corazón contrito y humillado contra ofrendas materiales con espíritu de rescate y compraventa, evitar la hipocresía y no la levadura farisaica, temer no lo que mata el cuerpo sino lo que desmoraliza el espíritu, evitar no el contacto legalmente impuro de tales o cuales manjares ni el comer con manos no lavadas sino la acción, la palabra y hasta el deseo íntimo malo, etc., etc., según la predicación de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo.

105.—De aquí que entre los indios, a los espíritus desencarnados u *orodán* y a los *mauari*, etc., no se les ama, se les teme como posibles causantes de males puramente físicos; tampoco se les invoca con sumisión o reverencia; se trata de desarmarlos o sobornarlos con cosas materiales, que desean o que temen igualmente que nosotros; finalmente, estos espíritus, tampoco se ofenden con acciones inmorales, sino con acciones físicas, ni se apoderan del malo, sino del débil, del enfermo, etc.

El hechicero no suplica, propiamente hablando, a ningún ser superior; él cree conocer los medios de que unas cosas o causas naturales obren sobre otras o se vean obligadas a obrar. Como indica cierto autor, la magia es el arte de someter las fuerzas de la naturaleza por ciertos actos que sólo la afectan en apariencia. Y así tenemos entre estos indios que los ensalmos nunca usan fórmulas deprecativas o desiderativas, sino el presente aseverativo con partículas ponderativas y enfáticas multiplicadas en extremo.

106.—Pero el mundo de la magia también tiene su filosofía o sus principios, verdaderos o falsos, pues en toda mente humana existe innata la idea de causalidad, la creencia en un lazo de efecto o causa, en sucesiones constantes y en leyes permanentes. En el asunto que nos ocupa, la teoría de Frazer para explicar el fenómeno o el mundo de la magia se basa en suponer que en la mente de los que la practican, privitivos o no —existen estas dos ideas:

a) lo semejante produce lo semejante; un efecto se parece a su causa; lo semejante influye en lo semejante.

b) las cosas que han estado en contacto continúan influyéndose mutuamente aún después de haber perdido el contacto físico; la parte influye en el todo.

Esta teoría tiene aplicación completa y perfecta entre los indios Pemones.

Estos dos principios, verdaderos sólo en la apariencia, son fecundísimos en conclusiones disfrazadas de verdad; de-

ben tenerse muy en cuenta, pues dominan aún en muchas mentes —indígenas y no indígenas— en todos los campos de la actividad humana. La creencia sobre lo que operando sobre la imágenes, el nombre, la parte, etc., se opera sobre lo que representan o sobre el todo, está tan arraigada en la humanidad que se mantiene al lado de la religión y apesar de todas sus prohibiciones.

107.—Del primer principio enunciado proceden las prácticas mágicas de homeopatía, miméticas o imitativas. A este género pertenecen entre los indios Pemones tratar de perjudicar al enemigo ensalmando sus huellas; llevar agua en la boca al sembrar caña e invocar a la adormidera para que venga el sueño a los niños; hacerse remedios los cazadores con hojas parecidas a las orejas de tal o cual animal para que les venga al encuentro; derramar las mujeres miel en incisiones sobre las mandíbulas para que les salga dulce el kachiri mascado; creer que comiendo merey saldrán granos en la nariz o que comiendo huevos saldrán forúnculos; creer que tropezarnos con una piedra en el camino es presagio de que nos encontraremos con un viajero que viene con rumbo contrario; interpretar los sueños siempre por semejanzas, v. gr., semillas de moriche por guáimaro, kachiri rojo por sangre, canto de piache por enfermedad; y mil más, que no citamos en gracia a la brevedad. Sobre esto mismo escribió Cecil Dampier: "El salvaje no ruega a Dios para que le envíe el sol o la lluvia: baila una danza al sol o croa como una rana... siguiendo una asociación de ideas".

Y A. Bouyssonie notó que "el ocre rojo hace pensar en la sangre, condición de la vida, y por ende es considerado como una especie de medio para conjurar la muerte y facilitar la existencia póstuma".

Esto mismo puede decirse del empleo del onoto o achiote entre estos indios contra los oradán, mauri y amariauak.

108.—Del segundo principio se derivan las prácticas de la magia llamadas contagiosa y también simpática. A esta clase pertenecen, entre los indios Pemones, el conjunto de prácticas relacionadas con *el cauvade* y el *asarakpué*, es decir, con el nacimiento de los niños y la muerte de nuestros parientes. Las prácticas y abstenciones referentes al couvade, que empiezan desde el apareamiento de los progenitores y continúan *in minuendo* hasta los 2 o 3 años de los niños, afectan no sólo al padre —como generalmente se dice en los tratados de Etnografía, sino también a la madre y se funda en la creencia de que el cansancio, la enfermedad, las in-

fluencias malévolas, etc., de cualquiera de los progenitores afectan— y en mayor grado que a ellos a las tiernas criaturas a no ser que se contrarresten con la fuerza de los ensalmos propios de cada caso o cosa.

Las prácticas y abstenciones relacionadas con la muerte de los parientes, fúndanse de igual modo en suponer que la corrupción cadavérica de los muertos hace infectos y hediondos a todos los parientes produciendo en ellos llagas, erupciones, descomposiciones y cosas semejantes; por lo cual deben abstenerse del contacto con los demás para no contaminarlos, no pueden hacer comidas para ellos, etc.

Resumiendo, lo dicho hasta aquí podemos transcribir estas palabras de la Enciclopedia Espasa: "Las sociedades salvajes y bárbaras, y en general siempre que se ignoran las causas de los fenómenos físicos y psíquicos, el hombre ha intentado oponerse a la influencia nefasta de los espíritus que supone le rodean, mediante toda una serie de ritos mágicos —miméticos y orales—. A las cuales debemos añadir que, según se desprende de algunos ejemplos antes citados, no sólo se trata de contrarrestar la malevolencia de los espíritus propiamente tales, sino también otras corporales, pero misteriosas.

CAPITULO XIII

¿PRACTICAN LOS INDIOS LA ADIVINACION?

109—La innata curiosidad de todos los hombres. 110—Entre los indios, ni más ni menos. 111—Invocación de los muertos. 112—Los agüeros. 113—Interpretación de los sueños. 114—Casualidad y causalidad. 115—El por si acaso.

109.—La innata curiosidad de los hombres, que dicen ser el principio de todo saber, no reconoce barreras; y unas veces con pies de plomo, con bien pensados raciocinios y experimentos, y otras con alas livianas de mariposa, con imaginación y fantasmagorías, toca aquí, palpa allí y en todas partes se mete y a todo ruido aplica su oído. Y a pesar de la religión, que nos avisa de que Dios no tiene consejeros ni secretarios, la inquieta curiosidad humana quiere romper el libro de los siete sellos por medios más o menos mágicos. De ahí la adivinación, que comienza con los populares acertijos o adivinanzas, sigue con los literarios crucigramas y charadas y llega... hasta la invocación de los espíritus, querien-

do hacerlos nuestros dominguillos o nuestras gaitas, que llenamos de viento a fuerza de soplos y hacemos sonar a nuestro capricho.

110.—Entre indos, ni más ni menos. El "principia rerum subsistunt" es un axioma válido en cualquier plano. Quiero decir que los indios, hombres como nosotros, con las mismas tendencias y facultades innatas que nosotros, practicarán también los mismos actos que nosotros con las pequeñas variantes impuestas por el medio en que viven. Este gran principio, que me gusta traer a colación en toda respuesta, oral o escrita, sobre preguntas que se me hacen referentes a los indios, he observado que suele desagradar y como desencantar, como si se quisiera que los indios y sus cosas fueran de otra especie que nosotros y nuestras cosas.

Muchas veces se me ha contestado en la forma que previó el ilustre misionero Mons. Le Roy para los que aplicamos el criterio de la más o menos paridad entre todas las razas: "Pero esos indios, que Ud. nos muestra, no son los indios que nosotros buscamos: unos indios primitivos, apenas desprendidos de la animalidad, sin nociones morales, sin pudor, sin noción del alma y adoradores de cualquier cosa...." Y nos vemos precisados a contestar con el mismo autor: "Efectivamente; esos primitivos salvajes, que Uds. buscan, no existen en ninguna parte, y hasta puede ser que ni hayan existido jamás: en todo caso, es imposible encontrarlos en el mundo actual lo mismo que ni en el pasado". Todo esto proviene, añade Mons., de que el retrato, que con frecuencia nos han dado de los salvajes, es un retrato de puran fantasía, hecho por cándidos o malévolos aprioristas en defensa de teorías preconcebidas. "El salvaje más salvaje es un hombre como cualquiera otro, que posee su teoría de la vida, su filosofía, su civilización, y sus maneras de ser conforme al medio ambiente".

Así, pues, antes de responder categóricamente a la pregunta, debemos recordar entre nosotros el espiritismo, queriendo suplantar no sólo la religión sino hasta la medicina y demás ciencias; la nigromancia o invocación de los muertos; la astrología; la oniromancia, o interpretación de sueños, tan practicada por los jugadores de lotería y que aún constituye uno de los naipes; las maripositas revoloteando en torno a los antiguos candiles o a los modernos bombillos, anunciadoras de cartas; el zumbido de los oídos, señal de que hablan de nosotros; y cien cosas más.

111.—Hecha esta composición de lugar y practicado este

examen de conciencia, digo que, de los muchos medios usados para la pretendida adivinación, sólo tres encuentro empleados por los indios:

1º Invocación de los muertos; 2º Agorería o interpretación de hechos naturales como presagios; 3º Oniromancia, o interpretación de los sueños (o ensueños) como augurios o premoniciones.

Los individuos están convencidos de que el espíritu sobrevive y que este espíritu puede volver entre ellos. A esto hay que añadir que las alucinaciones eran (y son) muy frecuentes entre los primitivos y entre la gente ignorante y entre los que viven en las grandes soledades. Allá en la soledad de los campos, alejados del ruido y distracciones de las grandes concentraciones de las ciudades, se verifica lo ya advertido por B. Dupiney de Vorepierre, que "bajo la emoción de la pérdida de un ser que nos es querido, la imaginación exaltada se representa a veces tan vivamente la persona llorada que se cree verla delante de sus ojos, hablarla y oírla". Pero los indios, a la vez que estas creencias, tienen gran miedo a los espíritus desencarnados u *orodán* y, más que invocarlos, procuran alejar de sí su memoria; suelen abandonar los lugares habitados y destruir los utensilios de sus difuntos, evitan el poner el mismo nombre a los niños, evitan las fórmulas recordatorias y hasta se desagradan de verse obligados a tener que pronunciar el nombre de los mismos. Muchas veces advertí esta renuencia al inquirir el nombre para hacer los asentimientos o registros y oí a los de más edad adelantar a los jóvenes diciéndoles: "Dilo nada te sucederá, es el Padre quien te lo pregunta".

De modo que la invocación de los muertos sólo se practica por los piaches y aún esto raramente: se oye en algunos cuentos y se dice de los piaches antiguos.

112.—En cuanto a los agüeros, no todos los hechos o acontecimientos naturales se interpretan como presagios, sino sólo algunos pocos tradicionalmente admitidos como tales. Así tenemos entre otros:

a) Una araña que se descuelgue del techo es aviso de que algún viajero llegará aquel día a colgar su chinchorro en nuestra casa.

b) El canto de los gallos a hora desacostumbrada es aviso de que están hablando mal de nosotros.

c) El zumbido peculiar de los oidos es la voz de los muertos que nos llaman y a ella suelen contestar "ete-pai pra

edai". (Yo no quiero ir), moviendo al mismo tiempo la mano cerca de la oreja como quien espanta moscas.

d) El alborozo extraordinario de las gallinas, paujíes ó pavas que corren como alocadas es señal de próxima venida de personas que nos son queridas.

e) El canto del pájaro llamado *pikd* generalmente es de mal agüero, anuncia muertes, tal como solemos decir nosotros del alcaraván; algunas veces otro canto del mismo es interpretado como de buen agüero por los cazadores.

f) La planta llamada *puuá* es de buen agüero y dicen de ella que aleja el hambre de sus hogares.

La interpretación de los sueños, como ya indicamos al tratar de la magia hácese también por similitud. Y así dicen los indios que:

a) Soñar que nos estamos mirando en un espejo es aviso de que nos encontraremos con los ojos rutilantes de un tigre.

b) Soñar que estamos envarbascando pescado metidos en el agua es señal de que nos dará catarro.

c) Soñar que vemos a un indio arrastrando palma es aviso de que nos encontraremos con un oso palmero de larga cola.

d) Soñar que se lleva en al brazo un loro u otro pájaro doméstico es para las mujeres señal de que les vendrá un hijo, que acariciarán.

e) Soñar que vemos cerros en lontananza es aviso de que encontraremos indios trasportando grandes cargas a la espalda en sus guayares.

En la interpretación de los agüeros y ensueños predomina el principio de la magia, "que lo semejante es producido por lo semejante y se enmascara en lo semejante".

Pero además de esto, coincidencias casuales y sucesión concatenada en el tiempo o espacio no hay duda de que han podido engendrar en el espíritu humano la falsa idea de inclusión y casualidad, según el conocido paralogismo: Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." De modo que la *causalidad* se confunde frecuentemente con *casualidad* (gramatical y filosóficamente), y la coincidencia con la concausa.

He oído muchas veces a los indios discutir entre sí de estos mismos asuntos dividiéndose entre los que creen en los sueños y agüeros a pies juntillas y los que dudan de ellos y no ven en ellos más que coincidencias fortuitas. Pero aún estos últimos, atendiéndose al "por si acaso" y al "precaución no es cobardía", en la práctica hacían como si creyeran. Sobre todo en los sueños, que a veces son tan vivos e impresionantes,

todos se atienen a la tradición y de ellos puede decirse lo que alguno decía de la gente simple en general: "No les importa lo que ven de día y se preocupan tanto de lo que desfila por su cabeza en el sueño de la noche".

CAPITULO XIV

¿QUE ES ESO DEL COUVADE Y DEL ASARAKPUE?

116—La palabra y la costumbre. 117—Observaciones erradas. 118—Los cuatro grados del couvade. 119—Generalidad de esta costumbre. 120—Explicaciones propuestas. 121—Lo que dicen los Pemones de esta su costumbre. 122—La práctica del "asarakpué".

116.—Esta palabra exótica (francesa) de *couvade* o *covada* ha tomado carta de naturaleza en nuestra lengua y úsanla ya comunmente todos los etnólogos; otras inventadas para suplirla, como *empollamiento*, no han cuajado. Extranjera en su origen, esa palabra nos habla de una costumbre extraña y hasta ridícula cuando se estudia solo superficialmente.

El *couvade* consiste en los cuidados especialísimos que han de tener el padre y la madre para asegurar la buena procreación (eugenesia) y desarrollo de sus tiernos hijos. Como dicen los Pemones: "Mure yun-pe, mure dam-pe enan dau, esenman naua": Cuando se es padre o madre de un niño, hay que cuidarse en las siguientes cosas". Y aquí sigue una lista larga y minuciosa de precauciones.

117.—De esta sencilla definición se deduce que andan errados los etnólogos que atribuyen estas precauciones a sólo el padre. Al menos entre los Pemones y otras tribus afines me consta positivamente que las precauciones son comunes a ambos progenitores. ¿Será que como estos cuidados en las madres no llaman la atención por ser cosa común, atienden los escritores a solos los varones?

Pero además de prestar atención exclusivamente a los varones, se ha ido hasta el extremo de invertir los términos, escribiendo, v. gr.: "La *covada* consiste en que el padre poco antes de nacer el hijo, se introducía en el lecho, hacía dieta, reposo y todo cuanto hace una parturienta, y lo asistían mujeres fingiendo que daba a luz. En cambio, la mujer se levantaba después del parto y se dedicaba a sus ocupaciones domésticas habituales".

Sabios etnólogos, cuya autoridad no podemos poner en

tela de juicio, afirman de ciertas tribus que los varones llegaban en su precaución y ansiedad de evitar todo peligro al recien nacido y por otras causas, que luego veremos, hasta guardar cama cual si se tratara verdaderamente de una parturienta. Pero en ninguno de ellos he leído hasta el presente que, a la inversa, que la mujer no guardara algo de cama ni otra cautela alguna.

Esta conclusión tal vez es también una exageración a que se ha llegado en el afán de contraponer los remilgos de las mujeres de ciudad a lo natural observado en las mujeres campesinas, máxime indígenas. Y así, por ejemplo, Estrabón dice hablando de las cántabras de España: "Eran muy duras tales mujeres, y sucedía que cuando durante su labor les cogía el parto, se apartaban por un rato y luego, lavado y fajado el recien nacido, volvian a la labor".

Por lo que hace a las Pemones, aunque valientes en su alumbramiento hasta rehusar en algunos casos las primerizas toda ayuda, y aunque, sorprendidas en algún viaje por el parto, siguen al día siguiente su viaje, guardan varias cautelas tales como ponerse sandalias de moriche, abstenerse de ciertos alimentos y de algunos actos y no se atreven ni a levantar la voz.

118.—El patriarca de la Etnología moderna, P. W. Schmidt, Director del Museo Etnológico Vaticano, admite tres o cuatro grados en esta costumbre del *couvade*: a) abstención de ciertos manjares; b) abstención de ciertas operaciones; c) reposo absoluto hasta guardar cama; d) imitación por el varón de los dolores del parto en las mujeres.

Los indios Pemones (varones) actualmente sólo practican el *couvade* en los dos primeros grados. Parece ser que antiguamente practicaron también el tercer grado, pero sólo como consecuencia de los dos anteriores; pues si el indio debe guardar dieta rigurosa y además debe abstenerse de casi todas las operaciones, lo más lógico y natural es que se acuesle en cu chinchorro a descansar o, como ellos mismos dicen en su lengua, adopte la posición horizontal, *(esuraika)*, que es la menos cansadora.

De aquí no ha de deducirse que la dieta fuera un *ayuno*, ni menos podemos creer en mortificaciones sangrientas, cuando precisamente lo que quire evitarse es todo dolor, toda fatiga y todo desequilibrio que por repercusión pueda dañar a la tierna prole. Por eso juzgo exageradísimo y hasta contradictario lo que dice Roberto Agramonte sobre los caribes, documentado en no sé qué autos: "Entre los caribes el hombre

ayunaba durante seis meses y quedaba adelgazado como un esqueleto; el ayuno consistía en comer casabe: al cabo de los cuarenta días del ayuno (¿tan exactos?), los familiares le llenaban de arañazos hasta hacerle sangrar y para martirizarlo más le lavaban las heridas con agua y pimienta: entonces volvía a su hamaca y, todo enfermo y dolorido, continuaba el ayuno hasta el séptimo mes, en que ya podía comer carne y pescado." Adviértase una vez más que los Pemones, de que nos ocupamos, son netamente Caribes y de los más primitivos.

119.—Antes de venir a la explicación de esta *costumbre*, que muchos preferirían llamáramos *fenómeno* por lo rara que les parece, debemos advertir su mucha *generalidad*, sólo que pasa inadvertida o embozada con otras cosas. En la antigüedad esta costumbre aparece atestiguada para los astures, cántabros, vascones, lusitanos, corsos, etc. Schulten en la obra citada dice que tal costumbre "existía en el país vasco todavía en el pasado siglo". Para algunas regiones de Venezuela esta misma costumbre aparece constatada por Lisandro Alvarado en sus "Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela". No hace muchos meses una Dra. de una gran ciudad me testificaba que una mentalidad, como la que más abajo explicaremos, existía en muchísimas personas aún de la clase media y de las altas esferas.

120.—¿Qué mentalidad preside en los que practican esta costumbre y qué fin persiguen con ella? Muchas son las explicaciones propuestas por los etnólogos y entre ellas, las siguientes:

a) Que fué una invención o imposición en las sociedades de derecho matriarcal para retener cabe sí a los varones en la época del alumbramiento, que es cuando más necesitan de su protección y cuidado. Mas esta teoría no explica los dos últimos grados del *couvade*.

b) Que fué el medio excogitado por los varones, cuando existía la poliandria o el *vagus concubitus*, para ser reconocido determinado sujeto por progenitor verdadero y cierto. Esta teoría presupone lo que tal vez nunca existió; esa época en que los hombres vagaban por las selvas como manadas de antílopes no parece haber existido más que en mentes amigas de leyendas. Esta hipótesis además no explica por qué existe el mismo rito o costumbre en tribus perfectamente monogámicas y absolutamente no poliandras.

121.—Por encima de esas y otras teorías, los indios Pemones, que practican el *couvade*, ellos mismos me han explicado su motivo y alcance. Por lo tanto y por lo que hace a ellos, no hay duda de que el motivo es el siguiente. Dicen: a) que

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[p.56-A]

Auténticos indios Sapé, que viven en las márgenes del río Karón.

[p.56-B]

Las madres indígenas con sus niños recibiendo los obsequios de la Hna. Misionera.

Esta grande mole de piedra y este bosque nos dicen de los secretos que encierra la Gran Sabana.

[p.56-C]

Un simático indiecito metido en un guayare.

Serranías centrales de la Gran Sabana, adornadas hermoso merichal.

"toda alteración en la salud del padre o de la madre, todo trabajo que llegue al cansancio, toda fatiga o molestia de los progenitores, etc., repercute en los recién nacidos, que son parte de los mismos". Creen, pues, en la influencia simpática, que suponen vivísima en los niños y que repercute de los padres en el hijo como en la parte de un todo.

Hombres tan científicos como Alexis Carrel creen que hay algo de verdad en esto y de ahí la explicación de ciertos fenómenos de tele-patía, pre-sentimiento, etc.

b) Los Pemones añaden a ésta otra razón y es que, según ellos, los *potorí* o *piá*, engendradores cada cual de una especie determinada de animales y plantas, al ser éstos cortados o destruídos, se vengan en los retoños o vástagos humanos. Otrosí que los *mauarí* y otros espíritus se molestan por determinadas acciones de los hombres, como, v. gr., por despeñar piedras de los cerros, y entonces se vengan también en los niñitos, que son presa más fácil de sus iras y de sus malas influencias. Esta segunda causa es, pues, la creencia en la influencia maléfica de espíritus invisibles y de los progenitores y, por lo mismo, defensores de los seres vivientes cualesquiera que ellos sean.

Bastará transcribir unas pocas precauciones, entre las muchísimas anotadas al dictado de ellos, para que aparezcan con toda luz los dos principios enunciados:

1.—No debe la mujer, que está en cinta, comer casabe regresado a la casa de donde salió, no sea que, al dar a luz, el hijo retorne al seno.

2.—No deben las púberes comer frutos mielgos, no sea que conciban hijos gemelos o morochos.

3.—No deben los padres de recién nacido comer carne de paují, porque hará amarillecer al niño. Recuérdese que el paují tiene el rostro amarillo y muy relevante por contraposición a lo negrísimo de su rizado copete.

4.—No deben los padres de recién nacido caminar con los pies descalzos por pedregales o arenales calientes, pues sufrirá el hijo.

5.—No deben tampoco transportar cargas pesadas, porque se doblará el cuello del niño y sufrirá de fatigas.

6.—Deben abstenerse de relaciones sexuales, pues ellas producirán fiebres y vómitos en los niños.

7.—Si el padre de recién nacido derriba estrepitosamente peñascos de los altos cerros, el niño sufrirá de sustos y espantos y trepidará durante el mismo sueño.

8.—Si el padre de recién nacido corta ciertos bejucos, el

ombligo de su hijo se infectará o se abultará según que aquellos se pudran o retoñen.

No son actualmente los Pemones exagerados en la práctica de estas observancias; apenas se les ve unos días preocupados por ellas y por las prédicas de los suegros y suegras. Luego, conociendo los *ensalmos* de cada caso y de cada cosa para contrarrestar las malas influencias, vuelven a la vida ordinaria.

122.—Otra costumbre, gemela del *couvade* y fundada en el mismo principio de la *simpatía* o *influencia simpática* es el *asarakpué* u observancias que se deben guardar por los parientes de los difuntos. No se trata sólo de guardar *luto* o demostrar la tristeza; ellos se consideran *infectos* por la corrupción cadavérica del pariente muerto y como *focos de infección* para todo lo que tocan.

A consecuencia de ello deben apartarse del trato con los demás; no deben mezclarse a comer la comida de otros ni tampoco han de ofrecer a los demás de la comida preparada por ellos, pues los enfermarían causándoles dolores de vientre, descomposiciones intestinales y semejantes. Aún recuerdo haberles oído muchas veces atribuir a esto las diarreas y lombrices intestinales de los niños, más débiles y de más exquisita sensibilidad para percibir las malas influencias y las vibraciones, por así decir, simpáticas.

Téngase en cuenta que esta *infección* no se debe sólo ni principalmente al contacto físico con el muerto, sino al contacto simpático o fisio-psicológico; de tal manera, que a distancia y alejados del pariente muerto éste influirá igualmente sobre todos sus consanguíneos.

Además de las observancias arriba anotadas, los deudos se rasuran completamente la cabeza y se pintan con onoto o achiote, pero a las mujeres les dejan un mechoncito en el cogote.

Pasada una luna o más, los afectados por el *asarakpué* se lavan, junto con todos sus utensilios y ropas, usando la lejía del verbasco. Y así pueden volver a la vida común y ordinaria.

Demás está decir que actualmente tampoco los indios Pemones observan esto con todo rigor; contra la natural protesta de los piaches y los viejos, las generaciones jóvenes van perdiendo estas creencias y costumbres.

Ambas prácticas, las del *couvade* y las del *asarakpué*, tienen mucho de parecido con las prescripciones legales mosaicas sobre la impureza de las parturientas y sobre los que tocan los cadáveres; de ahí que en siglos pasados, cuando aún la Etnología estaba en pañales, se intentara descubrir por medio de ellas un entronque cercano entre indios y judíos.

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CAPITULO XV

¿COMO CELEBRAN LOS PEMONES SUS MATRIMONIOS?

123—Entre el "couvade" y el "asarakpué". 124—La pubertad y su desfiladero misterioso. 125—Las tres edades de las niñas. 126—Encierro y dieta. 127—Motivo de las mismas y observancias. 128—El silencio y el vapuleo. 129—Cuentos y leyendas. 130—La edad de los "papuek". 131—Consejos a las casaderas. 132—El noviazgo. 133—Ausencia de ceremonias en el matrimonio y galantería de los indios con sus suegros. 134—Fidelidad y constancia en el matrimonio. 135—Poligamia y exogamia. 136—Los indios Caracas.

123.—Entre el *couvade* y el *asarakpué*, que vale tanto como decir entre el nacimiento y la muerte, existe un hecho fundamentalísimo en la vida de la sociedad humana y es el *matrimonio* o sociedad familiar, verdadero eje y fundamento de toda otra organización y sociedad, y límite de la disgregación más abajo de la cual no existe nada históricamente cierto. Mas este hecho, sobre el que me interrogan pidiéndome a la vez *detalles pintorescos*, supone otro y es el hecho o fenómeno maravilloso de la *pubertad*, mediante la cual la estirpe humana, como las demás, adquiere el poder casi divino de producir otros seres semejantes a sí; en forma tal, que el individuo se reproduce y la especie se perpetúa. Que por eso se dijo bellamente: "el amor por medio de la generación salta las tumbas".

Con no menos verisimilitud que poesía se ha comparado la pubertad con la primavera llena de gayas flores, en que rivalizan el aroma y el color; y con la mariposa, que rasga el capullo, que le sirviera de cárcel. Empero el tránsito a la pubertad, tan halagüeña y florida, hácese por el desfiladero misterioso de transformaciones profundas, que impresionan hondamente sobre todo a las mujeres, por la presencia y pérdida del elemento sanguíneo, que para todos los primitivos y niños es sinónimo de vigor, espíritu y salud. Este paso es realmente crítico; con frecuencia se teme, se rodea de misterio y en muchos casos llega a producir histerismo y trastornos mentales; y es con frecuencia el punto de partida de muchos desarreglos tanto orgánicos como morales. De ahí que en ambos sentidos dijera el P. Vilariño, S. J., que la edad comprendida entre los 14 y los 24 años era el decenio de la muerte.

125.—Los Pemones distinguen para la niña tres edades: la verdadera niñez, en que es *muré;* la intermedia, en que es

manak-dakán, que están para asomar los pechos; y la pubertad, en que es *auroni-pué*, en que hubo menstruo.

126.—Esta tercera edad es de *encierro* y *dieta* durante un período más o menos largo. Los Pemones no construyen ranchos especiales aparte para las púberes, sino pequeños apartamentos dentro de la misma casa común o, mejor, soberados a manera de habitaciones altas. Parece ser que antiguamente el encierro y la dieta eran más rigurosos y prolongados; ahora se observa apenas en las dos o tres primeras manifestaciones catameniales.

Según notas de mi colaborador indígena, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, que tengo a la vista, entre los principales alimentos prohibidos a las púberes figuraban los gusanos de moriche, las pavas, los venados, etc., por motivo de evitar el mal parto; además la sal y lo dulce para que no se les dañaran los dientes, pues ya sabe que "antes las mujeres mascaban el kachirí".

127.—El objeto de este encierro no es el *blanqueo* ni el apartarlas de las miradas de los hombres, sino preservarlas de los asaltos de los espíritus lujuriosos o enamoradizos, tales como *amariuak*, *rató*, *magikó*, *rató*, etc.

Detallando las observancias prescritas por los ancianos para esta edad a las mujeres se dice que:

a) deben acostarse en el chinchorro en la posición más recta posible;
b) se deben pintar el rostro y todo el cuerpo de *onoto* para disimular la amarillez y no ser presas de *amariuak;*
c) no deben levantar la vista ni mirar hacia los cerros, en donde suponen vivir los *mauarí;*
d) no deben bañarse ni ir a buscar agua para no ser tal vez poseídas por *rató;*
e) deben usar sandalias de moriche para cuando por necesidad han de bajar al suelo;
f) deben abstenerse, como arriba se dijo, de ciertos alimentos.

128.—Hay dos cosas algo más curiosas mientras dura el malestar, y son: el *silencio* absoluto, a que las obligan, y el *vapuleo*, que les dan cada vez que entran y salen del rancho por alguna necesidad.

Insisten los indios en afirmar que el habla de la india menstrua es sumamente perniciosa; por eso nadie les dirige la palabra; y, cuando pasados los días, quiere volver a la conversación corriente, debe la mujer dirigirse a un palo y decirle: "¿Estás aquí?". Luego el árbol se secará y lo mismo le sucedería a cualquier indio a quien ella dirigiera la pala-

bra. "Esto, escribe Ernesto, parece que no es verdad, pero sí es su costumbre".

El *vapuleo* no es en modo alguno una *flagelación* ni cosa que se le parezca; es sólo una ceremonia, que hace la anciana que cuida a la muchacha cada vez que ésta sale fuera del rancho para que los espíritus malos la tengan por algo despreciable. Un día después de pasado el malestar, en la madrugada cuando cantan los gallos, bájanla del chinchorro, siéntanla en un banquillo y el más viejo o el dueño de la casa la zurra con unos cordeles hechos de fibra de moriche y recita sobre ella cierto ensalmo. "Por motivo de este vapuleo, añade Ernesto, cuando las mujeres se enojan con sus hijas por ser díscolas, suelen decir: Déjala, que cuando llegue a la pubertad ya la vapulearán".

129.—Para probar que las mujeres deben someterse a estas observancias tradicionales, tienen los Pemones gran número de cuentos y leyendas en que se dice, v. gr.:

a) Que una muchacha, estando en los días del resguardo, se fué al río a buscar agua y se puso a jugar con un pececillo, que le hacía cosquillas en los pies, sin saber que era *rató* disfrazado, y quedó en estado ante la admiración de sus padres, que sabían que no tenía trato con hombres. Ese fué el origen del legendario *Apichauai*.

b) Que otra muchacha en iguales circunstancias cogió sin reflexión un nido de pájaros con sus huevitos, que no eran tales sino huevos de culebra, a consecuencia de lo cual fué hecha madre de *Aramarí*, otro personaje legendario mitad hombre y mitad culebra;

c) Que otra muchacha en las mismas circunstancias se fué a un bachaquero junto con los otros indios en tiempo de la recolección de aquéllos y que fué comida de la cintura para abajo por los *keuchí*, especie de golondrinas perseguidoras de los bachacos en la época de la enjambrazón y desove de los mismos.

d) Que otra, que fué al río cuando los otros indios enverbascaban pescado, se puso a preparar *sakura* y con los desperdicios que arrojó al agua suscitó tal alboroto en los *mauaríes*, que éstos produjeron una gran creciente de la que se salvaron apenas algunos en las copas de los árboles; etc.

130.—En esta misma época suelen someter tanto a los varones como a las hembras a las incisiones o *papuek*, con que se tatúan no por belleza sino para derramar en dichas incisiones substancias vegetales para ser buenos cazadores, para ser diligentes, para no caerse de las bestias de cabalgar, para ser buenas mascadoras de kachirí, para ser hacendosas, etc.

131.—Cuando ya sus hijas pueden ser madres, positivamente les advierten sus progenitores las obligaciones del es-

tado de matrimonio, sobre todo que han de ser *esenekama-yen*, trabajadoras o, más literalmente, recipientes llenos de trabajo; en la misma forma les previenen que busquen por sí mismas marido, pero que sea también trabajador, sobre todo cazador y pescador. (Véase sobre esto último los consejos tan prácticos y expresivos de estos patriarcas, que transcribimos en parte en otro lugar).

132.—"Cuando sus hijas tienen novio o pretendiente, sus padres observan en silencio (sigo copiando de Ernesto); y si lo ven poco trabajador y no les gustan sus costumbres, se lo dicen a la hija, pero de tal modo que lo oiga el novio; esto les hace afligirse y reflexionar. Pero también a veces se visitan de noche sin que se enteren sus padres".

De lo antedicho puede deducirse con cuánta razón la manifestación más clara que un indio puede hacer a una india de que está enamorado de ella o a una madre de que está enamorado de su hija, es hacerle regalos y presentes de caza y pesca. Y aceptar éstas, y sobre todo, aderezárselas y servírselas es señal manifiesta de aceptar su amor o a lo menos que la cortejen. Por la misma razón no se acepta como regla de moral y de etiqueta que una india ofrezca bebida y comida a nadie que no sea su marido o su novio declarado y aceptado. ¡Qué bien advierte el refrán que "dádivas quebrantan peñas"!

133.—El matrimonio no tiene ceremonia ninguna especial; redúcese todo a lo que indica la relación de Pimentel, que luego copiaremos.

Pero después de verificada la unión, los indios más galantes (que no faltan los contrarios) suelen quedar durante algún tiempo casi como trabajadores de sus suegros, pagando de algún modo las delicias y habilidades de la esposa amada en vez de ser los suegros los que entreguen dote a la hija. Esto realmente es lo más natural y razonable.

Durante este tiempo, pues, suelen los recién casados hacer rozas para los suegros, mucho más para las suegras si son viudas; les hacen canoas, les construyen casas y les prestan otros servicios. Principalísimamente salen a cazar y pescar para ellos; y es su mayor orgullo y satisfacción llegar a la casa y arrojar al suelo el sartal de pescado o el venado amarrado por las patas, al tiempo que dicen: "Ahí tienes tu presita o tu pescadito".

134.—Tenemos datos y pruebas más que suficientes de que los indios suelen ser fieles y constantes en sus matrimonios; aunque no faltan en absoluto los casos contrarios fustigados en los cuentos y con los mecates o colgaderos de los chinchorros, cuando no de forma más sangrienta.

135.—Sobre la poligamía hablamos en otro capítulo, a que nos remitimos.

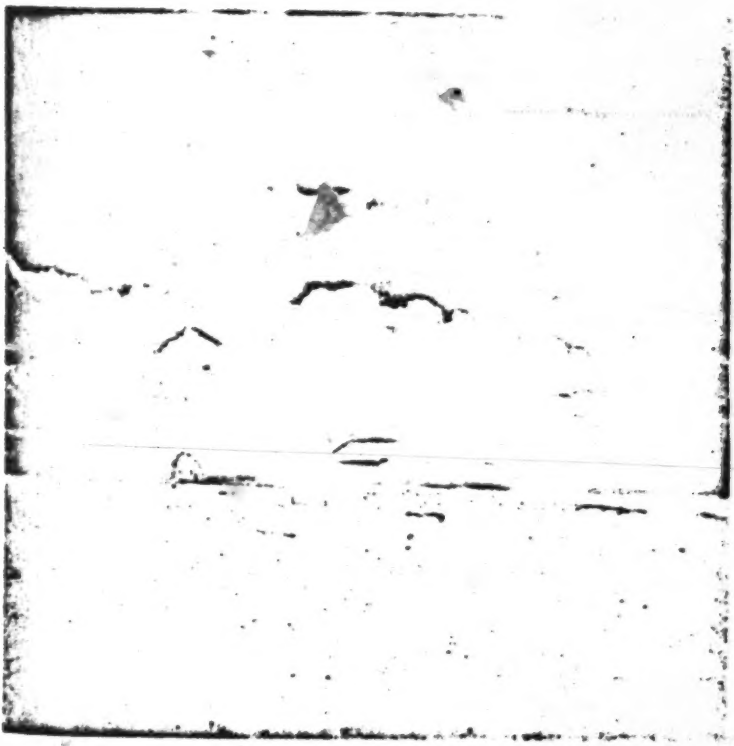
También debemos enunciar, aunque sin mayores explicaciones, la no prohibición de uniones exogámicas. Esto aparece clarísimo en la literatura oral y en la vida cotidiana. Verdad es que ellos *prefieren* en general el matrimonio con sus pariguales, según aquello del adagio "cada oveja con su pareja"; y en la literatura aparece muy fustigado el matrimonio con extranjeros, no por tales sino por desconocidos, según aquello del cantar llanero: "Quien bebe el agua en tapara —y se casa en tierra ajena,— no sabe si el agua es clara ni si la mujer es buena". Y los viejos no suelen ver con muy buenos ojos el matrimonio de sus hijas con criollos por más buenos que sean y por muy buenas que sean sus intenciones, porque se las *llevan* lejos y porque en vez de ser ayudados por sus yernos, con frecuencia tienen que hacer ellos de *sirvientes* y, finalmente, porque los criollos no suelen tener las *habilidades* útiles para la vida práctica de los indios. Los viejos en estos casos suelen exagerar hasta decir que "así como perro se une con perra y caballo con yegua, así deben casarse indio con india y criollo con criolla". Y suelen decir también que si los criollos se quieren casar con sus hijas, deben traer sus hermanas para que se casen con los indios.

136.—Ahora, para que se vea la paridad de estos indios con los antiguos Caracas, voy a transcribir un párrafo de la relación geográfica de Pimentel, que versa sobre el asunto de los matrimonios.

Acerca de los matrimonios y su ausencia de formulismos y festejos, así como la espontaneidad y omnímoda libertad de los contrayentes, también coincide lo actual con lo antiguo de los indios Caracas, de los que escribe J. Pimentel: "En los casamientos tienen este orden: cuando a un indio le ha parecido bien una india, se lo da a entender con palabras y si le parece que le muestra buena cara, vase a su casa de ella, y si ella le pone en qué sentarse y le trae una totuma de agua para que se lave y pone qué coma, ya él entiende la voluntad de la moza y se van a dormir juntos sin que a sus padres y parientes les parezca mal, y así quedan casados y en este casamiento sola su voluntad lo sustenta mucho o poco tiempo".

[facing p. 64]

Bellos paisajes de llanura, montaña y cielo en la Gran Sabana.



CAPITULO XVI

¿QUE DEBE ENTENDERSE POR KANAIMA?

137—La idea fija del Kanaima. 138—Dichos generales. 139—Propiedades mágicas 140—¿Son felices con estas ideas? 141—¿Qué opinan los Misioneros del Kanaima? 142—Paz a los hombres de buena voluntad. 143—Casos y más casos. 144—Cuento muy significativo.

137.—La idea de Kanaima la tienen los indios metida hasta la médula de los huesos, y no hay razón, por convincente que sea, capaz de persuadirles lo contrario. Y cuando se les quiere convencer de que no hay tales kanaimas, ni tales carneros, y que todo es imaginación y miedo que ellos tienen, proponen tantos casos y con tales circunstancias, que son capaces de convencer al que no esté muy sobre aviso.

Que yendo de camino vieron sus pisadas — el Kanaima anda de puntillos o de talón para que su rumbo no sea conocido—; que el otro día no más, a un indio, que estaba en el conuco, agarró Kanaima y luego empezó a dolerle el espinazo; que la india tal, yendo por agua a la quebrada, vió a Kanaima y se enfermó; que tal otro, andando de caza, oyó sus silbidos y sus lloros como de un niño; en fin, que los indios de tal caserio tuvieron que mudar su vivienda por abundar los kanaimas y que los de tal otro mataron dos o tres kanaimas a machetazos. De modo que las conversaciones sobre este asunto son el pan cotidiano de los indios.

138.—Y, aunque sus ideas sobre este asunto no sean muy unánimes ni muy lógicas, en general afirman lo siguiente:

Que los Kanaimas son indios Pichaukok; no son seres mitológicos ni demonios, sino indios de otra raza preexistente en estas regiones.

Que los Kanaimas son muchos; que hacia el Venamo, Iru-tepui, Kama, etc. —lugares más remotos y deshabitados— viven en casas de piedra o debajo de las piedras.

Que el Kanaima generalmente no ataca a los indios cuando son varios, sino al encontrar alguno solo que va rezagado.

Que el Kanaima suele esconderse detrás de algún árbol, que esté en la vera del camino; que ataca primero dando ramalazos en los ojos o enredando con bejucos; que luego cae a palos sobre su víctima; y que finalmente le sopla (soplo mágico) en la cabeza y en los pies para que se enferme.

Que ordinariamente los indios no mueren en manos del Kanaima, sino varios días después; y que tampoco deben decir

que vieron a Kanaima, o que los agarró Kanaima, sino que vieron tigre o tropezaron con un palo, etc., hasta que no pasen el peligro, pues de lo contrario se enfermarán más.

Que el grito de Kanaima (digamos el santo y seña), cuando ataca con otros compañeros es *¡soJé* o *soé!*

Que por ningún motivo ni nunca el Kanaima ataca a los que no son indios.

139.—También dicen, dotando de propiedades mágicas al Kanaima, que éste algunas veces se convierte en zorra y va a escarbar en las sepulturas de los indios muertos por él; y que otras veces se convierte en Auoineripué, ser legendario que bebe el líquido de los cadáveres en descomposición, que es su kachirí y con el cual se enloquece.

Finalmente, que el Kanaima hace estos males a los indios por venganza, pues ellos los expulsaron de sus tierras y por envidia, pues son más pobres de corotos que los mismos indios.

Y así tenemos en conclusión que el Kanaima es el coco y más que el coco de todos los indios; una especie de manía persecutoria, que se ha apoderado de sus débiles cerebros; una enfermedad casi incurable, pues creen que no hay remedio posible para el que fué agarrado por Kanaima y que no queda otro recurso que meterse a morir en el chinchorro, si no hay algún ensalmador que venga a curarlo con soplos más fuertes que los del Kanaima.

Y, por el contrario, si no hubiera Kanaimas, los indios serían inmortales o poco menos, pues apenas hay una muerte que no atribuyan a Kanaima.

140.—Hasta aquí dijimos lo que piensan los indios; luego verán mis lectores lo qué pensamos los misioneros. Antes, permítasenos esta pregunta: ¿Será verdad, como algunos pretenden, que los indios con estas y otras ideas, íntimamente arraigadas en su ser, son más felices creyendo en los piaches y no en los Padres, en Kanaima y no en Jesucristo, viviendo en una religión de puro temor y no en el amor del Cristianismo? Nosotros no le arrendamos la ganancia al que tal diga; y nos parece que los que tal afirman conocen a los indios por fuera, como los estudiantes que conocen los libros por el lomo, o por el forro, como dicen otros.

141.—El que sepa leer entre líneas convendrá fácilmente con nosotros en estas ideas, que se dejan entrever en las mismas afirmaciones que los indios hacen, aunque incoherentes, como basadas en la imaginación.

1—El Kanaima es una reminiscencia de las luchas más o menos remotas que estos indios sostuvieron con los de otras

tribus, o tal vez guerras intestinas, y en las cuales frecuentemente usaron de emboscadas, enmascaradas, etc.

2—El Kanaima es un caso típico de la psicología del miedo y del histerismo, que hacen ver y oír lo que no existe y creer las propias mentiras y espantarse de las creaciones ficticias, como cierta clase de animales que se espantan de su propia sombra.

3—Con frecuencia los verdaderos kanaimas son los mismos indios, los más malos y avispados, que se valen del miedo que los otros tienen a este espantajo para vengarse, robar y matar; y luego dicen que fué Kanaima y así quedan impunes e irresponsables delante de los demás.

De manera que estas tres causas: los relatos de las luchas sangrientas, tal vez no muy pretéritas; la gran imaginación y timidez innata del indio; y algunos pocos casos reales de ataques a traición, han venido a crear ese fantasma del Kanaima, que obsesiona a los indios y del cual difícilmente se verán libres en mucho tiempo.

142.—Al tratar de este asunto, sin querer nos viene a la mente la historia de aquel primer fratricida, a quien no bastó la promesa de Dios de que no moriría de muerte alevosa, pues vivió errante y prófugo sobre la tierra, perseguido por la voz de la sangre.

Y aunque dijimos al principio que los indios están aferradísimos a la idea del Kanaima, es de esperar que poco a poco la irán abandonando, pues si antiguamente fueron alevosos y sanguinarios en su venganza, ahora redimidos ya de su barbarismo, tienen derecho a gozar de la paz prometida a los hombres de buena voluntad.

143.—Para convencer a los indios, y a los que esto leyeren, de las ideas aquí expuestas, vamos a referir algunos hechos que conocemos a ciencia cierta.

a) En cierta ocasión un Misionero, que estaba inspeccionando la agricultura, pensando precisamente en este asunto del Kanaima, trataba de remedar el silbido que le atribuyen los indios con tal acierto y con tan mala fortuna que un indio, que por caso había ido a buscar agua, soltando la camaza echó a correr como un gamo, y llorando a grito pelado se metió en el chinchorro tiritando de fiebre.

b) A unos viajeros, acampados junto al salto de Kamá, y que venían acompañados de indios, por ociosidad se les ocurrió gritar Kanaima, Kanaima; y después, por más que trataron de persuadir a los indios que había sido una broma, no les fué posible, pues los indios aseguraban haberlo visto y se pasaron el resto de la noche en penosa vigilia.

c) Hace algunos años allá en Akurimá vivían dos indios, llamados Joaquín y Alberto; el primero, que tenía consigo muy malos antecedentes, pues con otros compañeros había dado muerte a tres civilizados mientras estaban durmiendo, quiso vengarse del segundo, con quien había tenido un fuerte altercado. Con este fin púsose el vestido con que lo echó su madre al mundo, se lo embadurnó bien con onoto y otros menjurjes y con esta extraña figura se le presentó en el conuco. Pero esta vez no le valió la kanaimada, pues el compañero lo reconoció y muy lejos de asustarse le cayó a palos; de modo que yendo por lana, volvió cardado y, con las espaldas más rojas que el onoto, corrió a ocultar su triste suerte.

144.—Los mismos indios, a quienes es más fácil dejar correr la imaginación para crear un cuento, que atar los cabos de varios hechos e ideas para formar un raciocinio, tienen en su folklore esta narración sumamente significativa:

En cierto lugar vivían dos indios, cada uno casado con la hermana del otro. En la noche oyeron el silbido de Kanaima, que, según parecía, andaba rondando la casa con ánimo de coger a alguno. Una de las mujeres con todo sigilo se bajó del chinchorro y se puso a hilar algodón. De nuevo silbó el Kanaima: *¡soé, soé!* La india abrió la puerta como para arrojar las semillas, y vió al Kanaima escondido detrás de un árbol. Entonces hablando en alta voz para disimular la intención, dijo a su marido: Aquí hay un ratón que me está comiendo las semillas de algodón, ven a flecharlo. El marido dió un salto del chinchorro, agarró su arco y se acercó a su mujer; ésta le dijo al oído: El Kanaima está ahí detrás de ese palo, fléchalo. El Kanaima estaba observando, engañado, en qué paraba aquella escena; cuando he aquí que recibió un flechazo en la frente. Protegido por la oscuridad de la noche, se fué corriendo a su rancho; para ocultar lo sucedido dijo a su madre que estaba flechando un tucán y que la flecha se le había devuelto y le había herido en la frente.

Al ser de día la india fué a casa de su madre y encontró a su hermano enfermo; su mamá le explicó que tratando de flechar a un tucán se había herido a sí mismo. Ella regresó a su casa y se lo contó a su marido. Este sospechó que él podía ser el Kanaima de la noche y fué a ver a su cuñado; quiso verle la herida, pero se resistía a mostrársela; entonces sospechó aún más y a la fuerza le arrancó la venda. Aún tenía la flecha clavada; entonces reconoció que era la suya y sacándosela con violencia le dijo:

"Esta flecha es la mía, no estabas flechando tucanes, qui-

siste hacer de Kanaima y esto sucedió para que aprendas otra vez".

Y baste con lo dicho, pues nos advierte el refrán que "intelligentibus, pauca".

CAPITULO XVII

¿LOS INDIOS SON DESVERGONZADOS O PUDOROSOS?

145—Vestido y virtudes, pudor y moral. 146—Moral individual. 147—El pudor busca el vestido. 148—Nudistas y freudianos. 149—Moral accidental. 150—Del dicho al hecho. 151—Conocimiento de la moral o ética. 152—La poligamia. 153—Moral negativa y positiva.

145.—Esta pregunta, hecha tal vez en sentido meramente fisiológico, nos dará pie para tratar a la vez de la moralidad de los indios, ya que, según el dicho de San Pablo, el vestido es imagen de las virtudes internas y el pudor, de la decencia moral.

146.—En primer lugar, es claro que de los indios no se puede hablar indistintamente en plural como de los ratones, ya que para ellos, como para todos los demás, vale el dicho de que "ni los dedos de la mano son iguales". Cada individuo entre ellos, por lo mismo que son personas libres, tiene su conducta moral propia. Y si bien entre los indios no existe la gran discriminación y complejidad que entre nosotros, no podemos tampoco caer en la utopía de creerlos idénticos hasta el punto de llegar a repetir la frase hecha de que "sus caras y sus caracteres se parecen como los granos de arroz".

Hecha esta salvedad, decimos que la vergüenza y el pudor son palabras que forman parte del caudal lingüístico de estos indios y, por consiguiente, ideas de su caudal moral. Hablamos del pudor para las acciones fisiológicas y los miembros pudendos; y de la vergüenza para las acciones inmorales en el sentido más amplio de esta palabra.

147.—Afirmar que el vestido engendra el pudor y no viceversa, y asentar que las costumbres (mores) crean el concepto de moralidad y no al contrario, es trastrocar los conceptos suministrados por la Historia y por la experiencia íntima personal.

Verdad es que los vestidos producen cierta clase de pudor accidental; y así, verbi gracia, a los que usamos vestido talar o pantalón largo nos daría sonrojo andar con pantalón por la rodilla o túnica a media pierna. Pero hay un mínimun de ves-

tidos exigidos por el mínimun de pudor natural, sean las bíblicas hojas de higuera, las clásicas hojas de parra o los indígenas taparrabos de abalorios, hojas de palma, cuello de calabaza o concha de árboles. De ahí que ni entre los Pemones, ni siquiera entre las otras tribus aún más pobres e incomunicadas, como los Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá y Motilones, hayamos encontrado nunca el indio *in puris naturalibus* o sea el indio cuerito. Por medio del comercio con tribus vecinas o por industria propia todos se ingenian para no carecer, al menos, de un pobre guayuco, taparrabos, pampanilla, o como quiera que se le llame.

148—Los propagandistas del nudismo, como de cosa muy natural y cómoda, debieran haber visto o probado algo de la preferencia de toda clase de insectos por las partes, que vela el pudor, para darse cuenta de lo errados que anden en sus teorías.

Equivocadamente varios etnógrafos y escritores freudianos afirman que los vestidos tienen el oficio de afrodisíacos (velar para más atracción), fundados en que los indios usan adornos hasta en sus míseros guayucos. Verdad es que este fenómeno se da indirectamente; pero con mejor criterio afirmó antes que ellos Cicerón que el vestido, empleado en su primera etapa para satisfacer la necesidad, sirvió luego para adorno y seducción; pues es ley natural del hombre en la vivienda, comida, lenguaje y en todas las demás cosas mezclar lo dulce y atractivo con lo útil y necesario.

De todos modos, dejadas aparte las teorías, lo cierto es que los indios en su rústica indumentaria, más en sus palabras por medio de eufemismos, y más aún en sus actos, que a todo trance velan, son en general pudorosos.

149.—En el orden moral, desarrollando el parangón que propusimos al principio, sucede lo mismo que el orden fisiológico. Hay una moralidad positiva, accidental, que se funda y confunde con las costumbres o usos; para esta vale el célebre dicho de Pascal: "Verdadero y bueno del lado acá de los Pirineos, falso y malo del lado de allá". Pero hay otra moral universal, independiente de los usos y de la voluntad del hombre, igual en todas las latitudes geográficas aquende y allende los mares, invariable en medio de la variabilidad de los tiempos y de los climas, que se nos mete e impone al alma como un imperativo categórico, igual que la luz corporal se nos mete por los ojos. Esta es la moral simplemente natural, que acompaña a todo hombre como el instinto acompaña a todo animal.

150.—Verdad es que no siempre la práctica llega a donde la concepción moral o conocimiento del deber, pero esto es achaque común a todos los hombres. El "video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor", vale desde los días del paraíso hasta los presentes. Y es porque del deseo a la obra, como del dicho al hecho, va gran trecho. "Preciso es confesar que, aún conociendo lo bueno, no lo seguimos, unos por pereza y otros porque posponemos la virtud al deleite", escribió muchos siglos antes que el poeta latino el griego Eurípides.

151.—Reconocemos, pues, las deficiencias de los indios en la práctica del bien, pero afirmamos rotundamente su conocimiento de la moral. Sería esta la ocasión de repetir lo dicho por Mons. Le Roy y aducido anteriormente; pero voy a copiar más bien lo que dice P. Topinard en su Antropología para que no se imagine alguno que estamos hablando por hablar o dando palos al aire.

"El hombre, dice el escritor francés, no se distingue en nada de los animales por lo que respecta a la familia: es monógamo o polígamo y la mujer poliandra como ellos... El hombre se une como ellos sin escrúpulos con sus parientes o afines... El padre es dueño de la vida de sus hijos, practica el infanticidio a su albedrío, sin recatarse, lo mismo que el hijo se desembaraza más adelante de sus padres ancianos y valetudinarios, que son una carga para él". Esto se llama hablar de memoria, por no decir sin entendimiento.

Muy al contrario; la mentira, el hurto, la desobediencia a los padres por los menores de edad, el simple adulterio (no digamos el incesto), el simple homicidio (no digamos el parricidio e infanticidio), etc. aparecen condenados firmemente en la vida diaria y en la literatura oral de los indios.

152.—Hablemos en particular de la poligamia. Refiriéndose a esta cuestión escribió no ha mucho un periodista desaprensivo que los Misioneros habíamos logrado vestir a los indios, pero que no habíamos conseguido revestirlos de nuestra moral cristiana. Con la estadística en la mano podemos probar que la poligamia, apesar de no estar reprobada claramente en la moral indígena y apesar de haber sido bastante practicada antiguamente, hoy no llega entre los indios Pemones ni al tres por ciento. Esto se debe y hay que reconocerlo a la levadura cristiana que los misioneros han infiltrado en esta masa indígena durante varias generaciones desde el Brasil y las Guayanas. Así y todo, de la poligamia de los indios deberíamos decir con Mons. Jorge Caruana que, tal como ellos la practicaban, es preferible al lenocinio reinante y al divorcio sanciona-

do en tantos países, pues este sí es una poligamia y poliandria verdaderas, aunque no simultáneas sino sucesivas.

153.—Oígase aún esta otra sentencia de Topinard: "Sólo el hombre debe tener la noción del deber. ¿Será esto cierto?... Su criterio más acertado, "no hagas a otro lo que no quieres que te hagan", se aplica a los animales lo mismo que al hombre. El perro sabe que para no ser mordido no debe morder, y obra en consecuencia: también tiene su moral". Ni el perro sabe tal cosa ni la aprende como moral. En todo caso, esa no es más que la parte negativa de la moral, el *no dañarás*; ¿en dónde se queda la parte positiva, el *amarás*, la hospitalidad practicada, el sacrificio propio para aliviar necesidades de extraños?

Así creo que quedará satisfecha la curiosidad del que nos hizo la pregunta. No descendemos a pormenores o detalles por vedárnolo la índole de esta publicación y porque creemos que con lo dicho basta para los que van hacia los indios en busca de la verdad y sin ideas preconcebidas.

CAPITULO XVIII

¿LOS INDIOS SON AGRADECIDOS O INGRATOS?

154—Queja universal. / 155—La pedigüeñería. 156—Ingratitud por ignorancia. 158—Leyenda de los "Makunaimá" y del Gobierno. 158—No hay regalos entre indios 159—Consejos prácticos. 160—Gratos recuerdos.

154.—Uno de los refranes más propalados contra los indios es aquel contenido como la hiel en su bolsita, en el mil veces repetido cuarteto:

Huye el indio del trabajo
y busca la ociosidad:
donde le pegan se queda,
donde le pagan se va.

Esto de la ingratitud es queja más que común, universal, de todos contra todos. Y es que como "la gratitud es una deuda interminable" —(por lo que muy acertadamente se dice que vale más dinero que favores), muchos abusan excesivamente de sus dádivas, exigiendo siempre e indefinidamente prestación de servicios. De donde resulta que aquel otro versito:

"Dale siempre, no le des una;
no le has dado ninguna",

2: Armellada

SS16 Pemon

[Facing p. 72]

La Gran Sabana, campo de exuberante vegetación y de opimos frutos como le demuestra el ejemplar que tienes a la vista.

es una espada de dos filos, que hiere por igual a los ingratos y a los excesivamente exigentes.

155.—Otra cosa muy afín y que muchos confunden con la ingratitud, es la pedigüeñería, de que sin duda adolecemos los misioneros y los indios. Empero yo mismo, que muchísimas veces sufrí la molestia de este defecto (¿?) de los indios por no poderlo remediar con dádivas, serenamente pregunto: ¿Qué otra cosa podemos y debemos hacer los pobres sino pedir? ¿Qué ha de hacer la tierra reseca sino rajarse y abrir su boca en demanda de agua?

Nadie negará tampoco que las personas espléndidas y dadivosas son raras; y ante ese hecho innegable de la tacañería no queda otro remedio que ser pedigüeños. "Pobre testarudo saca mendrugo". Por eso también los indígenas aguantan muchas veces el castigo y el maltrato, que no fueron a buscar (donde les pegan se quedan) y se van al recibir la paga, pues eso es precisamente lo que venían buscando y por cuyo interés trabajaban. Y seríamos pretenciosos en demasía si, porque pagamos a los indios, quisiéramos retenerlos indefinidamente a nuestro lado y a nuestro servicio.

156.—Muy bien advierte el P. Eulogio que "el indio no civilizado no agradece", y esto es debido a la ignorancia de nuestras maneras de vida, de nuestras industrias y de los modos de nuestro comercio.

Otro misionero, el P. Baltasar de Matallana, dice también que tales indios "se creen que a nosotros nos llueven del cielo escopetas cargadas con pistón y perdigón". Otro humorista, explorador de minas en todas las Guayanas me aseguraba que los indígenas se imaginaban que a nosotros nos nacía el dinero en el bolsillo como a ellos los piojos en la cabeza o las niguas en los pies.

Por eso resultó contraproducente, cuando trajimos indios a Caracas, llevarlos a las tiendas y almacenes, ya que ellos no podían comprender que de tantas piezas de tela, de tantos trajes hechos y expuestos a sus ávidas miradas, de tantas docenas de maletas, hachas y otras herramientas, etc., ni un metro siquiera se cortara para ellos, ni se les regalara un vestido, ni se les dejara coger lo que, aparentemente, sobraba a otros.

157.—Tienen además los viejos indios la creencia legendaria de que aquellos sus antiguos predecesores, los *Makunaimá*, habilísimos, ingeniosos e industriosos, les envían en avión todas las cosas buenas, pero que nosotros los venezolanos no se las damos y nos quedamos con ellas. Y así bien claro se ve que, lejos de agradecer lo que les damos, debemos ser nosotros los agradecidos y reconocidos porque *nos perdonan la vida.*

Otro de los motivos porque los indígenas a veces no agradecen, como debieran, las dádivas y los sacrificios personales de los misioneros, es la propaganda ya solapada, ya abierta de los criollos establecidos entre ellos. Estos con frecuencia tratan de engañarlos, diciéndoles, v. gr., que el Gobierno les envía muchas cosas, pero que nosotros nos las apropiamos.

Mas la verdad del caso es precisamente todo lo contrario; es decir, que las erogaciones gubernamentales no alcanzan a cubrir los gastos personales de los misioneros, cuanto menos para hacer regalos a los pobres indios. De todos modos, ellos ignoran esto; y así, por la ignorancia de unos y la envidia de los otros, esta leyenda del Gobierno magnífico y dadivoso es hermana gemela de la antedicha de los *Makunaimá;* y la consecuencia final es la ingratitud repelente, sólo atenuada por la carencia del conocimiento a fondo de las cosas. Pero bien: si criollos que saben leer y escritores que saben escribir, que pueden informarse por la Gaceta Oficial y la Memoria anual del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores de las irrisorias cantidades asignadas a las Misiones, ignoran o afectan ignorar estas cosas y por ende quieren negar nuestros sacrificios personales y nuestra labor de patria, ¿qué extraño es que los indios lo ignoren de verdad y sin culpa?

158.—Bien puede decirse que los regalos entre indígenas no existen; todo entre ellos es compra-venta o prestación. "Si dais a los que os dan, ¿qué gracia hay en ello? ¿Acaso los gentiles no hacen esto?".

La práctica nos enseña a no admitir regalo alguno de ellos o procurar inmediatamente resarcirles con otro regalo; pues de lo contrario, a los cincuenta años después nos exigirán la paga correspondiente. Y esto vale no sólo para las dádivas ofrecidas por los indígenas a los civilizados, sino también para las que se hacen entre sí. De aquí que los indios más reflexivos y delicados (que los hay), cuando están de huéspedes procuran resarcir a sus hospederos ayudándoles en los trabajos comunes, trayendo alguna caja o pescado, acarreando leña o agua, etc. Esta observación me ha sido hecha expresamente por ellos y demuestra la delicadeza de unos en no ser gravosos y en otros el temor a ser recriminados por favores recibidos completamente gratis.

159.—En relación con el asunto que nos ocupa, debemos recalcar como avisos muy prácticos en el trato con los indígenas, los siguientes:

1.—No admitir ningún regalo sin la debida correspondencia.

2.—El mejor medio para librarnos de su pedigüeñerías, cuando nos resulte molesta y no tengamos con que acallarla, es pedirles nosotros una cosa cualquiera que ellos tengan.

3.—Al hospedarnos entre ellos debemos arrimar el hombro a las cargas comunes o gastos de comida, y así nos veremos libres de sus recriminaciones.

En cierta ocasión regaláronme unos indios de cierto lugar unas piñas, que inmediatamente hice pelar y repartir entre ellos mismos. Apenas las habíamos comido cuando el espléndido donante vino a pedirme el pan, pues las piñas eran de las mujeres y querían unas peinetas, que yo no llevaba. Entonces repartí entre todos media libra de chocolate, cuyas tabletas equivalían muy bien a las rodajas de piña; y, como las mujeres comieron también, les pedí en pago un *uenek* de cargar niños. Como ellas no habían recibido las peinetas, tampoco quisieron regalarme el *uenek* —fajas en que cargan los niños de pecho—; pero así quedamos todos en paz.

160.—Entre indios y no indios no todos los cariños son desinteresados; mejor diríamos es raro el que lo es. Ni todas las zalamerías son gratitud. Con todo, mirando la otra cara de los indios, véome obligado a recordar muchas y sinceras demostraciones de afecto; principalmente en los viajes, muchos servicios y atenciones de parte de los ya educados por nosotros en la Misión, diligencias extraordinarias y arriesgarse ellos a peligros de chorreras en los ríos y grandes aguaceros y someterse ellos a grandes mojaduras e incomodidades por librarnos a nosotros de las mismas.

Como consejo saludable y ascético debemos recordar que el Señor da y no echa en cara. Y por eso dijo Quevedo que es señal de ánimo grande y casi divino dar favores sin esperar recompensa ni agradecimiento. Y Amado Nervo escribió también: "Los espíritus mezquinos siempre se están lamentando de la ingratitud de los demás; en cambio, las almas generosas siempre se sorprenden del agradecimiento".

CAPITULO XIX

¿EDUCAN LOS INDIOS A SUS HIJOS?

161—Pregunta. 162—Enseñanza práctica. 163—Enseñanza oral. 164—El coco. 165—Castigos. 166—Matrimonios. 167—Reglas de etiqueta.

161.—En la carta, de donde extraemos esta pregunta, se nos pide expresamente que tratemos de la *corrección* de los

niños y si sus padres *castigan* o no a los hijos y qué clase de castigos les aplican.

162.—*Enseñanza práctica.*—Bien puede comprender mi caro interlocutor que los indios, sin sentar cátedra de pedagogía y plaza de educadores, educan y enseñan prácticamente a sus hijos. Los hijos, a su vez, por instinto natural de imitación tienden a remedar lo que ven en sus padres.

Y, así conforme nos lo imaginábamos, los varones emprenden el manejo de sus arcos en miniatura y acompañan en sus cacerías a los mayores, y muestran la agresividad y valentía propia de su sexo, aunque sólo sea matando pedacitos de palo o piedras en chinchorritos improvisados, haciendo tortitas de barro a semejanza del casabe, etc.

163.—*Enseñanza oral.*—La otra enseñanza, oral y exprofeso, es muchísimo más rara que entre nosotros; con todo, tengo recogidos sobre el particular algunos datos de los ancianos que, obligados más de lo que desearan a la vida sedentaria, dan sus consejos a los jóvenes. En los cuentos que como muchas veces se ha dicho, forman la literatura oral indígena, aparecen ridiculizados los defectos de la glotonería, de la falta de aseo personal, de la falta de cautela ante lo extraño y desconocido, de la infidelidad conyugal y otros vicios sexuales, de la falta de amor a los hijos, etc.

Claro está, sin embargo, que su moral no alcanza la perfección del Evangelio y que con frecuencia, en las primeras narraciones legendarias, se enseña el espíritu de venganza y el refinamiento en la tortura de las víctimas; ocurriendo en esos relatos escenas sexuales en extremo crudas, sin que se recaten de contarlas en presencia de los pequeñuelos, que adquieren un conocimiento muy precoz y hasta tal vez una iniciación muy prematura. En este particular evidentemente tienen el sentimiento moral bastante embotado.

164.—*El coco.*—En la niñez se recurre con frecuencia al engaño del *enek* (bicho), que es nuestro *coco*, para que los niños no se vayan lejos, para que no lloren, para que obedezcan, etc. Usan, pues, el estímulo del miedo. Entre otras amenazas de este estilo, que tengo anotadas en mis apuntes de Etnografía, recuerdo como muy del caso que las madres a los niños berreones que los sacarán de casa y que llamaran a *virumaimá* u otra de las grandes aves de rapiña para que se los lleven. A los perezosos en llevar sus pequeños guayares o cargas les dicen que los zamuros se ensucian sobre los que ven sin carga.

165.—*Castigos.*—Mi interrogante supone que los indios en la reprensión o corrección jamás llegan al castigo, y que toda la reprensión de las faltas y desórdenes consiste en expresio-

nes como aquellas del débil Helí: "No queráis hacer eso, hijos míos; no hagáis lo que es malo; no me contristéis". Francamente, mi preguntón está equivocado, y yo paladinamente debo confesarle que estos Indios, además del suave y exhortatorio "nauandok neke" (no se debe hacer o ser así) saben echar mano del castigo nada suave. Bastaría abrir el diccionario para ver que entre ellos existe el *aipopuetok*, el látigo, y el *popuetok* o simple golpeo.

En mis apuntes etnográficos están consignados otros dos castigos verdaderamente salvajes, que, según parece, aplican con alguna frecuencia las madres a sus hijos díscolos, impúdicos, etc. La aplicación se hace colocándolos boca abajo acostados en la hamaca y a cierta altura sobre la candela y echando en ella ají para que sufran con su tósigo, que por experiencia propia conozco ser molestísimo. Otras veces les introducen por la vía rectar el mismo picante, ya en polvo con sal *(chikirimá)*, ya simplemente picado *(puemuei estamosak)*.

166.—*Matrimonios.*—Aunque estos indígenas son libérrimos en la elección de consorte y nada hemos visto que sea remotamente ni compra de la mujer, tal vez por la misma afortunada (para el caso) pobreza en que viven, nos consta y tenemos anotado que los padres *aconsejan positivamente* a sus hijas (y tanto más cuanto más viejos o impedidos se ven) que no se casen con indio demasiado joven, con indio que no sepa tejer cestos, sebucanes, guayares, etc.... con indios de pequeña estatura; y al contrario que prefieran al ya entrado en años, al madrugador, al que *se moja las piernas con saliba de estrellas* (rocío), al que *se mancha los brazos con barro y con heces de lombrices o carnada de su anzuelo, al* que se sometió a las incisiones o "oaouek" y a la "eseunakipa" o indigestión por la vía nasal de remedios mágicos para ser diestro cazador y pescador, etc.

Posiblemente los indios son de índole menos violenta que nosotros; y no cabe duda de que son más sufridos y pacientes, ocultan más sus sentimientos, y así logran una vida más plácida.

167.—*Reglas de etiqueta.*—Guardan los indios sus reglas en los saludos y despedidas, en sus modestos banquetes a los huéspedes y forasteros y en las mismas discusiones.

Para los que gustan de zaherir y menospreciar a los indígenas, puede transcribírseles un pequeño detalle de su vida diaria: El indio pide *agua* a su mujer y ésta, habiéndolo, le traerá el *kachirí* después de haberlo probado ella misma. Preguntándoles yo para qué hacían eso y por qué lo pedían así, dijéronme que se pedía siempre *agua* por si acaso, no hay *kachirí* a fin de que no se sonroje la mujer. Y ésta prueba

siempre de todo antes de servirlo en señal de unión y mutua confianza.

Sin mandato del marido no presentará jamás la mujer comida ni bebida a ningún varón extraño.

En caso de llegada de forasteros, las mujeres comerán aparte y después de los varones.

Adviértase también que, dicho el "*atapontén seré*", es hora de acostarse, los indios serios y formales (y dígolo porque no faltan los jovenzuelos más o menos alocados), no vuelven a dirigir la palabra ni aunque estén casi pegando chinchorro con chinchorro.

Y si éstas y otras por el estilo no son reglas excelsas de cortesía y educación en el trato social, tampoco son despreciables y sí muestras muy valiosas de sus sentimientos delicados.

CAPITULO XX

¿NO ES INUTIL LA LABOR DE LA REGENERACION DE LOS INDIOS?

168—Anécdotas. 169—Principios. 170—Las reducciones. 171—Casos prácticos. 172—Amor maternal. 173—Los resultados. 174—Refrán. 175—N. B.

168.—Anécdotas.—Esta pregunta es una de las más frecuentes. Hácese ordinariamente a propósito de tal o cual indio, adoptado por tal o cual familia, y que después de muchos años, aprovechando un permiso o valiéndose de la huída, retornó entre sus parientes y a la vida de sus ancestros.

Las anécdotas que se cuentan, van desde el simple indio cogido para el servicio gratuito y muy poco distinto del esclavo, hasta el que llega a abogado, médico o sacerdote, y que dejó un rango elevado, su toga, su uniforme, sus capisayos, para ir de nuevo a sumergirse en la barbarie de que había salido.

Pues que son tantas las anécdotas, que se refieren, no voy a transcribir ninguna, ni tampoco las niego. Sencillamente pregunto: ¿Cuál es la causa de estos casos y fracasos?; ¿admitidos ellos, son motivo suficiente para afirmar, en general, que es inútil toda labor de regneración y todo intento de incorporarlos a nuestra manera de vida?

169.—Principios.—Los que se interesan por la educación de los indios y por elevarlos en la cultura y asemejarlos a nosotros, deben recordar como axiomas pedagógicos incontrovertibles:

1º que "la naturaleza no procede a saltos" y que, por lo tanto, es muy natural que la cabra tire al monte y el salvaje a la selva;

2º que "cada oveja, con su pareja"; y por eso, al tratar de formar familia ordenadamente por medio del matrimonio, es natural que busquen a sus parientes;

3º que "más vale ser cabeza de ratón que cola de león"; y de ahí que, al sentirse dueños de sí y aptos para las cargas de la vida, quieran más vivir en su tierra que en tierra extraña.

170.—Las reducciones.—Todos estamos acordes en que el hombre debe ser preparado para la lucha de la vida para su medio y ordinariamente en su mismo medio. No deben los indígenas (individual o colectivamente) ser extraídos o transplantados de sus tierras definitivamente. De ahí el fracaso de muchas *reducciones* antiguas, método que infelizmente aún tiene propugnadores y no precisamente entre los misioneros. Es un caso de aplicación de la teoría del menor esfuerzo: se quiere que los indios vengan a nosotros para no tener que ir nosotros a los indios.

Muchos proponen que se hagan redadas de indios (ya que no razzias) y se hagan colonias artificiales a la manera de parques zoológicos.

En cambio las leyes nacionales de Misiones, y los misioneros con ellas, afirman que el indio debe ser educado en su medio y que sólo transitoriamente puede ser autorizado por el Director de la Misión a visitar los centros civilizados. Por eso escribe el Exmo. Sr. Vicario Apostólico del Caroní en su informe oficial de 1944: "Alguien podría abogar por que se sacaran a pueblos de civilizados, para que el roce y convivencia con éstos acabara de completar la obra de los Misioneros. Pero la experiencia nos ha enseñado que ninguno de los que hemos sacado fuera de las Misiones ha ganado en moralidad, respeto a la propiedad, sentido de la responsabilidad y amor al trabajo'." Los educadores deben ir a vivir entre los educandos y allí ante la realidad de los hechos y ante las dificultades concretas, deben tratar de elevar el nivel de vida propia y ajena. Y no cabe duda que, metidos en un mar de dificultades, en un medio geográfico hostil, etc.... aprenderán (como se dice del supremo misionero Jesucristo) benignidad, paciencia, obediencia, etc.... Intérnense los educadores.

Y aun educados en su medio, en sus mismas tierras, no deben los indios ser privados de sus maneras ancestrales de vida y de sus instrumentos (intelectuales o físicos), sino lentamente y a medida que les vaya siendo posible la adaptación a nuestras maneras y la adquisición de nuestros instrumentos.

Particularmente afirma esto Humboldt hablando de la lengua como instrumento intelectual el mejor para conservar

la psicología propia de raza y el mejor aglutinante para relacionar las familias. Y Simpson advierte muy acertadamente esto mismo de los medios culturales físicos, pues existe el peligro de que los indios olviden o menosprecien sus artes propias y no aprendan las nuestras y se les dificulte la vida con la ansiedad en adquirir lo que ven en otros. Así, v. gr., es preferible que los indios vivan desnudos, pero bien alimentados, que bien vestidos pero faltos de comida.

171.—Casos prácticos.—Mejor es (y va de ejemplos) que el indio use sandalias de moriche y atienda a sus labranzas, y no que consiga enzapatarse a fuerza de prolongadas ausencias de sus conucos y de su casa. Mejor es que los indios vivan dispersos cada uno en su colina con abundancia de agua, pesca y agricultura, que no vivir en una hermosa planicie con las casas bien alineadas, pero careciendo de medios propios de vida. Tal es el caso práctico del caserío goajiro de "Ziruma" a las puertas de Maracaibo.

Los indios tienen muy buenas disposiciones; no son refractarios a nuestra civilización, ni rehuyen aprender nuestra lengua, ni siquiera son opuestos sistemáticamente a la exogamia o unión matrimonial con los de otras zonas. Pero no deben ser educados para nuestro bien, sino para el suyo; no debemos buscar nuestro bienestar en ellos, sino dedicarnos nosotros de verdad a procurarles su bien físico y moral.

172.—Amor maternal.—Una de las causas, que en la literatura oral indígena aparece como motivo el más frecuente de sus fugas, es aquella atracción que en nuestra lengua se llama amor patrio y amor maternal. Y bien claro está que lejos de ser un sentimiento reprensible, es por lo contrario un sentimiento nobilísimo y digno de toda alabanza. Y en esto deben pensar los que quieran retener siempre cabe sí a los indios que educaron, sin pensar que más derechos tienen las madres que los engendraron y amamantaron.

Hace poco tiempo un empleado hoy agregado a una embajada de Venezuela en el extranjero decíame (sin darse cuenta de que yo era misionero), que toda labor realizada en favor de los indios era inútil, que los Misioneros estaban perdiendo el tiempo y las energías y el Gobierno su dinero. Le repliqué que yo era misionero y que los misioneros teníamos un concepto más elevado de sus compatriotas indios, que lejos de perder el tiempo y las energías era bastante el fruto recogido tanto en los tiempos antiguos como en los 20 años de esta segunda etapa de las Misiones.

173.—Los resultados.—Hoy puedo referirme al cuaderno 42 de la Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, titulado "Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní", por

el R. P. Baltasar de Matallana. A su lectura me remito, particularmente a las páginas 73-80, pues exponen clara y sencillamente nuestro método misional y sus efectos.

También recomiendo la lectura del informe oficial del Exmo. Sr. Vicario Apostólico del Caroní, antes citado, sobre "Resultados obtenidos de los Indígenas cuanto a su incorporación a la vida nacional".—(Memoria de Relaciones Interiores, año 1945, pág. 355).

Y la conclusión final de todo es nuestra afirmación rotunda y enérgica de que los Indios efectivamente se regeneran y contra los hechos no valen los argumentos teóricos. Y si su regeneración es lenta, débese a que los medios económicos de que disponemos son mínimos. Y si se invirtiera en Misiones lo que en Guardias de Frontera o lo que en Colonos Extranjeros, y se prefiriera la ayuda a la inmigración uterina de las razas autóctonas a la dispendiosa protección a los inmigrantes extranjeros, para estas fechas otro gallo nos cantara y no estaría cantándonos todavía "el pobre en su choza libertad pidió".

174.—Refrán.—Un refrán popular dice: "El que hace un cesto hace ciento, si le dan mimbres y tiempo".

Désenos a los misioneros buenas ayudas económicas, no miserables centavos con cuenta-gotas; háganse presupuestos holgados para los indígenas y no ripios y migajas de la hacienda nacional, y verán como los misioneros que antes hicimos pueblos a todo lo ancho y largo de América, los harémos también ahora, y verán que los indios acuden "a donde hay y a donde dan".

Querer que atraigamos a los indios con buenas palabras, es querer que pesquemos con anzuelo sin cebo o carnada.

Finalmente hay que calmar la impaciencia y recordar que "no se hizo Zamora en una hora", y que la regeneración total de los indios es obra y empresa grande, de mucho tiempo y de varias generaciones. El tiempo no perdona a lo que se hace sin él; lo demasiado rápido, rápidamente se desmorona; lo *festinado*, no perdura.

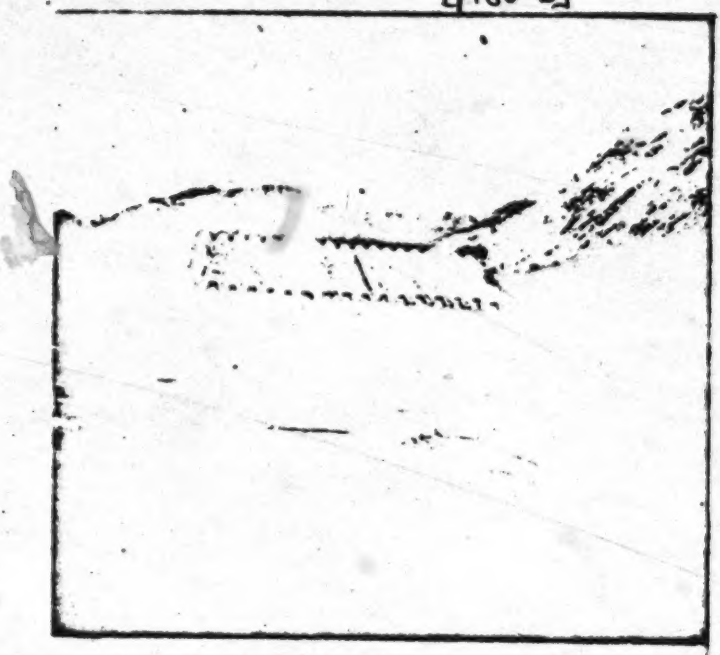
175.—N. B.—Leyendo la "Memoria y Cuenta del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores" encuentro que el *presupuesto de sólo un año de la Colonia de Trabajo "El Dorado"* ascendió a 400.000,00 Bs., cantidad que no fué entregada a la *Misión del Caroní en 13 años.*

[p. 80-A]

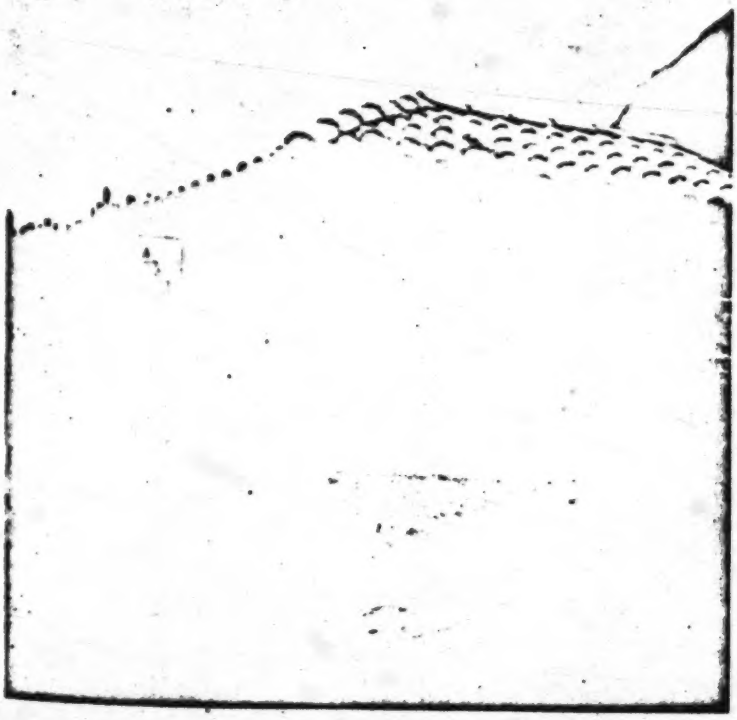
Las indígenas de la Gran Sabana entretenidas en sus tejidos.

Fibras y tejidos de los indígenas de la Gran Sabana.

[p. 80-B]



Primeros edificios cubiertos con teja fabricada por la Mielón de Santa Elena.



CAPITULO XXI

¿QUE CULTURA MATERIAL POSEEN LOS INDIOS?

176—Cultura y civilización. 177—Cultura material. 178—Breve enumeración. 179—Influencia de la civilización europea. 180—División de artes y trabajo entre los dos sexos. 181—Más sabe el necio en su casa.

176.—La pregunta, tal cual nos la hizo un "amante de los indios", rezaba así: ¿Qué civilización material tienen esos indios? Hemos cambiado la palabra *civilización* por *cultura* para evitar confusiones de palabras, que necesariamente engendran la confusión de ideas.

Civilización es palabra que debe reservarse para indicar los grados más altos de la cultura completa, material y espiritual, obtenida mediante la organización en *ciudades*, sociedad completa y perfecta en sí de la unión de las cuales surgen los Estados y las Naciones y surgirá la Comunidad Internacional Humana, meta aun no lograda. En cambio *cultura* significa cultura, dominio de la naturaleza o de las propias facultades mediante la reflexión y los instrumentos, cosa privativa del hombre entre todos los seres de la creación [illegible] que (a lo menos en sus ínfimos grados) no falta a ningu[illegible]quiera que él sea y a cualquier sub-raza que pertenezca, pues todo hombre es *homo faber*, manufactor y artesano.

177.—Lo dicho sobre el pudor de los indios y (por analogía) de sus sentimientos morales y lo apuntado someramente sobre su lengua, basta para formar idea de su cultura espiritual; ahora el estudio de sus invenciones físicas completará la visión de su cultura material, que, por más rudimentaria que sea, nos hablará siempre muy alto de sus autores. "El más simple y grosero de los instrumentos y de los utensilios descubiertos en las estaciones, donde vivieron y trabajaron los hombres de las primeras edades, nos revela la presencia y la acción de un espíritu, que conocía la relación de causa y efecto, deduciendo de ella otra relación, la de medio y fin... Ningún animal hizo otro tanto, pasando el Rubicón desde la orilla del instinto a la ribera de la razón. (Mons. Fernández Valbuena).

Por la manera de hacernos la pregunta se ve que nuestro interpelante no es de los que opinan que los indios son "un animal más" o que "viven como verdaderos rebaños de animales", más bien supone que tienen *alguna* cultura y quiere saber *cuál* es. Felizmente es así: los indios Pemones, cuyo adelanto material no es grande, si se le compara con el nuestro, no dejan de tener su cultura apreciable y digna de estudio.

La sola enumeración de palabras referentes a instrumentos y utensilios ocuparía varias páginas.

La cultura material de estos indios ha sido minuciosísimamente estudiada por el Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson en su libro "Los Kamarakotos" y antes de él y con más perfección por T. Koch-Grünberg en su monumental obra "Von Roroima zun Orinoco". (Por cierto que en el estudio de su lengua y psicología no los creemos tan acertados ni podemos recomendarlos incondicionalmente, sobre todo al primero).

178.—Pues bien; quien desee detalles y pormenores, los encontrará en los antedichos autores sobre las cosas que a continuación anotamos y otras más. *Instrumentos de cáza y pesca:* arco y flechas, cerbatana y aljaba, garlitos y nasas, arpón y anzuelo. *Venenos* para los mismos: curare y diversas clases de verbasco. *Utensilios culinarios:* rallo, sebucán, tamiz, budare, esterillas, ollas, tinajones y artesas. *Ranchos* o viviendas provisionales y *casas* de morada fija: rectangulares aquellos y circulares con techos cónicos éstas. *Prendas de vestir y adornos:* taparrabos, guayucos femeninos, sandalias de moriche, ajorcas, cenojiles, pampanillas, halos, collares y zarcillos; hamacas, bolsas, y bandas de cargar muchachos. *Su menaje casero:* banquillos, garabatos, camazas, leznas, guayares e infinidad de cestos. *Sus instrumentos de navegación:* canalete y palanca, balsas y canoas construídas con troncos de árboles o con sólo su concha. *Sus hilados:* con huso, *fibras retorcidas* sobre el muslo, otras fibras *trenzadas* y pequeños *tejidos* en telares rudimentarios. Sus *instrumentos músicos:* sonajas, pitos, flautas, botutos y tambores. *Sus cultivos agrícolas:* yuca, plátanos, maíz, caña, ají, auyama, algodón, tabaco y diversas clases de tubérculos. *Preparación de alimentos:* cocidos y asados, casabe y mañoco, molidos en pilón, guarapos y purés con o sin fermentación. Etc., etc.

179.—Hay que advertir que estos indios desde muchas generaciones ha, por intermedio de otras tribus vecinas vienen recibiendo algunos instrumentos de nuestra civilización europea: cuchillos, machetes, chícoras, hachas, anzuelos, armas de fuego, limas, espejos, abalorios, tela para guayucos. Pero ellos aún tienen memoria de una época, en que hacían sus taparrabos y bandas de cargar los niños con conchas de árboles especiales; en que hacían los anzuelos con espinas vegetales o de pescados; en que fabricaban sus flechas con punta de hueso, madera o caña especial; en que usaban dextrales (hachas de piedras) para cavar la tierra; en que se cortaban el cabello con dientes de rayas; en que tenían cuchillos de palo; en que rozaban o desmontaban sus conucos para la labranza con fuego aplicado al tronco de palos; en que fabricaban sus canoas con sólo el fuego dirigido; y, en fin, en que

obtenían el mismo fuego por frotación de palos, principalmente con verada de caña brava y yesca de algodón.

Los que quieran aplicar a los indios lo aprendido en los manuales corrientes de Paleontología, se encontrarán con el extraño fenómeno de una cultura bastante desarrollada sin haber llegado al uso de la piedra. Para que se vea que la realidad es más variada que todos los sistemas, y que empecinarse en acomodar los datos nuevos a los sistemas viejos equivaldría a meter el vino nuevo en odres viejos: éstos se rompen y aquél se derrama, como dijo el divino Maestro.

180.—Ya en otra parte, al hablar de la laboriosidad de los indios, quedó anotada la división o parte que tocaba a cada uno de los sexos en el trabajo y confección de utensilios e instrumentos: caza, pesca, vivienda, rozas y cestería, a los varones; agricultura, cocina, hamacas y aseo, a las hembras. Esta división, tan natural, parece estar indicada en el Génesis cuando nos dice que el varón puso nombre a todos los animales y que la mujer fué a coger de las frutas de los árboles. Así opina Mons. Fernández Valbuena con otros etnógrafos. Aquí tenemos que añadir que tanto varones como hembras en la confección de sus respectivos utensilios buscan y procuran no sólo la utilidad, sino también el arte; tratan de juntar lo dulce a lo útil y atractivo; y hasta en los utensilios más bajos hay siempre el destello del arte y de la estética, mereciendo muy bien el nombre de artefactos. Combinan colores, hacen figuras geométricas o dibujos de animales estilizados, rematan con borlas o penachos, disimulan los empates, refuerzan los bordillos o flecos, etc.

Y así tenemos en conclusión que los indios, estudiados ora con sus ideas morales, ora en su lengua, ora en los artefactos de sus manos, se elevan cientos y millares de codos sobre los meros animales y se diferencian sólo unos pocos grados o pasos de nuestros adelantos culturales.

181.—Aún tenemos otra reflexión que hacer y es que, considerados en su medio ambiente y comparados uno a uno, los indios en general nos superan a cualquiera de los que nos llamamos civilizados y nos creemos superiores a ellos. Gracias a la división del trabajo hemos podido nosotros hacer tantos progresos; pero debido a esa misma división, en la vida dura y práctica de las tierras casi vírgenes nos vemos impotentes para multitud de cosas, en que salen airosos los indígenas. De esto se dan muy buena cuenta ellos y más de una vez los oí tapar la boca de los jactanciosos despreciadores de ellos. Advertencia no nueva, pero sí muy sabia, contenida en aquellos dos conocidos refranes: "Más sabe el necio en su casa, que el sabio en la ajena" y "Al que se viste de ajeno lo desnudan en la calle".

CAPITULO XXII

¿POSEEN LOS INDIOS UNA LENGUA BIEN FORMADA?

182—El veneno transformista o evolucionista. 183—¡Los elocuentes araguatos! 184—Las lenguas se aprenden con amor y trabajo. 185—Labor indigenista. 186—La mano y la lengua. 187—Riqueza literaria.

182.—Parece mentira que se hagan ciertas preguntas, y sin embargo se hacen. A este número pertenece la pregunta que encabeza estas líneas y que nos hace nada menos que un *estudiante universitario.*

Claro está; estamos tan envenenados con el transformismo darwiniano, y se ha denigrado tanto a los primitivos, que a duras penas se les concibe dotados de razón, de conocimiento moral, de la facultad de lenguaje. Así, v. gr., leemos en el texto de Sociología de una Universidad americana: "El vocabulario del hombre inculto no se compone de más de 300 palabras... Los orígenes remotos de la sociedad hay que irlos a buscar a los tiempos en que el hombre es aún un animal privado de palabra o con un lenguaje incipiente".

183.—En cambio, si a mano viene, y para más rebajar al hombre y más borrar las barreras que nos separan de los meros animales, después de haber casi negado totalmente el lenguaje a varias tribus, se enaltecerá la lengua de los aulladores o araguatos, que "hablan horas enteras en medio de un silencio general, seguido de gran agitación, que cesa tan luego como el orador vuelve a hacer uso de la palabra". (Topinard.) ¡Buenos oídos le deseamos para tan elocuentes palabras! ¡Ya se conoce que T. escribe de oídas (y bien remotas) y que no tuvo como nosotros que aguantar los aullidos de tan elocuentes oradores a pocos metros de su hamaca!

En vano repetimos los misioneros que los indios poseen una lengua bien organizada, apta para expresar en ella no sólo las cosas de la vida material, sino también las de la vida intelectual; una y otra vez se nos vuelve con las mismas preguntas y con los mismos prejuicios, mil veces refutados.

184.—A los que nos preguntan cómo logramos los Misioneros llegar a entendernos con los indios, yo les respondo que el amor y el trabajo todo lo vencen y todo lo alcanzan. El cómo nos lo dice Mons. Le Roy en estas palabras: "Cuando un misionero va a establecerse en un país inexplorado, entre una tribu que él no conoce, uno de sus primeros cuidados es aprender la lengua. Puede ser que encuentre algún intérprete indígena; pero aun en este caso y a pesar de lo valioso de esta ayuda, durante los primeros tiempos todo le parecerá

confuso y enredado, y en aquellos gritos extraños, que le rompen los oídos, él no distinguirá frases, ni palabras ni siquiera sílabas. Y sin embargo es menester hacer una gramática! Pasan los días, los meses, los años.... y llega felizmente una hora en que la gramática está hecha. Y aquella lengua que parecía un montón de gritos inarticulados, aparece con las partes del discurso, con su régimen, con sus reglas, con su filosofía y con su belleza. Los mismos indígenas que la hablan con una corrección sorprendente, son incapaces de decir cómo se formó. Es otra tarea, que debe desarrollar el misionero con ingenio y discurso".

185.—Parece ser que a los misioneros y a los verdaderos indigenistas aún nos tocará mucho que pelear en defensa de los indios en este y otros asuntos y mucho que rebatir de lo que escritores desaprensivos dicen contra los indios, a quienes sólo conocen por referencias o a ojo de buen cubero, sin larga convivencia ni estudio diuturno y reposado.

Primero se niega que los indios tengan una lengua bien formada; a lo más se les concede un vocabulario reducidísimo sin ninguna lógica gramatical. Y después, cuando se les convence de la falsedad de estos asertos, con el vano pretexto de unitarismo (por no decir totalitarismo) quieren que las lenguas indígenas, cualquiera que sea su valor intrínseco, sus producciones literarias y el número de nativos que las hablan, desaparezcan de grado o por fuerza. Los norteamericanos confiesan que ellos llegaron hasta aplicar castigos a los niños; pero confiesan su error y ya están de vuelta mientras otros todavía van a escarmentar en cabeza propia. Vendrá, Dios mediante, la coexistencia del español con las lenguas indígenas (pues los indios ni son rebeldes ni incapaces de aprender nuestra lengua); vendrá luego la desaparición de éstas como desaparecieron el Kumanagoto, el guaikerí, etc... pero esto debe verificarse por un proceso espontáneo, lento y natural. ¿Qué derecho más sagrado que el uso del lenguaje materno?

El abuso de minorías sediciosas no debe quitar el legítimo uso de minorías, que lentamente van camino de la unificación nacional tan deseable en todos los planos.

Y, puesto que las cosas son así y no de otra manera, ya que con tanto celo se legisla sobre los tiempos y zonas de veda en la caza y pesca a fin de que no desaparezca la fauna nacional, y tanto se gasta en los parques zoológicos hasta con ejemplares exóticos, algo y mucho más debera hacerse para conservar las riquezas vivas, etnográficas y lingüísticas, en Museos, Cátedras y Academias.

A todo esto alguno querrá llamarlo *snomismo*, pero en la realidad es puro y verdadero *indigenismo* o amor cristiano al

prójimo. Además, aquí en Venezuela la cuestión es viva y palpitante, aunque sin grandes proporciones absolutas, pero no debemos ir ni contra la corriente internacional ni a remolque de las otras naciones americanas.

186.—El hombre, reconocido como el animal social por excelencia, no obtuvo su completa civilización sino por la agrupación en ciudades, para lo cual necesitó toda su sabiduría teórica y práctica suministradas por la ductilidad o flexibilidad de su lengua y la tornatilidad de su mano: *Homo sapiens y homo faber*. Ambas facultades, las más influyentes en el progreso material y espiritual del hombre, no faltan en ninguna tribu. Y así escribió San Pablo: "Hay en el mundo muchas diferentes lenguas; y no hay pueblo que no tenga la suya".

A los que aún duden de la riqueza lingüística de estos indios, remítolos a la Colección E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas) para que adquieran los libros allí publicados y se tomen la molestia de leerlos; y a buen seguro, que dejará sus ideas despectivas sobre los indios, si tal vez las tuviesen. Y llamo particularmente la atención para lo escrito en el prólogo del Diccionario Pemón sobre varios tópicos lingüísticos.

187.—Empero no sólo es riqueza de vocablos y de formas gramaticales; tienen los indios sus frases hechas, sus ideas acuñadas, su refranero, sus cantares, sus cuentos, leyendas y mitos, es decir todo un *folklore* o saber popular, transmitido como riqueza espiritual mediante la comunicación lingual: toda una floración, toda una cosecha de frutos venidos de la raíz de las palabras, todo un tesoro del *alma indígena*. Cuando muy pronto se continúe la Colección E. V. I. verán nuestros lectores que no exageramos.

El solo estudio de la lengua bastaría para tener un concepto muy elevado de los indios, pues, como dice S. de Madariaga: "Una gramática es una filosofía... Las lenguas, la expresión más directa del carácter nacional".

Una y otra vez se nos vuelve con la misma pregunta; y, en ocasiones, al oírme ponderar la riqueza de léxico y ductilidad gramatical de la lengua de los indios Pemones, poco les faltó a mis interpelantes para que me llamaran loco o, a lo menos, cegado por el cariño. Y esto me ha sucedido no sólo con gente de medio pelo, sino también con gente que, por su oficio o profesión, debiera tener instrucción general y comprensión de estos temas.

Y (lo que es más de sentir), nuestros indios aborígenes han sido difamados en este y otros particulares no sólo por excursionistas o trotamundos vulgares, que andan a caza de bolas para bobos en regiones lejanas, incontrolables por la distancia, sino también por compatricios desaprensivos, que hablan de

los indios con el mayor desprecio del mundo. Siempre el mismo fenómeno: despreciar o menospreciar lo que no se conoce, el atrevimiento de la ignorancia.

CAPITULO XXIII

¿QUE ORGANIZACION SOCIAL TIENEN LOS INDIOS?

188—¿El órgano crea el medio? 189—La horda. 190—Al principio fué la familia. 191—Los capitanes o "tusanú". 192—Influencia personal. 193—¡Ancha es mi tierra! 194—Como en los tiempos de Colón. 195—No existencia del "totemismo". 196—Formación de la familia. 197—¿Qué organización tenían los Caracas?

188.—Estábamos hartos de oír a los evolucionistas que "la necesidad o medio ambiente crea el órgano"; ahora, cambiándonos el disco o el plato, nos dicen que "el órgano crea el medio para ejercitarse". Así, v. gr., el Dr. Topinard en su citada Antropología escribe: "El hombre vive en sociedad porque se ve impelido a ello como muchos animales, porque, dotado de lenguaje y de facultades intelectuales elevadas, necesita ejercitarlas; pero también vive así porque le es más fácil satisfacer sus necesidades materiales y conseguir mayor suma de bienestar".

Con otra filosofía más lógica decimos nosotros que efectivamente la facultad tiende a ponerse en acto, a ejercitarse; y Dios, que quiso al hombre social, le dió facultades y apetitos que lo inclinaran a formar sociedades. Y lo cierto del caso es que el hombre en todas partes aparece asociado, condición que le ha valido el calificativo de *animal político*, es decir, *ciudadano* o que tiende a formar *ciudades*.

189.—Pero no faltan escritores, que al tratar de los orígenes de la humanidad y de los salvajes, quieren concebirlos en un estado atómico de disgregación atómica. Y así por ejemplo, uno de ellos, arrogándose la representación universal, escribe: "Los sociólogos sostienen que en el principio era la *horda*". Sigue hablando, en esta fase, de la promiscuidad "en forma de ayuntamiento, público, sin que hubiera vida doméstica estable entre hombre y mujer". Sigue discurriendo (extravía o extraviado) sobre "la fase de tránsito de la horda promiscua al *clan*" con poliginia y poliandria a placer, para llegar (después de tan largo camino) a la *familia*, que quizás paralelamente se constituyó" con las formas plurales anteriormente descritas.

190.—Sería muy largo y fuera de propósito ponernos a investigar el desarrollo de la organización humana en general

[facing p. 88]

Rudimentario telar donde la India de la Sabana se fabrica sus ropas.

Hermosas plantaciones de verdura de la Misión Capuchina.

o en particular de los Indios Caribes, a cuya raza pertenecen los Pemones. Vamos al caso. Y el caso es que esos delirios literarios, que repugnan a la razón, se hallan rechazados también por la prehistoria y por la etnografía moderna. Ambas a una nos dicen que *al principio fué y es la familia*, unidad biológica, económica y cultural, base de todas las otras sociedades. Pueden muchas razas no pasar de la organización familiar, pero ninguna descenderá de esa valla y de ese nivel mínimo, no alcanzando tras largas evoluciones sino el estado en que fué constituido el hombre.

Esta es precisamente la situación de los indios Pemones. Después de varios siglos (quién sabe cuántos) no traspasan en cuanto a organización los límites de la familia, sociedad para procurarse el alimento (y en general la mutua ayuda de los consortes) y criar los hijos; es decir, conservación de los individuos y perpetuación de la especie. Son por lo tanto una *horda*, no en el sentido antes dicho, sino como "grupo de familias descendientes de un tronco común y que viven en un territorio determinado".

191.—Toda la organización de los indios *capitanes o tusauá*, empezando por el nombre, es exótica, impuesta por misioneros o exploradores (mercantilistas o científicos) que concebimos la vida de los indios moldeada a semejanza de la nuestra. Entre ellos sólo existe el *epurú*, palabra genérica derivada de *epú*, mango, sostén. Es muy posible que en casos esporádicos, v. gr., al temer ser atacados, al acercarse un extraño, al emprender un largo viaje, etc., haya surgido o surja un caudillo, un menos cobarde, un más inteligente, etc., pero, pasado el peligro, la circunstancia externa, retornan a su manera peculiar de vida, en que no hay más lazos jurídicos que los familiares estrictamente tales.

192.—Es verdad que el indio afectuoso, activo y de iniciativas, hospitalario, etc., se hace querer y suele agrupar en torno suyo varias otras familias bien en casas individuales o bien en grandes casas comunes, pero aún entonces compartidas en hogares o fogones con todos los enseres culinarios, de pesca, caza, etc. propios de cada familia. Pues ni en este caso, el individuo aglutinador tiene autoridad sobre los otros, sino mayor o menor persuasión para dirimir pleitos y cuestiones.

Entre caserío y caserío se da el mismo fenómeno; el único lazo es el vínculo de parentesco y la amistad, lazo que se va aflojando con la distancia hasta llegar con la lejanía a la desconfianza y recelo, nunca a la agresión gratuita.

193.—El temor de unos a otros no suele influir mucho en la agrupación, pues en este caso más bien buscan la tranqui-

lidad poniendo tierra por medio. Y estos indios sí que pueden decir mejor qe los castellanos: ¡ancha es mi tierra! En este mismo sentido los indios huraños o amigos de la soledad y de evitar riñas mujeriles se aislan o se alejan a conveniente distancia. Esta era la razón que me aducían continuamente cuando yo los convidaba a mayor agrupación: "Separados no peleamos y las visitas de tiempo en tiempo son más agradables y cariñosas".

De ahí que en un censo minucioso de toda esta región levantado en los años 1940 y 1942, que comprendía las cuencas del Caroní y Paragua, no se encontrara caserío indígena con más de 100 individuos, siendo el 99% de solas 2 ó 3 casas con menos de 30 individuos.

194.—Este estado creemos que era realmente el de la mayor parte de las tribus indígenas al advenimiento de los descubridores y colonizadores españoles. Y así dice Colón hablando de Cuba que "encontraron innumerables gentes y pequeñas poblaciones, pero sin gobierno alguno". Con un autor de la historia de Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, creemos que aquí como allí: "Ninguna prueba auténtica nos puede servir de base para sostener que (Cuba) se hallaba dividida en provincias extensas, regidas por jefes o reyezuelos. Los mapas que se han trazado haciendo aparacer esas provincias o cacicazgos, son producto de la fantasía de los autores de los mismos solamente".

Y es que, fuera del peligro de guerra o para evitar otros males, en territorios extensos con población escasa y medios de vida fáciles dentro de la frugalidad, la agrupación para procurarse mayor bienestar y más facilidad se hace lentísimamente por un proceso casi imperceptible de integración. Este mismo es el fenómeno que estamos palpando en el terreno internacional: agrupaciones en la guerra y disgregaciones en la paz, sin llegar todavía, después de tantos siglos de historia, a la sociedad internacional, que ha de llegar.

195.—Para los que están al corriente de las cuestiones que suelen tratarse en la Etnología al discurrir sobre la organización de los primitivos, debo añadir que entre los indios Pemones no hay la más remota huella de *totemismo;* practican lo mismo la endogamia que la exogamia; y tampoco existen rastros del matriarcado, no obstante que los Indios Caribes en general hayan sido clasificados como pertenecientes a ese ciclo cultural y como exógamos privativamente. El *couvade,* que se quiere aducir para probranza del matriarcado, por lo poco que de él dijimos al hablar de la magia, se verá que ca-

rece de virtud probativa pues afecta por igual a ambos progenitores.

196.—Para constituir familia, por lo general, no influye otra cosa que la mutua inclinación de las partes y su omnímoda libertad; de tal modo, que con frecuencia los matrimonios se hacen contra la voluntad de los padres, a veces en viajes o rancherías lejanas y hasta con sujetos de diferente tribu; y aquel volver el hijo o la niña, tras larga ausencia, a sus padres, presentándoles el nuevo yerno o la nueva nuera, que tanto aparece en los cuentos, es la transcripción fiel de la vida real.

El interés material suele aflorar luego en los labios de los progenitores de la mujer respecto de su yerno, pues lo consideran beneficiado (como lo es en efecto) por la adquisición de la hija criada por ellos con tanto trabajo y en consecuencia le suelen pedir que los ayude en sus labranzas o construcción de casas; pero de ahí no debe deducirse que se trate de compra-venta ni de inferioridad de la mujer.

197.—Sobre la carencia de organización ultra-familiar dice el tantas veces citado Juan Pimentel en su relación geográfica de la Provincia de Caracas lo siguiente: "No hay ni se ha podido averiguar que en toda esta provincia de Caracas haya habido caciques ni señores de propiedad y señorío ni tributaban a ninguno".

Y más por extenso dice en el Cap. 15: "Los naturales de esta provincia no tuvieron ni tienen gobierno ni policía en cosa de justicia ni en otra cosa que a esto parezca; es todo behetría, que como no hay ni ha habido caciques ni señores, no han tenido a quien obedecer, y así tan bueno es Pedro como su amo; porque al comer se juntan por casa o barrios y primero mete la mano el más ruin que el mejor, y el muchacho que el viejo; que entre ellos no hay superioridad ni mejoría por vía de linaje ni por otro respecto; salvo que, si en alguna manera hay algún indio respetado, es por vía de piache, como está dicho, o que algún indio, sea buen labrador y que haga muchas borracheras o tenga muchas mujeres, hijas y yernos y nueras, de do proceda alguna buena parentela y estos le obedecen como a pariente mayor; o por vía de valiente respetan a alguno que lo es y en la guerra ha muerto algún indio o más; y conforme a los que ha muerto le hacen otras tantas coronas y le ponen nuevos nombres".

Esta y otras relaciones simples, hechas sin afectación y llanamente, demuestran bien a las claras la exageración de algunos cronistas antiguos y de algunos noveladores moder-

nos al describirnos varios caciques al estilo de las historias clásicas, pero muy apartados de la verdad escueta y descarnada de la etnografía.

CAPITULO XXIV

¿LOS INDIOS TIENEN RELIGION?

198—¿La religiosidad, característica humana? 199—Dificultad para estudiar religiones no codificadas. 200—Comparación con el estudio de la lengua. 201—¿Ideas preconcebidas de los misioneros?

198.—Otra de las características atribuídas generalmente al hombre es la *religiosidad*. "El antiguo compañero de Misión", por la manera de hacerme la pregunta, también es de los que creen que no puede haber raza ni tribu, ni horda que sea, sin religión.

Así pensaba Cicerón cuando decía: "No hay nación alguna ni tan salvaje ni tan fiera que, aún cuando ignore cuál Dios deba tener, no sepa que debe tenerle". Y así pensaron y piensan, no hay duda, la generalidad de los hombres. Pero en esto, como en todo, no faltan los que cantan "extra chorum": y para botón de muestra léase lo que trascribo a continuación: "Uno de los rasgos característicos del hombre es, según se ha dicho, la religiosidad... Pero lo cierto es que muchos individuos, aún de los más civilizados, no tienen esta creencia ni este impulso, y se contentan con vivir sin cuidarse de lo que no comprenden, careciendo de miedo, de admiración y de gratitud, que son los tres móviles de toda concepción religiosa... En esto el hombre es inferior al perro, cuya abnegación y fidelidad a la persona que le da el pan cotidiano no reconoce límites y a la cual considera como un Dios más bien que como un amo. Este animal cree seguramente en alguna cosa superior a él". (Topinard).

¡Gracias por lo de inferiores a los perros, y vamos adelante!, pues bien claro se ve que, al decirnos que "algunos individuos" no tienen religión, implícitamente se concede que "los muchos" sí la tienen.

199.—Al querer estudiar religiones no codificadas ni redactadas en un cuerpo de doctrina; es decir, sin un Símbolo o Confesión del dogma, sin Tablas o Decálogo de la moral, y sin regulador del culto; al estudiar religiones, cuyos elementos se hallan diluídos en la vida práctica, hay que tener ojo muy avizor, gran espíritu de observación y larga conviven-

cia con los nativos. Por falta de este último elemento incurrió en error tan grave como negar toda religión a los Indios Pémones el Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson.

Les preguntó (o mejor dicho, preguntó a uno o dos semicivilizados, con quienes él podía entenderse) qué pensaban de Dios, del alma, de la otra vida, etc. Ellos contestaron (a gusto del consumidor) que algunos indios hablaban de esas cosas, pero que los demás no se preocupaban de eso. Conclusión, más lata que las premisas: Los indios no tienen religión ni se preocupan por ella y los que han recibido instrucción de los misioneros viven apenados y tristes y hasta *neuróticos*.

200.—Hubiera el Dr. preguntado a los mismos indios, cuando trataba de hacer la Gramática de su lengua, qué pensaban ellos del verbo, del sustantivo y de las otras partes gramaticales, y le hubieran respondido lo mismo: que ellos no sabían nada ni se preocupaban de eso. Les hubiera preguntado, al querer describir sus casas, qué era un círculo y un cono, y le hubieran respondido que nada sabían de eso. Les hubiera interrogado sobre la escala musical y ellos le hubieran respondido nuevamente que ni entendían lo que les preguntaba. Y hubiera concluído, siguiendo la misma lógica, que los Indios Pemones no tenían categorías gramaticales, ni casas de base circular ni techo cónico, ni poseían melodías; y que sólo algunos exalumnos de los misioneros tenían nociones no muy claras de esas cosas. No es ese el método.

El indio habla su lengua y de ella hay que deducir su gramática; vive su vida y de ella hay que deducir su moral y sus creencias; canta su canción y de ella hay que deducir su música; teje sus cestos y de ellos hay que deducir la clase de tejido y de dibujos que ejecuta.

Claro es, y yo lo comprendo muy bien, que el estudio de las creencias y de las costumbres, como algo muy íntimo y a veces hasta reservado, necesita mucho tiempo y mucha paciencia para su estudio, muchísimo más que el estudio de su lengua y de sus artes manuales; pero, por lo mismo, es asunto y terreno vedado para los exploradores-relámpagos, que quieren llegar y besar el Santo sin guardar cola.

201.—Se me dirá que nosotros los misioneros vamos prevenidos a favor de los indios, dispuestos a alabar y defender todas sus cosas y a ver en ellos el hombre primitivo, recién salido de las manos de Dios. A esto respondo con la misma franqueza que Mons. Le Roy en el prólogo de su tan citado libro "La Religión de los Primitivos": "Al llegar a la misión también yo llevaba las ideas entonces en boga: indios fetichistas, sin religión, sin familia, sin moral, adoradores de los ani-

males, de los árboles, de las piedras, de cualquier cosa". Solamente a fuerza de convivencia y observación logramos librarnos de esos malos prejuicios y otros tales sobre su lengua, su cultura, su organización, etc. De modo que nuestras ideas no son sospechosas de parcialidad.

Todos allí, en contacto con la realidad de los hechos y muy lejos de los libros, hemos exclamado más de una vez que "más enseña la universidad de la vida que la vida de la universidad" y hemos citado el dicho, algún tanto exagerado, de Nietzche: "Los pensamientos que surgen andando son los únicos que valen". No despreciamos en absoluto los libros, pero no subordinamos a ellos la realidad viviente, más variada que todos los sistemas inventados, sino vice versa.

Por otra parte, las nociones fundamentales siempre quedarán en pie; pues, tornando a la comparación entre Religión y Lenguaje, así como la mayor parte de las categorías u organización gramaticales resultan ser las mismas, no obstante la variedad del léxico, así sucederá en las categorías o fenomenología religiosas, no obstante la variedad de matices.

Algo y aún mucho queda dicho de la religión de los indios al tratar de su magia y de sus sentimientos morales. Por hoy basta con decir que los indios Pemones no son irreligiosos ni arreligiosos, tienen *su* religión autóctona; además, desde hace varias generaciones, vienen recibiendo influencia de nuestra religión cristiana, igual que dijimos de nuestra cultura europea. Créame, mi caro interpelante, "in verbo magistri", ya que tiene la amabilidad de llamarme "Dr. en Pemón"; y quede para el capítulo próximo el desarrollo de esta importantísima y espinosa cuestión: *¿Cuál* es la religión de los Indios Pemones?.

CAPITULO XXV

¿CUAL ES CONCRETAMENTE LA RELIGION DE LOS INDIOS PEMONES?

202—Pregunta frecuente y respuesta difícil. 203—¿Qué entendemos por religión? 204—¿Los indios = los sin Dios? 205—Dos respuestas obvias y simplistas. 206—Mi respuesta. 207—Los tres elementos esenciales de toda religión. 208—Sustitutos de estos tres elementos. 209—¿De dónde procede esta mentalidad? 210—¿Qué son los "potón" o "pié"?—211—Conclusiones prácticas de lo expuesto.

202.—Esta pregunta es una de las que con más frecuencia se me hacen sobre los Indios Pemones, pero siendo a la vez

una de las más difíciles e importantes, fui dejando para lo último su respuesta. La dificultad estriba en el asunto mismo y también en el poco espacio de que dispongo para sintetizar cuestión tan compleja. (1)

203.—Al comienzo de su estudio necesitaríamos una idea de la religión, aunque fuera provisional, para clasificar, definir y reconocer los fenómenos religiosos o atribuídos a la religiosidad. Pero en este trabajo, que no puede ser extenso, me obligo a suponer que mis interrogantes entienden con la generalidad de los tratadistas que en la palabra religión se incluyen estas tres cosas: creencias o dogmas, moral o preceptos y culto u oraciones, sacrificios, etc.

204.—Durante mucho tiempo anduvo muy valido por tierras de América el dicho humorístico de que los indios no tenían "Dios, ni fe, ni ley ni rey". Este dicho, además de mnemotécnico para recordar los consonantes de que solían carecer las lenguas nativas, incluía también intención satírica y se quería decir con él que los indios por lo general carecían de organización religiosa (Dios y fe) y de organización social (Rey y Ley).

En conversaciones sobre este mismo asunto más de una vez he oído decir, haciendo un bonito juego de palabras, que *los indios* son *los-sin-dios*.

205.—En el capítulo anterior rechazamos de plano esta afirmación y vimos, sobre todo, que la prueba de que los indios no sepan contestar si tienen religión, ni sepan definirla ni explicarla, no vale nada en esta materia, pues son cuestiones teóricas para teorizantes.

Para contestar directamente a la cuestión en estudio existen dos respuestas obvias y simplistas:

a) Negativa, que consiste en decir: Que los indios no tienen ídolos o imágenes, ni lugares o edificios sagrados, ni ofrendas o sacrificios, ni personas consagradas al culto;

b) Positiva , que corre parejas con la anterior y como ella simplista, (en que confieso haber incurrido alguna vez por afán de síntesis y brevedad y hacerme entender por los no muy versados en estas cuestiones), que consiste en decir: Que

(1) Bien nos advierte Grandmaison que pretender estudiar la religión precisamente en sus manifestaciones más rudimentarias o elementos ínfimos y entre los pueblos más atrasados o retrogradados, es querer estudiar la vida puramente en los gérmenes, donde no hay duda que están en potencia todos los gérmenes, pero se necesita de un microscopio muy fino.

los indios creen en el demonio (tesis antigua) o que son animistas (tesis moderna).

Ambas respuestas van incluidas en el dicho de Pimentel, relativa a los indios Caracas: "No tienen adoraciones, ni santuarios, ni casa, ni lugar dedicado para ello; sólo tienen su creencia en el demonio". En otro capítulo de esta obrita, en que hablamos de los Piaches, insistimos en aclarar que sólo en cierto sentido podían éstos decirse invocadores del demonio.

206.—Mi respuesta, haciendo una comparación tácita entre la organización religiosa y la organización social, es: "Que los Indios Pemones tienen algunos elementos o rudimentos religiosos, pero desligados o no trabados entre sí y muy poco desarrollados". Su organización no ha subido, dijimos, de la familiar; pero tampoco ha bajado de la misma. Su religión, decimos aquí, no llegó al desarrollo completo, pero tampoco carece de los elementos básicos o esenciales: noción de nuestra alma personal, que no muere; nuestra finitud y dependencia; la noción de la moral.

Para mayor esclarecimiento, usando de otra comparación que me es muy cara y familiar, digo: Que los indios Pemones tienen de religión lo que tienen de vestido. Sabido es que su vestimenta se reduce a un minúsculo perizoma o guayuco, lo imprescindible para guardar o velar las partes pudendas. Pues así su religión, en este aspecto, se reduce a la noción natural de la moralidad o inmoralidad de ciertas acciones de mayor transcendencia en la vida.

Y respecto del dogma, ¿qué son las creencias, leyendas y cuentos de los Indios?. Lo que son sus collares, pendientes, brazales, tobilleras, cenojiles, pulseras, halos o coronas, plumajes, sonajas y pinturas respecto del vestido: "Mucho ruido, y pocas nueces"; mucha hermosura, pero poca defensa y utilidad.

207.—Examinando ahora cada uno de los tres elementos esenciales, según la opinión común, en toda religión, respondo:

a) No tienen los Pemones idea autóctona de un Dios Creador y Conservador de cada una de las criaturas, ni particularmente del hombre. Creo muy acertado el dicho de Joubert: "Buscando las palabras, se encuentran las ideas"; y de él deduzco, que careciendo los Pemones de palabra propia para decir Dios, también carecen de esta idea. Y ahora recuerdo con no poca risa que el "*pra man*, no hay", con que

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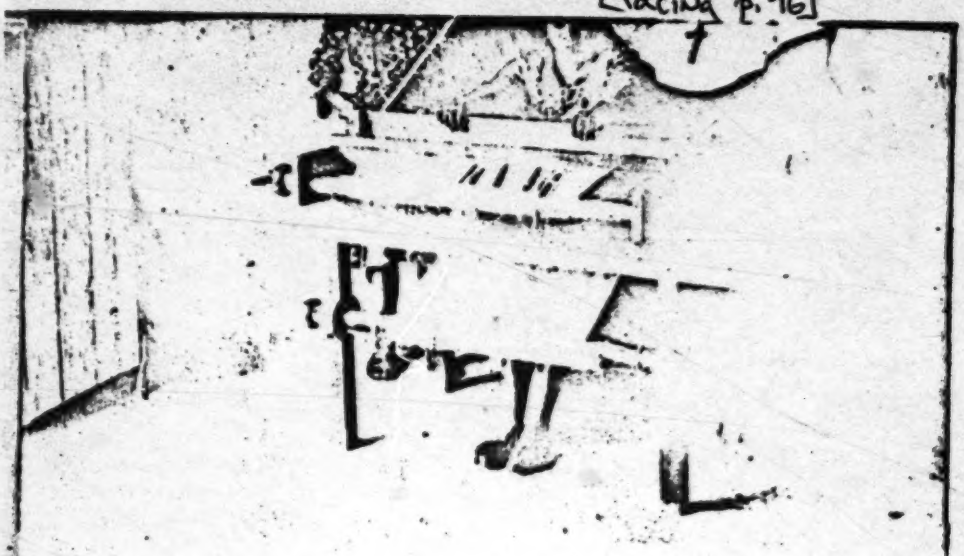
[facing p. 96]



En plena tarea del tejido bajo la dirección de la Hna. Misionera.

CAPILLA — SE-TAU EPUIREMAN

Junto a la Capilla de la Misión estos matrimonios de aborígenes venezolanos de la Sabana posan con los Misioneros para el público que reconoce la labor de Patria que se realiza entre ellos.

respondieron a alguno que les interrogaba sobre esto, fué interpretado por equivalente a *Brahama*.

b) La moralidad, aunque se conoce, no se hace depender de una voluntad suprema, ni se piensa que las acciones morales tendrán sanción de premio o castigo positivo, externo y no inherente a la misma acción ni en esta ni en la otra vida, aunque ésta se admite claramente en cuanto a la existencia pero muy confusamente en cuanto al modo y manera.

Los que dicen a boca abierta que "ni existen dogma sin moral, ni moral sin dogma", explicarán esta anomalía. Yo creo simplemente que no debieran existir lógicamente; pero de ahí no sigue que no existan de hecho.

c) No se conocen actos de culto: ni de amor y adoración, ni de sacrificio y aplacamiento. Tampoco se ven imágenes o ídolos, ni nada, en general, de lo que forma el culto externo de la religión.

208.—Y en lugar de estos tres elementos esenciales, tienen los siguientes:

a) Creencia de que cada una de las especies de seres animados e inanimados, que hay en el mundo, tiene su progenitor o ascendiente primígeno propio, dotado de cualidades específicas, del cual derivan sus facultades los individuos, de los que es protector y vengador en un orden puramente físico. Estos son los *imá*, los *pié*, dichos en forma genérica, y los *potorí* y las *pachí*, según se consideren masculinos o femeninos estos antecesores o árboles genealógicos.

Correlativo a esta creencia existe entre estos indios el *animismo*, que, como todos los demás *-ismos*, más que una teoría o doctrina elaborada, es una *tendencia mental* consistente, como dice Grandmaison, "en imaginar en todas partes detrás de los objetos sensibles, una vida, una actividad— por extensión, una voluntad, potencias, pasiones— más o menos calcadas sobre el tipo humano, antropomórficas". Así también Mons. Valbuena dice del animismo, que debe ser considerado "no como un factor religioso, al menos en un principio, sino como una concepción intelectual, como una mentalidad general".

b) Estos *pié* o *-imá* ((llamémoles genios, diosecillos o números), no se ofenden ni se agradan de acciones inmorales o morales, sino por acciones —a veces substancias— físicas, dañinas o agradables, para ellos o para sus descendientes.

Para la mentalidad indígena los bienes verdaderos son esta vida, y lo que con ella se relaciona, salud sobre todo, comida, etc.; y los males también verdaderos son las enferme-

dades y dolores y, sobre todo, la muerte, el mal más terrible y más temido, no tanto por la incógnita que se abre sobre el más allá, sino principalmente por la pérdida de los bienes y familiares que aquí se aman.

Para los Pemones no hay duda de que el alma sobrevive, aunque esta convicción no la deducen de argumentos logísticos, sino de la experiencia íntima personal y de impresiones imaginativas vivísimas en el sueño y en otros estados de exaltación.

c) Finalmente, tenemos en vez de los actos de culto, varias observancias, fundadas en la creencia en los números o *potorí* antedichos; en vez de los sacerdotes, los *piaches;* en vez de la oración, los ensalmos, que ya definimos en otro lugar; y en vez de lo sobrenatural, lo *mágico.*

Diríamos una vez más que la magia, aunque versando sobre influencias espíritas, no es religión; no se trata de moralidad, sino de actos físicos, maléficos y benéficos corporalmente, anímicos sólo en cuanto el alma está unida al cuerpo; por consiguiente la magia es más medicina que religión en cuanto al intento, si bien en las apariencias se parezca a ésta más que a la medicina.

Y los ensalmos, dijimos, no son oraciones o súplicas, sino conjuros. Dice A. Condamín que "la mera alabanza de los dioses sin intención ulterior (interés) no existe en el culto asirio-babilónico". Mucho más podemos decir esto de los indios Pemones. Los ensalmos no usan forma deprecativa, sino afirmativa, y no usan la voz activa, sino la reflexiva, v. gr., *esesatí, e-taremba, e-puirema,* pedirse, ensalmarse, rezarse.

209.—Para saber de dónde pudieron los indios sacar esta mentalidad, bastaría recordar lo que dijimos al principio de este trabajo sobre la imaginación de los indios. A todo lo largo de estas disertaciones aparece clarísima esta verdad: Que el camino de la religión y de la ciencia, como verdades que son, es vía estrecha y áspera (raciocinio y silogismo); en cambio, el camino de la magia con todas sus ramificaciones es vía ancha y fácil (imaginación y paralogismo). Preguntamos con E. Hello: "¿Qué será lo que caracteriza al estado salvaje?". Y con él respondemos: "Es la fantasía del individuo, es la licencia absoluta otorgada a esa fantasía... la licencia se desborda por todos los lados como se escapa el líquido de un vaso quebrado".

Al hablar de la imaginación, hicimos resaltar también la faceta del terror. Y ahora diríamos con Grandmaison que "el temor mezclado con el respeto, que es el principio de la adoración, pudo así pegarse a las grandes fuerzas naturales, ce-

lestes o meteóricas: el cielo, el sol y la luna, las estrellas y los planetas, el huracán y el rayo, la lluvia y el fuego. El culto sin dificultad se orienta hacia esas elevadas, terribles o bienhechoras potencias, —regulares y reguladoras o instantáneas y perturbadoras". Esto podríamos aplicarlo plenamente a los Pemones, si exceptuamos que ellos no rinden adoración.

210.—Si nos dejáramos guiar por los dichos corrientes entre los estudiosos de las religiones entre las razas más primitivas, diríamos que estos indígenas eran *adoradores de las fuerzas naturales;* pero por conocimiento íntimo de sus ideas sólo puedo decir que son *invocadores* o *conjuradores* de las mismas.

Aunque sea con alguna redundancia quiero insistir aún en explicar lo que los indios Pemones entienden por estos *potorí* o *piá*, que forman una de las bases de ese mundo suprasensible, y por qué los invocan. Creo que, valiéndome de algunos ejemplos, sabré explicar este asunto.

a) Los indios observan, v. gr., que el cochino montés o váquiro no se envenena comiendo yuca amarga o venenosa; de ahí deducen ellos que el progenitor o primer padre de los váquiros dotó a todos sus descendientes de una fuerza singular: por consiguiente, al ocurrir un envenenamiento fortuito por ingestión de yuga amarga, ellos invocarán o conjurarán al *piyinké potorí*, sin que por ello se crean dependientes de él o inferiores al mismo en otras cosas.

b) Observan los indios que los ratones, acures y otros roedores tienen siempre duras las heces fecales; de ahí deducen que sus progenitores los dotaron de una inmunidad contra las descomposiciones intestinales, diarreas, etc.: por consiguiente, al verse ellos afectados o aquejados de estas dolencias, ensalmarán sus bebidas invocando a los *potorí* de los antedichos roedores.

c) Observan los indios que el araguato, no obstante ser un animal relativamente pequeño, posee una gran voz; de ahí que al enronquecer o, fuera de ello, al querer obtener una voz potente y sonora, invoquen al padre de los araguatos.

d) Observan los indios que la arena y la ceniza absorben gran cantidad de agua o cualquier otro líquido; de ahí que, al querer cortar hemorragias o flujos de cualquier género invoquen a los *piá* o *pachí*, digamos a la madre de la ceniza y de la arena, que son secantes.

e) Observan los indios que al soplar el viento, barre las nubes y se despeja el cielo; de ahí que invoquen al viento grande, al padre del viento, al tener nubes en los ojos.

No menos de cien ejemplos como estos pudiera presentar de ensalmos benéficos, para procurarse bienes o salud, o maléficos, para producir males a los enemigos; mas creo que basta con los anotados.

211.—De esta somera exposición que acabamos de hacer de la religión de los Pemones, se deduce claramente cuán errados andan los que creen que para enseñarles nuestra religión cristiana necesitamos entrar a saco en su alma derribando demonios de ella como quien derriba ídolos del altar; nada de eso, bástanos quitarles de la cabeza la *antropomorfización* de las *fuerzas naturales* y la *invocación mágica* de las mismas para sustituirlas por la verdadera *noción física* de las cosas y de sus cualidades y la verdadera aplicación o apropiación de las mismas por medio de la medicina, ya sea por una *aplicación externa* o por una *ingestión*.

Ni tampoco tenemos para qué empeñarnos mucho en eliminar estas ideas, que pueden quedar como adornos o hilos para el trabajo florido de la imaginación, siempre que sobre ellas podamos colocar la verdadera teología racional y cristiana de un Dios Creador y Conservador de todas las cosas, máxime del hombre; la vida futura no fantasmal y problemática, sino real y paradero eterno de la terrenal y efímera del tiempo, y distinta, según las acciones hechas aquí abajo; y por sobre todas las cosas, el amor de Dios a nosotros y el que nosotros debemos profesarle, y el amor de caridad que debe reinar entre todos los hombre de la tierra.

Volviendo a la comparación del vestido, bien claro se ve que no es necesario despojar a los indios de sus abalorios y rústicos adornos para que adopten nuestras maneras de vestir, más útiles contra las inclemencias de las estaciones y de los insectos nocivos; ni es necesario que por la violencia les obliguemos a vestirse y calzarse; su propia necesidad y su propio gusto los estimula suficientemente a ello. Así, ni más ni menos, les sucede con la religión, que como apenas tienen de ella los rudimentos, apetecen completarlos con nuestras explicaciones y enseñanzas.

Y querer, como algunos pretenden, que no les demos explicación alguna religiosa, es como querer que no les vistamos el cuerpo, ni les expliquemos la física, ni completemos cultivos, ni les apliquemos la medicina. ¿Acaso no vale más la vida que el alimento y el cuerpo más que el vestido?

CONCLUSION

Ahora, para terminar nuestros apuntamientos etnógrafos, vaya una anécdota que me sucedió en cierta ocasión y en cierto lugar, que no es del caso referir. Asediado y asado a preguntas sobre las más variadas cuestiones referentes a indios, después de agotadas mis explicaciones, opté por responder a todo con el consabido "más o menos como nosotros". Entonces uno de mis interpelantes, entre bromas y veras, me espetó este lanzazo: "Padre, por mucho que Ud. diga, lo más que le concederemos es que los indios son el animal más parecido al hombre".

Espero que mis pacientes lectores habrán sacado una idea un poco más elevada de los indios en el curso de los capítulos, en que traté de estudiar su alma y presentarla tal cual yo la vi durante mis años de convivencia feliz con ellos.

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SOME CARIB INDIAN MAMMAL NAMES

BY GEORGE GAYLORD SIMPSON

INTRODUCTION

[p. 1-A]

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121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 114 The following lists were based, in the first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.
[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

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101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
114 of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government. In this connection I am much indebted to
114 the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

127 Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

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Camarakoto
Taurepan

1

DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

197 Carib languages and dialects have been spoken from Cuba and Central America to southern Brazil and from almost the extreme eastern end of South America to the foot of the Andes. They were not spoken in the Andes, except for the Motilones in the Perijá mountains, or west or south of Brazil. The outlying dialects are now mostly extinct or survive in isolated communities in regions predominantly of some other speech. These therefore have little interest from the present point of view. The main region where Carib languages are still the predominant or the only local idioms includes Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco (Venezuelan Guiana or, more properly, Guayana), most of British, Dutch, and French Guianas (especially their southwestern parts), and much of the contiguous parts of Brazil north of the Amazon. This constitutes what is probably the largest single mass of any one stock of Indians still retaining their own speech, organization, and customs that survives anywhere in the world.

Although the Caribs of this region all speak recognizably related tongues, just as the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italians, and Rumanians all speak Romance languages, these are differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto, spoken around Auyán-tepúi, a great mountain northwest of and somewhat similar to Roroimá,[1] and Taurepán, spoken near to and generally westward of Roroimá, are dialects of the Arekuna language (much as British and American are, properly, two dialects of the English language although the descent is not analogous). The particular interest of Arekuna is that it is, at least in some respects, archaic and that it is spoken almost in the middle of the great central
136 mass of Carib distribution. Zoölogically, also, the Arekuna area is of great interest,

[1] Or "Roraima." "Roroimá" more nearly represents the Indian pronunciation and therefore seems to me more nearly correct.

[p. 2-A]

3;Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
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Kamara Koto
Taurepan

136 occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

197 It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, 128 even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepán, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kaliña, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kaliña, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guaraní designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amazon and south to the Río de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

[p. 2-B]

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Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike
197 that of any European language and also varies greatly from one dialect to another, so that any exact representation of the pronunciation is impossible without lengthy discussion and the use of many specially cast typographic symbols. Only a rough approximation, sufficiently close generally to produce a pronunciation recognizable by the Indians, is here attempted. The following remarks are based chiefly on Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but extension to other dialects will not produce unrecognizable distortion. In citing names from other authors I have transferred them into my system of transcription, as nearly as may be, instead of attempting to explain the different system used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* will be recognized if pronounced as in Spanish or Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental values.

There is a whole system of intermediate (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be correctly represented with our ordinary letters. For typographic simplicity I have represented the most essential of them by *ä*, *ë*, *ö*, and *ü*. *ä* is to be pronounced approximately like short *e* in English, i.e., about as in "met." This is quite different from the sound represented by *e* and is sharply distinguished by the Indians themselves. In many cases however, authors have not distinguished them in transcribing Indian words and in names cited from other authors the sounds given as *e* doubtless include some that are really *ä*. *ë* is near the so-called neutral vowel of English, about like the last *e* in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced in rapid speech, not with an affectedly clear pronunciation) and almost exactly like the French sound in "de" or "le." It is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like *ö*, and the best authorities (such as de Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually distinguish it, but here again some writers, especially those whose native language (particularly Spanish) includes no similar sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

[p. 3-A]

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194 authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. ö and ü are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *oe* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects ö is barely or not distinguishable from ë. Most Spanish-speaking [114] authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish ö from *o*, or sometimes from ë or even *e*, and ü from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg.

Two successive vowels of which the second is *-i* or *-u* are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish or as in the English word "aisle."

CONSONANTS.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by ′ is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *t* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

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197 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ′ this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

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[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable; our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 transfer between the name of a favorite
825 game animal and that of animals in gen-
197 eral. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ila:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupirisi*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brasilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

[p. 5-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

CHIROPTERA

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tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word remembered as *maripai'*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*aliki* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas?*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:ri*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kezyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

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192 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and
197 gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third
825 kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremā*. Taurepán *waremā*. Makuchi (Williams) *tama:nowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremā* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA[3]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:-pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

[p. 6-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

192 *tyla*") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremā* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

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Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *muru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimē*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

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Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-l-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

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192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamara-
197 kotos, certainly use the same word only
825 for the spiny rats.

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mōmbē*. Taurepán *mōmbē*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulūya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pē* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mōmbē* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mōmbē*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mōmbē* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mōmbē*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulūya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pē* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsa*. Taurepán *kaikusa*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimöraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

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192 records of native nomenclature of the
197 otters are otherwise very confusing. See
825 *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of
[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the
[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in
[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

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early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *mànatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatĕ*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusaɔ̃ri*, *usaɔ̃ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usaɔ̃ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukĕ*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

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192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "chácharo," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of
197 metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.
825 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga*, *piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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SS16 Pemon SS16

Trabajadores Tzeltales de La Libertad, Chiapas, México.—*Foto: Luis Torres.*

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4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960
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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletin*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960

SS16 Pemon SS16

If a *modoi* (species of a very tiny spider) hangs within the buse (spins his web) it means that a traveler will come to hang up his web or hammock. 787 82

If a flea bites an Indian it is a sign that Indians are coming to his house.

If a boy falls from a hammock, it is a sign that he is going to be crazy.

If a bat hovers above the smoke of our home, it is a sign that our hunters will find a deer.

If on the road we stumble, it means that we are going to meet travelers coming in the opposite direction.

If a *viomá* (kind of bird) whistles *kui-pí, kui-pí*, he is saying: "a deer is hidden over there."

If a rooster or a hen crows at night at unusual hours, it means that one of our acquaintances is speaking against us.

If our ears ring, it means that we are going (warning of death). In this case the Indians strike their ears as one who shoos away flies and say: *etë pai pra edai* (I don't wan to go).

When the clouds are tinged with red, it's a sign that spotted tigers are being born.

When an Indian is weaving something and his legs go to sleep, he says: "it's a sign that they are going to buy it."

When the eyelids twich (with those involuntary wormlike movements), it is a sign that some one of our relatives is dying. [763]

When a stick crackles as it burns, it is a sign that some one of our relatives is suffering.

The above is sufficient for our readers to form an idea how the *Pemón* Indians think in relation to omens.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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THE KAMARAKOTO INDIANS

A CARIB TRIBE OF VENEZUELAN GUAYANA

by

George Gaylord Simpson

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[Title Page]
[p. i]

OOO

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EDITORIAL NOTE

114 [122] The Revista de Fomento (official Review of the Ministerio de Fomento of the United States of Venezuela) takes pleasure in publishing the noteworthy work of Dr. George Gaylord Simpson entitled "The Kamarakoto Indians, Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guiana," which it believes to be an important scientific contribution to the ethnology of the Venezuelan indigenous tribes in general and, more particularly, to that of the Venezuelan Carib tribes.

Dr. Simpson, a distinguished vertebrate paleontologist of The American Museum of Natural History of New York, was graduated from Yale University (Ph. B. 1923, Ph. D. 1926), where he made investigations on geology and vertebrate paleontology. He has also done scientific research under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the National Research Council, the International Education Board, the British Museum (Natural History) in London and, finally, for the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he has been an associate curator since 1929. He belongs to the following scientific societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, American Society of Mammalogists, American Society of Naturalists, American Philosophical Society, Paleontological Society, Geological Society of America, and others. He is a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and of the Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geograficos "Gaea," and an active member of the Explorers Club. He has taken part in many paleontological expeditions in the United States of America and in South America, as a staff member of the American Museum of Natural History, and has published more than two hundred scientific papers and books.

Dr. Simpson came to Venezuela in September 1938, together with his wife Dr. Anne Roe, by special invitation of the President through the Ministerio de Fomento and as representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in order to organize the collection, preparation, and scientific study of fossil mammals near Barquisimeto and elsewhere in Venezuela, following up the work begun by Brother Nectario Maria of La Salle Institute in Barquisimeto.

Dr. Simpson went to the region of San Miguel, near the Barquisimeto-Quibor highway, where he planned and carried out the work of collecting fossil mammal bones in the field revealed by Brother Nectario Maria's explorations.

114 Dr. Roe accompanied him in this work, carrying out scientific investigations on the recent mammals of that region. Several hundred fossil bones, remains of gigantic mammals, were collected during the work carried out there and were sent for study and classification to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they will be duly prepared and identified by Dr. Simpson and then divided equally for the enrichment of the collections of the natural history museums of Caracas and of New York. The first prepared material resulting from the continuous and careful work of Dr. Simpson will arrive in Venezuela early in 1941.

Dr. Simpson studied some other localities favorable for the occurrence of fossil mammals in the States of Lara and Trujillo, Venezuela. He also went to the eastern part of the Republic, in the vicinity of Zaraza, where he made interesting finds and studied the fossiliferous strata.

[101] Subsequently, in May 1939, Dr. Simpson and Dr. Roe were invited to take part in the Expedition to Explore the Gran Sabana (the "Great Grassland" and adjacent zones of southeastern Venezuela), organized by the Ministerio de Fomento, and it was there that Dr. Simpson devoted himself with great interest to the scientific and methodical gathering of anthropological and ethnological data on the Kamarakoto Indians, while Dr. Roe eagerly devoted herself to the recent mammalian fauna of the regions of Kamarata and Santa Elena, both valuable contributions supplementing the general study of the Gran Sabana region.

The present publication is the result of the detailed investigations carried out by Dr. Simpson with admirable scientific ability. In publishing this monograph on the Kamarakoto Indians, the Revista de Fomento considers it as one of the most valuable contributions to the study of our aborigines, in general, and of the Carib tribes of Venezuelan Guiana, in particular, and wishes to express its gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Simpson and to the American Museum of Natural History of New York for their important scientific collaboration.

[1]

INTRODUCTION

Orientation

/01/ At about the time of its discovery by Columbus, the great and varied territory that is now united under the Venezuelan flag was occupied by a large number of highly diverse tribes of Indians. Most of these belonged to two major stocks, or linguistic and cultural divisions, those of the Caribs and Arawaks. Each of these major groups is now known to have arisen from a single origin (linguistically and culturally at least — each may have absorbed much blood originally alien to it), although each includes tribes so separated geographically or in other respects that they were not themselves aware of this basic unity.
/01/ Various Carib tribes, loosely or not at all federated, occupied almost all the
/31/ coastal region from near Valencia eastward to Cumaná, and other Caribs occupied the shores of Lake Maracaibo except at the northern end and most of the mountains west of the lake far into Colombia, for the Motilones belong to this group. The coast from near the Río Yaracuy, westward into Colombia, including the northern end of Lake Maracaibo and the site of the present city of Maracaibo, was occupied by Arawak tribes, and closely allied Indians covered a vast area inland including almost all of the western llanos. The Andes were occupied by an isolated group, the Timotes, neither Carib nor Arawak in affinity, and an equally isolated group, the Betoys, lived around the northern end of these mountains and northward to the interior of the present state of Falcón.

Elsewhere there were other similarly isolated groups, such as the Warraus (or Guauraus) around the Orinoco Delta region, the Yaruros, Wahibos (or Guahibos), and others on the middle and upper Orinoco, the Waikas (not to be confused with the Carib Akawais who have also been called Waikas, or Guaicas) at the headwaters of that river, and a few others. Notwithstanding the survival, even today, of several such isolated relict groups and of a few almost equally isolated Arawak tribes, almost all of the wild and enormous

/0/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
/3/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

/77 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
/3/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
/7/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 114 121 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the infer-
101 ence from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand ac-
101 count of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní.
[131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years
5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend
[805] curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from
[101] farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

7 [see footnote on p. 305, category 11b – Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
921 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[191] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

121 128 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade, herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo-
[97] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p.306, category 116 – Analysis]

194 b - phoneme is open, while that of the Spanish b - phoneme is more nearly stopped. Subsidiary members of the Kamarakoto r - phoneme overlap both the r - and the l - phonemes of Spanish. Similarly a single Spanish phoneme may be represented by two in Kamarakoto, for instance Spanish e overlaps both Kamarakoto e and E. Some Kamarakoto phonemes, like ə̯, do not occur in Spanish at all and some Spanish phonemes, like f, are wholly lacking in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakoto language is characterized phonetically by its relatively vocalic character. It is rich in vowels, including a whole series of central vowels that are particularly foreign to the Spanish ear, and most of the vowels produce shades and intergradations that are practically innumerable. Long successions of vowels and semivowels occur, as in the word woiwo which has no true consonants and is a succession of five distinct vowels and semivowels together with several intermediate gliding vowel sounds not written in broad transcription. There are relatively few really distinct consonant phonemes and successive consonants are rare and confined to a very few simple groups; for instance, such combinations as st, pr, bl, etc., so common in Spanish and most other European languages, are wholly absent in Kamarakoto. Like many other Indian languages, Kamarakoto is especially poor in pure fricatives. Several phonemes have fricative members or are transitional to fricatives, but there is no phoneme that is always and purely fricative. Unlike many, perhaps the majority of, Indian languages, Kamarakoto does not have a finely subdivided system of gutturals but has only two definite post-alveolar stop phonemes, one plosive (k-g) and the other non-plosive (ʔ). Intonation is peculiar and striking because of the shortening and strong stressing of virtually all final syllables.

104 Transcription. For present purposes it has been most practical to use a broad transcription, one in which each symbol represents a sound or a group of sounds which are for the Indians themselves members of a single phonetic unit, that is, belong to one phoneme. The only exceptions are the symbols g, ts, and l, which are respectively members of the k, s, and r phonemes but which are here distinguished for reasons given below. The symbols used are essentially those of the broad (or "simple") system of the American Anthropological Association,[9] which has the advantages of previous wide use for Indian languages and of requiring few symbols not found in all ordinary type fonts — for Kamarakoto only two, ɛ and ə̯, are necessary. Of course most of these symbols require special definition for adaptation to this particular language. The only definite departions from the A. A. A. broad system are the use of a period (.) to separate non-diphthongal vowel combinations, as in the A. A. A. narrow system, the use of ʔ to represent a non-plosive stop for which the system makes no provision, and the use of ch to represent a sound essentially like Spanish ch. The system has the important advantage that Indian words so written are generally recognizable if pronounced in the Spanish manner.[10]

9, 10 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Although the fact is well known it should be added that different speakers
128 or the same speaker at different times will often say the same word in distinctly different ways. It would be possible to write many or all of these Indian words in some other way and still to have them as nearly "correct" as they are here. I can only say that, given the definitions of my symbols, I have heard each word pronounced by a native about or exactly as I write it and that I believe these to be the "standard" or "received" Kamarakoto pronunciations as spoken in and immediately near Kamarata. As a practical test, I could read over my transcriptions of Indian expressions after the auditory memory of them was vague or lost and the Indians invariably understood them easily, even though they occasionally corrected slight shades of sound.

194

Vowels.

Simple vowels. The nine vowel phonemes definitely distinguished may be represented as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ü	u
Half-close	e	ə	
Half-open	ɛ	ö	o
Open		a	

i, u, and a are essentially as in Spanish.

e is about as in Spanish, except that in Spanish it includes members that approach ɛ, which is a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto. ɛ is a more open and slightly more posterior sound than e, similar to the English e as in "pen." e and ɛ intergrade in Kamarakoto, a fact charted by inserting a line between them, [11] but their principal members are quite distinct.

a is similar to Spanish a but is an open intermediate vowel resembling the non-Spanish ö but more open. It sometimes differs from o (or also from ö) rather by a more open, less rounded lip position than by a decided difference in tongue position.

The greatest peculiarity of the Kamarakoto vocalic system, especially in comparison with Spanish, is its possession of a series of distinct central vowels, whereas practically all the Spanish vowels are near or on the anterior and posterior sides of the vowel triangle. I have been able to distinguish three

11 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analysis]

194 fairly distinct central vowel phonemes in Kamarakoto and represent them by ü, ə, and ö.

ü, which resembles German ü without being identical, is in almost every respect intermediate between i and u and may be adequately reproduced by moving lips, jaw, and tongue half-way from i to u and then vibrating the vocal chords. Subsidiary members of the phoneme grade into i and into u and sounds practically indistinguishable from these two may appear in a ü - diaphone. Thus the word usually pronounced o.ina is also pronounced o.üna and the word usually pronounced təpüi is also pronounced nearly (although not quite) təpui.

ə is the so-called neutral vowel, about like French e in such words as "de" or "le." It also resembles the neutral sound to which unstressed short English vowels tend to degenerate; e.g. a as in "along," e in "pavement," i in "horrible," o in "method," or u in "chorus," but in Kamarakoto it is more definite and distinct and is often stressed.[12] It is sharply unlike the Spanish e and does not grade into it noticeably.

ö grades into ə and the two are often difficult to distinguish, but I believe them to be separate phonemes. ö is similar to, but not the same as, German ö or French eu and is intermediate in position between ə and a, sometimes with greater protrusion of the lips than in either of these.

The fact that ü, ə, and ö do not occur in Spanish and that there is no specific spelling for ə in English has made the transcription of Indian words and names containing them very difficult and variable. ü has usually been written as u and ə as e, for instance the common geographic word təpüi ("mountain") is usually written "tepui" or "tepuy." As regards the ü this is a fair approximation, but e is a very poor approximation of ə, in fact a very short u, although equally incorrect, is acoustically nearer ə (to my ear) than is e and the spelling "tupuy," pronounced as if Spanish, is at least as good an approximation as is "tepui" or "tepuy." Variants of the sound here written ö have usually been recorded as o, but sometimes as e and sometimes as a. If only Spanish vowels are to be used, a is generally the closest acoustically, but not always — for instance the diphthong öi is very unlike Spanish ai and is better rendered as oi or ui. On a later page I have suggested Spanish spellings for some of the geographic names in the territory of this tribe.

Diphthongs. The following diphthongs were definitely recorded:

au ai
ei
eu öi > oi
üi

12 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Of the other possible diphthongs in -i or -u, no close approach to ou, ōu ɔu, or uu was heard and it is probable that in these combinations the two vowels are too much alike to be spoken as distinctly separate elements although they may appear vaguely as a result of glides that are not real phonemes. As in most languages, iu does not form a falling diphthong but becomes a rising diphthong or semivowel + vowel, yu. Something very near ɛu is often heard, but usually it is closer to eu and is probably not a separate phoneme. Perhaps the -u tends to draw ɛ closer to e and in any case the two, if they are really both present, are practically indistinguishable acoustically and do not appear to be distinguished by the Indians. The same is true of ɛi as against ei. ui was not recorded as separate phoneme, although approximations of it appear within a ūi - diaphone. If ui can properly be said to occur at all, the -i has probably drawn the u- forward so as to be practically indistinguishable from ū.[13] It is highly probable that ɔi occurs, but ɔ and ō are usually difficult to distinguish and in this combination I found it impossible to do so with any consistency. The whole range of sounds around ɔi and ōi is recorded as ōi. I could not determine that the Indians themselves consciously differentiate the two.

The diphthongs in -u and -i are all falling. Whether or not rising diphthongs occur is purely a matter of definition. The sounds here written wa, ya, etc. could be considered as rising diphthongs and written ua, ia, etc. It is, [104] however, more usual phonetic practice and is more nearly self-explanatory to consider these combinations as semivowel + vowel and I have so written them.[14] Unless a few syllables like wai be so considered, there are no triphthongs.

Successive vowels. Successive vowels in Kamarakoto are rare, tending to run into diphthongs or to become separated by semivowels, but they do occur. Thus the word o.ina is clearly three, not two, syllables, o-i-na, not oi-na, a separation here indicated by a period between the non-diphthongized vowels. Its diaphone o.ūna also has successive vowels and a diphthongized variant of this word was not heard among the Kamarakotos.[15]

Similarly the word usually pronounced ita.i occasionally becomes itai. The difficulty of pronouncing such a word without diphthongizing is interestingly illustrated by the fact that a child attempting to say ita.i consistently produced it as itoyi, apparently realizing that a.i is not the same as ai but unable to pronounce successive a and i. The tendency here shown, toward separating successive vowels by a semivowel, is fairly general in the language and perhaps explains why successive vowels are so rare. Thus po.inga is also pronounced poyinga, and a shadowy semivowel y often occurs in such a position.

This difficulty appears to be less when the second vowel is one other than i. Thus such combinations as o:apa or ko.atai show less tendency toward insertion of a semivowel, although even here a very fleeting w-like sound may be present between o and a.

13, 14, 15 [see footnotes on pp. 306-07, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Sometimes the distinction between successive vowels and diphthong or semivowel + vowel is so little as to be really subjective. For instance in the word lue the u is longer and more vocalic than the usual w but shorter and less vocalic than the usual u. The sound actually heard could about equally well be represented by lu.e, lue, or lwe (and also about equally well by ru.e, rué, and rwe). Similarly there are a few words like mausa, which is hardly different from ma.usa because the u is longer than it usually is in a diphthong but shorter than it usually is as a simple vowel. This is only likely to occur when the u is the penultimate vowel.

Double vowels, as distinct from merely long vowels, seem to be very rare but I have recorded one instance, in the word o.olori, which is not pronounced ōlori (nor oulori, wolori, etc.).[16]

Vowel quantity. Something has already been suggested of vowel quantity as it affects diphthongs and successive vowels. All vowels vary greatly in quantity, but most of the variations are nonfunctional, related to phonetic surroundings, speed of speech, and similar factors rather than approaching the status of phonemes. In most words the last vowel is relatively short, the penultimate vowel longer, and preceding vowels intermediate in length between these two. Thus in such an average word as Kumasa the relative vowel quantities are:

1. u — medium.
2. a — moderately long.
3. a — short, stressed.

Frequently a word pronounced out of context will have all the vowels somewhat lengthened for distinctness and the penultimate disproportionately so.

In words that follow this rule, which includes most of those recorded, no special indication of length is given. In some words, however, the penultimate vowel is still longer, this relative length is retained regardless of style of speech, the acoustic effect of the accent of the word is thus definitely altered, and the word may be unrecognizable or may sound decidedly wrong if the penultimate [104] vowel is given only normal length. In these cases, then, the long vowels achieve the status of true phonemes and (in accordance with both A. A. A. and International systems) I indicate them by placing a colon after the vowel, e.g. amaatu, in which the relative quantities are:

1. a — medium.
2. a: — very long.
3. u — short, stressed.

Such long vowels are very rare except in the penultimate syllable, but do occur elsewhere in exceptional words, e.g. in o:apa in which the quantities are:

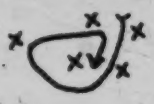
1. o: — long.
2. a — very short.
3. a — short.

16 [see footnote on p. 307, category 11b - Analyst]

194 This is so exceptional phonetically that the penultimate a should perhaps be considered as incidental to the glide from œ:- to -pa rather than as functionally syllabic, but the word is unrecognizable to the Indians if pronounced œpa.

It goes almost without saying that supershort vowels (and continuant consonants) commonly appear in glides between many other sounds. Since these are practically physiological necessities in a continuous speech-act and have no linguistic function, they are not written in broad transcriptions like this unless (as in the exceptional œapa) they become so pronounced that they do acquire some linguistic value.

The word wofwo, already mentioned as peculiar, is interesting in connection with vowel quantities and glides. It might be described as a continuous vowel sound during which the raised part of the tongue goes through a closed, rounded, triangular path, thus:



— moving continuously but slowing down differently at the various points marked x. The result could be expressed thus:

u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — moderately long (pronounced slowing).
ə — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
i — short (brief slowing).
ü — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — short, stressed (movement slows briefly and then ceases abruptly).

How such a sequence should be divided into syllables and what status should be given to its sounds is largely subjective. The sort of transcription used has shown the five points at which slowing occurs, w, o, i, w, and o, shows that this is definitely shorter at the first and fourth slowings, w and w, than at the others, and shows that it is shorter at the third than at the second. These are enough data for the correct pronunciation of the word without attempting to represent its more subtle glides, etc.

Consonants.

Many of the Kamarakoto consonant phonemes do not fall categorically into the usual phonetic classifications. Thus the b - phoneme includes both a plosive stop and a (nearly stopped) fricative, s includes both a fricative and an affricative, k includes both surd and sonant members, ʔ is a stop but is not plosive ("stop" and "plosive" often being used as if synonymous), etc.

194 As nearly as these peculiarities permit formal classification, the Kamarakoto consonants are as follows:

	Stops and Semistops			Fricative-Affricatives	Nasals		Flaps[17]	Semi-vowels
	Fricative-plosive	Plosive	Non-plosive		Short	Long		
Bilabial	b	p	—	(b)	m	—	—	w
Dental-alveolar	d	t	—	s-ts	n	n:	—	(y)
Palatal	—	—	—	ch	ñ	ñ:	r-l	y
Palato-velar	—	k-g	—	—	(ŋ)	—	—	—

17 [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 - Analyst]

194 There do not appear to be any consonant phonemes in Kamarakoto that are distinguished only or mainly by being sonant or surd. -ts and ch are always surd; p, t, and k-g have their principal members surd but also include semisonant or sonant members. The other phonemes are practically always sonant.

Counting long nasals as distinct phonemes and counting b, k-g, n, r, and y as single phonemes (which I believe to be correct although some of these may possibly include two phonemes), there are fifteen consonants in Kamarakoto. Each of these is more exactly defined below.

b. —In Kamarakoto there is an almost continuous series of sounds from u to p and it is difficult to draw definite boundaries between phonemes in this series. w is a much shortened and somewhat relaxed u. When the lip-rounding is fully relaxed, w becomes a sort of bilabial v which is not a distinct phoneme in Kamarakoto but is approached by a relatively open b. In the typical pronunciation of b the lips are brought together, but without any muscular pressure, so that some breath does escape, producing a sound intermediate between fricative and a plosive. If no breath happens to escape, a weak plosive b is produced. As both the muscular lip tension and the breath-pressure are increased, this sound becomes stronger and becomes a sonant, bilabial, plosive fortis (a sound not clearly developed in either Spanish or English and only a rare variant in Kamarakoto). Now as the tension of the vocal chords is relaxed, this sound becomes semisonant and then surd and in the latter case is a typical p. As in English and Spanish, the relaxation of the vocal chords usually accompanies the tensing of the other organs of speech, but the overlap is more extensive and different so that a variant sound that might be described as a dull, b-like p does occur.

Within this series, the principal member of the b - phoneme has the lips brought together but fully relaxed, so that there is usually some escape of breath and the sound is partly a fricative and partly lenis plosive. Other members of the phoneme, less often heard, are close approaches to true bilabial v and to true plosive b. At the latter point I am not sure that I have always drawn the line correctly between this phoneme and the p - phoneme, but in most cases they are distinct.[18]

p. — The principal member of the p - phoneme is a surd, bilabial, plosive fortis, essentially as in Spanish or English. Only when it becomes somewhat sonant or somewhat lenis, as it occasionally does, is confusion with b likely.

d. — The relationship between d and t in Kamarakoto is exactly analogous to that between b and p. In the principal member of the d - phoneme the stop, here made between the blade of the tongue and the dental and alveolar parts of the front of the mouth, is loose and usually some air escapes giving the sound a fricative element. This is very like Spanish d in such words as "merced," but in Kamarakoto it may be initial and is never terminal. Less

18 [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 — Analyst]

194 common variant members of the phoneme are more open, producing an approach to English sonant th as in "this," or fully closed, producing the typical plosive d.[19]

t. — The principal member of the t - phoneme is almost as in Spanish, but these appear to be semisonant, and possibly even fully sonant, variant members. The stop is complete so that the sound is a non-fricative plosive, generally fortis.

k-g. — An incompletely stopped palatal or velar plosive was not heard.[20] The principal member of the phoneme is a true plosive k with various position variants conditioned by the surrounding vowels and, unlike those of many Indian languages, not distinguished as separate phonemes. The differences in acoustic effect are insignificant. There is, however, a plosive g-sound in the language, which sounds quite different from the k to Spanish- or English-adapted ears. It is not distinguished from k by the Indians and almost invariably occurs under special phonetic conditions where k is unusual, i.e. after nasals and before w.[21] It must therefore be regarded as a member of the k - [104] phoneme. I have nevertheless departed from broad transcription to the extent of using g when the sound was normally and distinctly voiced. Spanish- and English-speaking readers will thus achieve a better pronunciation of the words and no confusion will result if they remember that this g is merely a voiced k.

'. — One of the most typical characteristics of the Kamarakoto language is the existence of a sound produced by bringing the tongue into contact with the nearest part of the roof of the mouth and then relaxing the vocal chords and releasing the breath pressure so that the subsequent opening of the stop is practically inaudible. It thus differs essentially from k in which the sound is chiefly produced by the opening of the stop, that is, is plosive. ' is a stop that is not plosive. The exact position in which the stop is produced varies from velar to anterior palatal, but this is determined by the position of the preceding vowel and is not a difference in phonemes. After a posterior vowel, such as a, ' produces an acoustic effect something like a completely unaspirated k and after an anterior vowel, notably i, the effect is that of a similarly unaspirated t, or, more accurately, they are rather like completely voiceless g and d, respectively.[22]

This sound only occurs after vowels and is hardly ever heard except at the end of a word. Sometimes it is retained in compounds but often it is then weakened or lost, depending on the degree of fusion attained by the compound. Thus in enwarapaima the ' of enwara' is lost, but in maicha'-ya the ' of maicha' is retained. It may appear in weak form after any terminal vowel (except those that are or can be nasalized, see below), but I have written it only when it is normally strong and distinct and is felt to be an essential element in the word.

19, 20, 21, 22 [see footnotes on pp. 307-08, — Analyst]
category 116

194 I have considered this sound as a phoneme, and certainly many words cannot be correctly pronounced unless it is indicated, but I suspect that it is a secondary phonetic phenomenon not quite analogous to the other stops. It probably arises from the strongly stressed but at the same time short nature of final vowels in Kamarakoto, as a means of quickly and definitively shutting off a short, sharp vowel. Indeed the sound may readily be obtained by attempting to pronounce a vowel as forcefully as possible and at the same time to stop it with the tongue as quickly as possible.[23]

The symbol ʔ is usually used for the glottal stop, but it is convenient to borrow it for this analogous and acoustically somewhat similar palato-velar stop.

s-ts. — The Kamarakoto s resembles that of Spanish but is still stronger. It is always surd and is a very strong, decisive hiss. The enunciation is so forceful that the tongue is brought nearly into contact with the roof of the mouth, opening again as it slides into the following vowel. This grades naturally into a sound in which the tongue does actually touch for the briefest instant, producing an affricative ts.[24] This affricative or transitional fricative-affricative ts is not a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto but is only an s still stronger than usual, as is well shown by the fact that s and ts are often interchangeable, even within this dialect, and that the Indians do not distinguish them. Thus the word usually pronounced motsa is also sometimes pronounced mosa and in some related dialects is always mosa. I have written ts when it is clearly present and relatively constant, a departure from broad transcription but one that permits better pronunciation of the Kamarakoto words without undue complexity of symbols.

ch. — The sound so represented is a strong affricative practically the same as Spanish ch or as English ch in "church." In its variation it sometimes approaches ts, but is usually quite distinct.[25]

ch is a poor symbol for this sound from an international point of view, but it conveys it immediately to Spanish- or English-speaking readers. The A. A. A. symbol, tc, conveys an incorrect idea to anyone not constantly concerned with that system, and the International Phonetic symbol requires special type.

Since ch has the same relationship to English sh as in "English" that ts has to s, it might be expected that sh would be the principal member of this phoneme as s is of the s-ts phoneme. In fact sh is a common diaphone in related languages, compare, for example Kamarakoto chayu = Taurepán shu:yu, panachika = pana:shika,[26] etc., but I did not hear any Kamarakoto pronounce ch without a distinct initial close, however brief.

m. — This is the ordinary sonant bilabial nasal and offers no noteworthy peculiarities aside from the tendency for the voicing to cause progressive similitude, i.e. a following p or t tends to become partly or almost fully voiced and to resemble or even to be indistinguishable from b or d, respectively.

23, 24, 25, 26 [see footnotes on p. 308, category 11b – Analyst]

194 n. — The usual n is similar to the usual voiced alveolar nasal of European languages, varying somewhat in position under the influence of surrounding sounds. The voicing is generally very full and, as with m, tends to be progressive so that fully surd p or t are rare after n.

In certain fixed positions, n becomes partly or fully velar, almost like English ng in "sing." (As in Kamarakoto, this sound is not a separate phoneme in Spanish but it does occur, being present, not always fully developed, in such words as "brinca," "banco," "tengo," etc.). n in Kamarakoto is always somewhat velarized before k-g (which is usually nearer g in this combination) and w and also when it is final. Since this sound is essentially invariable in these positions and clearly belongs to the n - phoneme, it is not written with a special symbol.

Terminal - n is always velarized but the degree varies. In some cases the sound is nearly that of alveolar n with very slight velarization and in others the velarization is complete. The sound may also be reduced so that it amounts only to a brief nasalization of the end of the preceding vowel or may even be almost inaudible. The variations are individual or developed by the context and do not, strictly speaking, represent distinct members of the n - phoneme, still less separate phonemes but belong in a diaphone with the velar member of the n - phoneme. A recognizable and valid pronunciation will be produced if terminal n is always pronounced as a velar.

n:. — There are a few words in the language, like ben:ę (cf. the quite distinct word bene) which contain a functional long nasal recognized by the Indians themselves as unlike the short sound. This should therefore probably be considered a separate phoneme although it is merely a prolongation of n.

ñ. — This is a distinct palatal n or n - mouillé, acoustically indistinguishable from Spanish ñ. It is less variable than n, apparently never being distinctly reduced or velarized.

ñ:. — There is a rare long palatal n, or ñ, as in ñ:amora, which is acoustically well distinguished from ñ and may be a separate phoneme. It sounds much like nñ, but analysis shows that the prolonged first part is really palatal, as in ñ, and not alveolar, as in n. It has, however, probably arisen from n+ñ.

r-l. — Sounds generally transcribed as r and l belong to a single phoneme in Kamarakoto. The principal member of this phoneme is a flapped r, resembling the Spanish flapped r, as in "era," and the British (not American) flapped r as in "very."[27] It is very unlike the trilled or fricative r's, as in Spanish rr or initial r or English r in "ready," and still less like the uvular or so-called guttural forms general in French and German.[28] Despite this decided difference from various sounds commonly written r in European languages, the close resemblance to the common flapped Spanish r makes this a good symbol for the principal member of this phoneme.

27, 28 [see foot notes on p. 308, category 11b - Analyst]

194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish r, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) l. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name Luepa belongs to the r - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it Ruepa, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer l than r. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce r without lateral opening before a very short u or w. This can be done before a longer u, e.g. in Karume, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the r.

Before a distinct, non-gliding e the sound is generally a fairly pure r, e.g. akare.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing l when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using r when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter w, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme b, not w. The sound differs from u principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic u, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort u, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as w. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic u.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by y is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort i - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English j as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English y in "yield" or Spanish y in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French j of "je" or English z of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
[171] of y and ll. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, ll has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto y.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 - Analyst]

Especially when it may be regarded as instrusive and is glide-like, as in poyinga,[32] the y may be a non-fricative semivowel, but it is impossible to set this aside as a separate phoneme. Once the y appears, even as an intrusion, it tends to become fricative and even the truly consonantal semi-fricative y varies greatly in the strength of the fricative element.

Some idea of the variation within this protean phoneme may be illustrated by the word yɛʔ, "tree." Pronounced by itself, the word begins with a fairly clear, almost non-fricative y. In compounds, which are very numerous, it usually is strongly fricative, becoming nearly -zɛʔ (z as in English "asure"). From this, the normal pronunciation in compounds, arises a (rather imperfect) affricative and the pronunciation is nearly -dzɛʔ (dz like j and g in English "judge"), e.g. tsimara-ozɛʔ, also pronounced simara-zɛʔ. Finally in a few cases the closure approached in the last form predominates over the sibilant fricative sound and the acoustic impression is that of a vague and not quite stopped palatal or somewhat mouillé d, e.g. paumɛ-dɛʔ (d as just explained). Close transcription would require six or seven symbols for this one phoneme. As is proper in broad transcription, I have used only one and always write it y. If it is always pronounced as its principal member, described above, it will always be understood and will seldom sound definitely wrong to an Indian.

Successive consonants. It is typical of Kamarakoto that successive consonants are rare and belong to only three simple types:

1. Nasal+stop: saunampa
   mõmbə
   nungə
   pendə
   yentsi[33]
2. r+ nasal or stop: karmaiha
   parpari
3. Nasal, r, or stop+w (which could in such cases be considered a supershort vowel and hence not a successive consonant):
   sanwoto (n velarized)
   kan. wa (n not velarized)[34]
   yurwa
   kwai=gwai

Combinations of types (1) and (3) give rise to the very rare cases of three successive consonants, e.g. kambwõ.

The absence of combinations like pr, tr, st, sp, bl, skr, spl, etc., so common in European languages, is striking and complete.[35]

Occasionally word- or phrase- building brings ʔ before a consonant. In this case it is usually weakened and may disappear altogether but it is occasionally retained, e.g. maichaʔ-ya. None of the other stops can occur in such a position, even in successive words.

32, 33, 34, 35 [see footnotes on p. 389, category 11b – Analysis]

Stress and Intonation.

194 The numerous peculiarities of individual sounds and of successive vowels and consonants, already mentioned, in themselves produce a phonetic type clearly unlike any European language and also differing from most Indian languages.

Equally striking, especially when hearing the language spoken in consecutive phrases, is the effect of its peculiar stress and intonation. Without important exception, Kamarakoto words have a single, strong stress which falls on the last syllable. This syllable is always short, but it is clearly enunciated and emphatic. The last vowels of words spoken alone, of important words in connected speech, and of words ending sense-groups are almost invariably spoken with a rising tone, making a very peculiar effect on the non-Indian ear, almost as if everything said were questioned. The terminal stress is not marked in my transcription because it may be assumed to be present in all cases. In writing names, etc., in a European language context, however, it is well to write an accent on the last vowel of most Kamarakoto words, thus Karoni should be written "Caroní" in general usage.[36]

An apparent but not real exception arises in the cases of words, like amaːtu, with very long penultimate vowels. Then the prominence of this vowel is, to our ears, about as great as that of the terminal vowel, but the prominence has a different cause. The penultimate vowel in such cases is long but unstressed, the ultimate is short but stressed. Since accent in Spanish and English is generally based on coincident length and stress, in these words the ear is often baffled as to which vowel really carries the accent.

When words are compounded, the original stress may be retained, weakened, or lost, and I have detected no fixed rule for this except that it seems to be roughly in universe ratio to the degree of fusion of sense involved. When the stress is strongly retained, or fusion is clearly incomplete, I have written the word with a hyphen. Thus in tuna-wapai, (coming out) "from the water," the stressed -a of tuna, "water," is retained. The postposition wapai is a separate speech unit (analogous to a preposition) and could be written as a separate word. But yeteka, "(he) is dying, dies," loses its stress in yetekasa, "(he) has died, is dead." Here the added syllable fuses and the whole thing is essentially a new word with a new single stress.

It may be added here that Kamarakoto words can only end in vowels, ʔ, or (velar) -n.[37] Any of the vowels and of the diphthongs in -i can be terminal, but terminal diphthongs in -u are extremely rare (although not quite lacking.) Any of the vowels can be followed in terminal position by ʔ or -n and terminal ʔ is common after -i diphthongs, but -n was not noted after these.[38]

36, 37, 38 [see footnotes on p. 310, category 116 -Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those
197 of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both
128 of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and
197 occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all
114 other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly
[104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

Numbers.

802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are sel-
[177] dom used. During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually
*192 replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic
*197 affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dia-
802 lects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

1. One — taukin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsagaŋ̊. Taurepan, tsagane, sa:kane. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ga-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= atsar(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seuluane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e)tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsakə-leũlaˀ-nŋ̊ˀ. Taurepan, tsakurõlaŋ̊. (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-rə-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) asagoro-ne, asagore-nan. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) yuspe. Kalina (de Goeje) akabane (first two a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosaka. (Isaacs, cited by Jahn) kosa(k)taka. With the exception of Cumanagoto and perhaps Motilon, all these words consist of the root for "two" plus a suffix, as if to say "two pairs," "two doubled," or the like. The suffix is not the same in all cases. The root for "two" in this word, although recognizable, is seldom quite the same as in the word for "two." Note especially Ingariko and Akawai in which the gutteral, which was doubtless part of the original Carib root, is preserved in this word but lost in the word for "two."

5. Five — pɡ-eñato-pɡ. Taurepan mia:toikin, toikin. Makuchi (Williams) moi-ya e-tai-kin, mi-ya toi-kin. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) miatamunautonkon (= mia - ta-munau + tonkon). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raroe pukin. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-tone. Kalina (de Goeje) oinatoni. Motilon (Jahn) omapo. All these words contain the root for "hand," followed by that for "one" or, as in Kamarakoto, otherwise set off by numerative affixes, the sense in every case being that "five" is a hand (i.e. its full set of fingers). In Kamarakoto the word used for "hand" in this connection is the same as the ordinary separate word, but in other dialects it is often different. Thus in Taurepan "hand" is (it)ena, but mia in mia:toikin is a Carib root for "hand" otherwise absent in Taurepan. Likewise toikin in this dialect is the same word as taukin, "one," but is pronounced differently, so that even with mia omitted toikin is understood as "five," instead of its real root meaning. In Makuchi toikin and etaikin are more archaic forms of this same root than is their word for "one," tiwin.

6. Six — eñato-pona taukin. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:nle mia-pona tumo tanesi. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win mi-ya po-na tə'-mo-tai. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina-miararoe Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehu-y-pona (probably for tewi-pona). Kalina (de Goeje) awin tyaima (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) onkora. (Ingariko word not recorded). Except for the dubious Motilon word, these all convey the sense of "one added to a hand." In Taurepan and Makuchi this is fully expressed, in Cumanagoto with

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñlaʾ-nęʾ.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wəʾ-rə. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) tekuankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kalíña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teukim-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wəʾ -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin karíña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

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When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

*192 suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more dis-
*197 tantly allied dialects.
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13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."
14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.
15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.
16. *Eye —enu-to. Taurepan (k)einu. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.
17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)euna-le.
18. Lips — epi-to.
19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda, "our mouths" (dual) = ana m-ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

*197 This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib
193 languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root-meta-, as in Taurepan to-mata, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umata — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

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20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hama-ri. Bakairi (Adams) uana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).
21. Neck (front) — pūimōi-to.
22. Neck (back) — pūimōi-yepa-to.

41 [see footnote on p. 310, category 11b – Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
826
[194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena. (it)ɛnya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative. ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareō-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaɔn
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aunɛ:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumɔta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi. (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pɔta -pipɔ, in which pɔta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 — Analysis]

*192 826 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupe.

Persons and Relationships.

*192 *197 38. *Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) uraːuo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. *Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. *Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

[192] [10] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamarata" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — murɛ.

44. Older person — uyadeta.

45. Younger person — yamipe.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ɛsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b — Analyst]

601 [128] The following relationship words are merely listed here for completeness as it is necessary to define them in detail on a latter page.

Brother, sister:

49. pasi
50. akon
51. upi uyadeta
52. pirika
53. paruchi uyadeta
54. paruchi
55. *rũiko (see discussion below)
56. yakon

Child:

57. *manon (see below)
58. *urm (see below)
59. yentsi
60. mumun, (u)mo

Adopted child:

61. narimanga

Parent:

62. *paikõi (see below)
63. papai
64. san
65. yun

Spouse:

66. *tamupũi (see below)
67. *nopũi (see below)

Grandparent:

68. *noiˀ (see below, under nopui)
69. *tamo (see below, under nopui)

Grandchild:

70. paˀ

Nephew, niece

71. poitoru
72. patsɛ

Relatives by marriage:

73. payunu
74. payun
75. nopuyun
76. yawoiˀ-pə
77. tamõipuyun
78. yetsɛ
79. yenuiˀ

601

80. pars tsi
81. pipi

Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):

82. ˈawo (see below, under wari)
83. ˈwari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

*197 601 171 [114] Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo, Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo, T. (K.-G.) -ta:mo; K. awo, T. (K.-G.) a:uo; K. poitoru, T. (K.-G.) poitolũ; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: naˈnai, "older sister," moyi, "younger brother," ukeipone, "father-in-law," wa:ˈnemule, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ayikeˈ, "older brother," and a:ˈyekeˈ, "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rũiko or pi (uyadeta), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto rũiko, is a common Carib root. I do not place ayikeˈ.

Kamarakoto paikõi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) a:mai. Forms like amai, mamai mama, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. paikõi, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (mure, mulɛ, malɛ, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*197 a father and is usually used by males or in speaking of the child-father rela-
601 tionship but in Kamarakoto means "offspring" in general. It is not impossible
171 that the two roots are connected in origin (in which case -nr- is probably older than -rm-), but they became differentiated at a very ancient period as they are distinct in almost all dialects. mure is also and more obviously related to mu, mumu, etc., a root that means "son" with respect to his father.[46]

Kamarakoto manon, "daughter of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ma:ˀnon, "female cousin." Makuchi (Williams) (e)-ma-non, "young, unmarried female." Here there is no question of identity or identification of the root, but the varying significance attached to it in these three dialects is interesting. Williams suggests comparison with Makuchi e-mai-non, "the first one." Despite the strong phonetic resemblance, it is hard to see a probable connection in meaning.

Kamarakoto wari. This means primarily "woman, female," but my informants also gave it as a relationship word meaning "woman's paternal aunt" or "woman's mother-in-law." Now Williams gives -awobu for "woman's paternal aunt" in Makuchi and Koch-Grünberg gives the cognate (y)auopə for "mother-in-law"[47] in Taurepan. This clearly is the special word for this particular relationship concept; lost in Kamarakoto (or at least not known to my informants — of course others in the tribe may know it as an uncommon word) and replaced by the noncommittal wari. Note, however, that the basic root-element of awobu does occur in Kamarakoto as awo, "woman's maternal uncle" or "woman's father-in-law" and in Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) as a:uo defined simply as "uncle," but doubtless here also "woman's maternal uncle." The root is widespread in Carib, see de Goeje No. 26.

Kamarakoto tamupũi (also tamõipu- in compounds), "husband." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) -ti:yemu(n). Makuchi (Williams) ni-yo, -nyo. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)tamupə. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nyo. For discussion see next word.

Kamarakoto nopũi (also nopu- in compounds), "wife." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Makuchi (Williams) no-bu. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Purukoto (Adam) (u)-peti. Galibi (Adam) puiti. Bakairi (Adam) (i)-witi.

In addition to a few rare and peculiar forms, there are in Carib dialects two general roots for "husband," -nyo and tamu + suffix -pu (and variants), of which the former is more widespread, and two for "wife," piti (and wide variants) and no + suffix -pu (etc.), of which the latter is more widespread. Even in languages in which -nyo and piti are used for "husband" and "wife," the roots tamu and no (without suffix -pu) generally occur and their usual meanings are "grandfather, old man" and "grandmother, old woman." For instance in Kamarakoto, itself, tamo (= tamu) and noiˀ (- no) have these meanings. Thus -nyo and piti (etc.) may be considered as primary roots for "husband" and "wife" and tamu + pu and no + pu as secondary or compound words with the

46, 47 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 — Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
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86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulõu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, səpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura', Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Tuft of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mõi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).

*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ'.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru'. Taurepan, kari', but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

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The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

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The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

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b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakoc for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulü-kulü. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kölö-kölö. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulü-kulü. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (külü-külü). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

[117]

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

*192 *197 372 related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoiʾ - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benma.

115. Charcoal — kada:rma-tipwa.

*192 262 116. Hearth, firehole — apoiʾ -piapoʾ .

Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 415 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamoʾ.

*[197] [114] 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchí (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 272 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

*192 273 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeñka

*192 *197 415 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. ũna, o. ũna, ĩña. Makuchí (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[412] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition.
285 The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on
[128] basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa
139. pangaʔ
140. tangōʔ
141. matuːtu
142. o. oloi
143. waricha
144. warakapi
145. amaːtu
146. akaiʔ
147. koataiʔ
148. wapa
149. ɛno-saramba
150. sokoʔ
151. kumara-katsaʔ
152. wakawaʔ
153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroiʔ, No. 104, tsimuiʔ, No. 99, and mōi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192 Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but
*197 given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising
285 that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word waroːkmpa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bə is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301

154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pəregaːnsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi'.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsa', i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupə, i.e. "make-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa'.
[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo', (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akamii. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

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167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

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168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

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173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[30]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

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e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

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179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

[197]

180. *karōi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analysis]

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824
171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

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181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-to. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "annatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
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f. Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu?. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 824 285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) manaːle (= manaːre). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "cassava sifter" (called pangaiʾ in Kamarakoto and pangaʾ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana.... used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʾ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʾ. Compare tsimuiʾ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʾ -epichaʾ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-kaːlimi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — ɛtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʾ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʾ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — pakaːri.

*192 [283] [412]

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʾ. gatsaʾ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of pututuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[276] 201. Cigar — tamōi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

*197 412 439 206. *Knife (steel) — mari:a. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasu:para.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapūi. Taurepán, ōuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the ōuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapūi that are ōuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — tapūi-timeakɛn.

210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — vata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabo:so. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabo:so is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 *197 342 214. *Circular house — waipa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukuyipan (with sibilant y). Makuchi (Roth, cited by Williams) tukuchpang. Akawai (and others, de Goeje) tukushipan. de Goeje suggests that tukushipan, etc., means "like a humming bird."

215. *Elongate house with semicircular ends[55] — parapan. Taurepán ([illegible]-Grünberg) pa:ˀlapan, "quadrangular house" (which would be called wata in Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, cited in Williams) parakapang, "elliptical house," but Appun gives paracapang as "quadrangular house" — probably it is used for both among these Indians. Williams suggests derivation from Makuchi paranka, "letter," "plank?," and de Goeje from paraka (etc.), "pheasant," both of which seem to me highly improbable.

*192 342 216. Wall — (i)medan.

217. Roof — (i)murun.

218. Door (the opening) — munata.

219. *Door (a mat or boards to close the opening) — tapera. This is probably from the Spanish "tabla," compare Makuchi (Williams) tapara, given as synonymous with the Spanish "tabla." In the Kamarakoto word the a is shorter than is usual for the penultimate vowel, a mere glide to separate -pr- (= -bl-) which Kamarakotos cannot pronounce.

220. Thresh-hold — munata-den.

*192 *197 i. Transportation.

221. *Trail — eima, yeima. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ɛ́ma, ɛˀma. Makuchi (Williams) e-ma. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)yɛ́ma, (u)yɛˀma. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg hɛ:ma. Cumanagoto (Adam) echema — many of the more distantly related dialects have the word more or less in this form. It is not clear whether ech- is a prefix or ema reduced.

222. Bridge — muineü, tuna-muineü-pu, "bridge over water."

*192 *197 501 223. *Canoe — kan.wa, kanhwa. Taurepán, kan.wa, kanoa. Makuchi (Williams) ka-na-wa. This is the Carib word, occurring in practically every dialect (cf. Adam No. 65), which has been adopted into most European languages, English "canoe" Spanish "canoa," etc. Forms like the Makuchi, with three syllables, are most common. The loss of the middle syllable is definitely perceptible in Kamarakoto by the otherwise anomalous lack of velarization of the n

55 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

[48] 225. Paddle — kan. wa-pa:re.

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

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j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nau-nau.

[172] [231] 231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171] 233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukūiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — mūirepon.

240. ware.

241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i)maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛɾɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə̄, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

*192 823 [193]

a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə̄ as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepũi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmum. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tuʾrita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tõʾ. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tõ, təʾ. Makuchi (Williams) təʾ.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in everyday use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: benā, tuná-benā. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Apaṛaman-tə̃pũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-tə̃pũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-tə̃pũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-tə̃pũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-tə̃pũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyẽn-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-tə̃pũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
Karũi-yeuku-tɐpũi	Karúi-yeukú-tepúi	Cerro Caraieucu
Enwarapaima-tɐpũi	Enuarapaimá-tepúi	Cerro Awarapaima
Aicha-tɐpũi	Aichá-tepúi	
Wayaraka-tɐpũi	Uayaraká-tepúi	Cerro Wairaka
Auyan-tɐpũi	Auyán-tepúi	Cerro Auyantepui
Wapi:nau-tɐpũi	Uapinán-tepúi	
2. Inhabited places		
Uruyen	Uruyén	Urullén[56]
Santa Marta,) or Tuaiba[57])	Santa Marta,) or Tuaibá)	Santamarta
Kurum-ken	Kurúm-ken	
Alewi:ba	Aleuiba	
Asakapan, or) Abasakapan)	Asakapán, or) Abasakapán)	Aguasacapán[58]
Atapa-mota	Atapá-motá	
Kuwepiripan,) or Wepiripa)	Ku-uepiripán,) or Uepiripá)	
Ibanamaru	Ibanamarú	Guanamarú
Kwai-paru, or) Gwai-paru)	Kuai-parú, or) Guai-parú)	
Maiba-mota, or) Maiba-pan)	Maibá-motá, or) Maibá-pan)	
Peipa	Peipá	
Ipupaipum	Ipupaipúm	
Ayukupai	Ayukupái	Mayucupai
Waikimba	Uaikimbá	Guarimba[59] (?)
Ura-kupai	Urá-kupái	
Ben:	Benné	
Amidan	Amidán	
Abara-paru	Abará-parú	
Wadekupai	Wadekupái	
Itõikupai	Itoikupái	
Oyuwopatõi	Oyu-uopatói	
Pũleũkepa	Puleukepá	
Atabar[60]	Atabár	
Kapin	Kapín	
Araubai	Araubái	

56-60 [see footnotes on pp 312-13, category 116 - Analysis]

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
3. Streams and rivers		
Aicha	Aichá	Haicha[61]
Yuruan	Yuruán	Urullén[62]
Akanan	Akanán	Acanán
Karoni	Karoní, or Caroní[63]	Caroni
Karao	Karáo	Carrao[64]
Kuana	Kuaná	Uana
Kapin	Kapín	_____
4. Regions, sabanas		
Kamara-ta	Kamarata	Camarata[65]
Akanamüin-ta	Akanamúin-ta	_____
Uruyen-ta. i	Uruyén-tai	_____
Yuruan-ta. i	Yuruán-tai	_____
Chikoroka-ta. i	Chikoroká-tai	_____
Kumba-ta. i	Kumbá-tai	_____
Taba-munen-ta. i[66]	Tabá-munén-tai	_____

Animals.

825 a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

*197 825 269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i.e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i.e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. [Arawak (de Goeje) yawali].

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters). Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may refer rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

*61-66 [see footnotes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analysis]

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species of fish-otter, but Williams gives it as a kind of frog. Taurepán aparõwa seems to be the same word but here too, it is uncertain whether the water opossum or an otter is meant. Koch-Grünberg also gives awa:lipoka in Taurepán and calls it a fish-otter.

272. Bat, Spanish "murcielago," all genera and species — Kamarakoto record lost.[67] Taurepán, mariba, given by Koch-Grünberg as mali:pa. He also gives Ku)ɛdnan mali:pa as "vampyre," but, as he notes, this means "large bat" and it is description, not nomenclature. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) ma:lupa'. Makuchi, (Williams) marapa.

273. Monkey, Spanish "mono," mainly Cebus spp., some others probably included — ibarga. Taurepán ibarga, (Koch-Grünberg) iwa:leka. My informants distinguished only two monkeys, this and the following, and probably included a variety of small monkeys under this name. Other tribes, as shown especially by Williams and by de Goeje, distinguish five or ten kinds of monkeys, and it is possible that there are Kamarakotos who know other names for particular sorts of small monkeys.

274. Howling monkey, local Spanish "araguato," Alouatta sp. — arauta. Taurepán, arauta. Makuchi (Williams) a-rau-ta. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) arahuata (i.e. arawata). Kalina, and others, (de Goeje) aluata. The same root appears in various non-Carib languages, but apparently by borrowing from the Carib. This word, in some form like the Cumanagoto, is the origin of the local Spanish name, and, in some form like the Kalíña, of the scientific name.

275. Three-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Bradypus tridactylus, — kwaran. Taurepán, kuaran, kuwaran. Makuchi (Williams) ku-wa-ran, defined as Choloepus, but with the note that Schomburgk defined it as Bradypus. There has been much confusion in the European use of these native names, but there is no question that the Kamarakotos use the names as here given, and it is likely that these are the correct Carib usages in general.

276. Two-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Choloepus didactylus, — nupi. Taurepán, nupi. Makuchi (Williams) te-nu-pi.

277. Great anteater, local Spanish "oso palmero" ("palm bear"), Myrmecophaga tridactyla, — waremɛ. Taurepán, waremɛ. Makuchi (Williams) ta-ma-no-wa. Variants of this latter root occur in several Carib dialects but

67 [see footnote on p. 214, category 116-Analyst]

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probably are borrowed from Tupi (or "Lingoa geral") tamandua.[68] There is some confusion in the linguistic literature between this and the next species, but the Kamarakotos and Taurepánes certainly apply wareme only to Myrmecophaga.[69]

278. Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero" ("ant bear"), Tamandua tetradactyla, — woiwo. Taurepán, woiwo. Makuchi (Williams) woi-wa.[70] This may apply also to Cyclopes, which we did not see and which the Indians did not recognize from descriptions but which must occur in this region.

279. Nine-banded armadillo, local Spanish "cachicamo," Dasypus novemcinctus, — atsi:gamo. Taurepán, kaiˀkan. Makuchi (Williams) kai-kan. Kaikan, etc., is obviously the central Carib word and the Kamarakoto atsi:gamo is cognate with the colloquial Spanish "cachicamo." Rather than supposing that the Kamarakoto borrowed from the Venezuelan Spanish, it is necessary to conclude that "cachicamo" came from some Indian dialect, probably now extinct, and that atsi:gamo is independently borrowed from the same or an allied dialect without passing through a Spanish form. Its antepenult long i is phonetically peculiar.

280. Cabassou, (local Spanish not recorded), Cabassous, probably C. unicinctus, — merun. Taurepán, muˀruˀ. Kaliña (de Goeje) kapasi. Outside of this immediate group of dialects, variants of kapasi (kapachi, kapahi, etc.) seem to be generally used in Carib. The scientific name is probably derived from a variant of this word.[71]

281. Giant armadillo, local Spanish "cuspa," Priodontes gigas[72] — mauraima. Taurepán, mauraimẽ. Kaliña (de Goeje) manulena.

282. Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla, ardillita," Sciurus spp. (Those seen were S. aestuans), — kari. Taurepán, Kari. This may be an Arawak word, for that language has (de Goeje) kalio, while the Carib languages, Trio & Oyana, use a different root (de Goeje) meri, meli, and Kalina a third root (de Goeje) Ksi:pulu, but the data are poor as the word is given in few vocabularies.

283. Capybara, local Spanish "chigüire," Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus, — kapi:ba. Taurepán, paruena. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paulina. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kapi:wa. Makuchi

68-72 [see footnotes on pp. 314-15, category 116 - Analyst]

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, ura:na. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri.
[171] Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area.
[114] Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare.
[114] [101] Taurepán, urare'. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analysis]

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undoubtedly, as far as real, they are all mere individual variations.

291. Puma, local Spanish "león" ("lion") Felis concolor. — kutsaribara. Taurepán, kusariwara. Kalíña (de Goeje) kusaliwalan.

292. Ocelot, local Spanish "cunavara," "tigrito," Felis pardalis. — marakada. Taurepán, marakada. Kalíña (de Goeje), marakaya.

293. Fox, Spanish "zorro," probably Cerdocyon thous. — maikan. Taurepán, maikan. Makuchi (Williams) mai-kan. "Canis cancrivorous." The animal was not taken and the identification is uncertain.

294. Bush-dog, Icticyon sp. — yaiʾ (y very close, almost daiʾ). Taurepán, yaiʾ (or daiʾ).

295. Dog, Spanish "perro" — pero. Taurepán, arimōraga. The Taurepán word is native Carib and appears in various guises in most dialects but the Kamarakotos use their version of the Spanish word.[74]

296. Coati, local Spanish "zorro guacho" ("lone fox"), Nasua (sens. cat.) sp. — ibarwana. Taurepán, iwarwana. This identification is uncertain. The animal is probably not the coati, strictly speaking, but probably is a procyonid of that general sort.

297. Otter, local Spanish "perro de agua" ("water-dog"), "nutria," Lutra sp., — saro. Taurepán, saroʾ. (See also No. 270.)

298. Tapir, local Spanish "danta," Tapirus americanus. — maikuri. Taurepán, waira, waila. Makuchi (Williams) wai-ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) waila. Kalíña (de Goeje) maipuri. Both roots appear to be Carib but this is a case in which the Kamarakoto word is not shared by any of the more closely allied tribes.

299. Savannah deer, Spanish "venado" Odocoileus sp. (probably gymnotis). — waikin. Taurepán, waikin. Makuchi (Williams) wai-kin.

300. Brocket, (local Spanish not recorded; Spanish-speaking Indians called it "venado de monte," "wood deer"), Mazama americana, — kutsari. Taurepán, kusa:ri, usa:ri. Makuchi (Williams) u-sa-ri. Kalina (de Goeje) kusali.

301. Collared peccary, local Spanish "chácharo," Tayassu tajacu. — pakira. Taurepán, pakira. Makuchi, pa-ra-ka. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paki:la, Cumanagoto (Adam) vaquira (i.e. bakira). Kalíña (de Goeje) pakira. Note the interesting metathesis in the Makuchi form of this

74 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

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304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" = Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʔ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koroztoiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wariʔ, "female," and warato, "male," to kõroitoko.

*197 825 262 (b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kũrikũri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wayaːra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukuiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

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330. *"Chupacacao" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʔ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʔ) — kurinata.
333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, "Podager nacunda, the Nacunda night-hawk."

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825 c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okõi. Taurepán, õkõi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʔ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. paraaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.
342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʔ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sergbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiʔ.
351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — akaːre. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yakaːre. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.

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352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kuraːtu. Taurepán, kura-tu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʔma.
354. Toad — põlɛːa (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written põlɛa). Taurepán, põreu-tukuʔ.

78 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 — Analyst]

825 e. Fishes.
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355. Fish (in general) — moro'.

The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara, — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. urusyi, — Interpreted as "rayado," a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako, — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa, — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil, Arapaima sp.

360. kapauri, — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipirai'.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

*197 f. Invertebrates.
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363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiya'.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. *Ant — atsimika. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mika, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mika. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. *Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaiba', kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaiba', kaiba'-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. *Fly — berbe'. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. *Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. *Mosquito — matsa'. Taurepán, masa'.

370. *Termite — muna'. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. *Dragonfly — pirmo, pirmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pi:lumo'.

372. *Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau, (Koch-Grünberg)

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awa:kepalu. "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai. (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakan, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsan-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yenku, (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatçʔ.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timiʔ.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kõsɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kõsɛ. Taurepán, kɛsé (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlũcha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

-388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyamá"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp 315-16, category 11b - Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — tsigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaime.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

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So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

241 403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

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404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anaiʾ.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʾ

407. Small, yellow variety — adamakaːyena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʾ

*197 824 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumiʔ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛʔ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy).

[193] Tree names usually have -yɛʔ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiʔ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛʔ, gwai-yɛʔ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛʔ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛʔ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛʔ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaʔ-yɛʔ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛʔ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

824 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛ' (for ura:pa-yɛ'. "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛ'.

428. Canjilon — pori:tadɛ' (for pori:ta-yɛ').

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoi' (-yɛ').

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛ'.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛ' (for purwei-yɛ' cf. purwe-yɛ', above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛ', but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛ' (i.e. "flute-wood").

*[197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kasdɛ, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛ' (for tsimaran-yɛ').

437. Cedro[80] — kopei-dyɛ' (for kopei-yɛ').

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛ' (for yuma-yɛ').

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛ', waidawaurai-yɛ'.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛ'.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paundɛ' (for paune-yɛ').

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

*[197] 444. Grass — wana'. Taurepán, wana'.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛ'. The wood is used for the foreshaft of arrows.

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Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits:-

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

80 [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 – Analyst]

824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature. Time.

*192
*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wũi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*197 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not
823 distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa'
*197 (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kooméya'.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

*192 805 [211] [823]

473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi' or bekwi' (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124]

a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ɬor-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

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b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakō, wakōrə. "Handsome man" — wakōr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikōyin, ikōina.

484. Cold — komi'.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

*192 488. Big — kaipun. cf. Makuchi (Williams) o-kai. (In comparison, it might seem that kaipun is privative and might mean "small" but it is certainly the Kamarakoto word for "large.")

489. Many — tukango, e.g. waratoken tukango, "many men."

490. Small — nomboron, "small man."

491. Tasty, good (of flavor) — kanə.

492. Ignorant, unskilled — putapun.

493. Alone (or "only" — used as an adverb) — leukin.

494. Poor — tuwari.

495. Empty — yembə.

496. Twisted — katsaʔ.

497. Satisfied, contented — autsim(be).

Pronouns.

*192 *193 a. Disjunctive (free) personal pronouns. These are the forms used when the pronoun is out of context or is not prefixed to a following word.

498. First person singular — yura. Etymologically this is probably the conjunctive (y)u- plus the particle -ra.

499. Second person singular — amaure. This may be the conjunctive a- plus likewise conjunctive mau- (for -mo-, -mõ-), plus the particle -re • -ra.

Third person singular — no true disjunctive personal form was identified. Demonstratives are used instead.

500. First person plural — ina.

Second person plural — no true disjunctive personal form was surely identified. Demonstratives are generally used instead, but mõtsən (see below) might be considered a personal form.

501. Third person plural — toʔ.

*193 b. Conjunctive (incorporated) personal pronouns. These are forms used as prefixes to nouns, verbs, etc., or as suffixes to verbs, to denote possession, object, subject, etc., or as elements in demonstratives, etc. They never occur independently, although they may be used with postpositions of their own as separate words.

502. First person singular — u-, frequently with an intervening -y- when the following letter is a vowel, e.g. upupai "my head" (pupai-to, "head"), uyepi, "my lips" (epi-to, "lips").

503. Second person singular — a-, frequently with -y-, rarely -b-, before a vowel, e.g., apupai, "thy head," ayepi, "thy lips," abendana, "thou eatest" (endana, "eat").

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504. m-, mo-, mõ-, mu-. This form, observed only with verbs, apparently refers to the second person either in singular or plural.

505. Third person singular — i-, frequently with -t- before vowels, e.g., ipupai, "his, her, or its head," itepi, "his, her, or its lips," but regarding this -t- see below.

506. n-, no-, nə-. This third person form has the same status as the second person m-, etc., which see. It may occur with verbs in a double pronominal prefix, e.g. un- = u-, "I," subject of verb, + -n-, "it," object of verb.

507. First person plural — ina, the same as the disjunctive form, is commonly used also conjunctively.

508. -nokon. This was observed only as a suffix expressing the subject of a verb, without -ya.

Second person plural — m-, etc., appears to be used in the plural as well as the singular. No special second person plural form was detected.

509. Third person plural — tos, sometimes for euphony to, the same as the disjunctive form, is also used conjunctively.

n-, etc., is also used in the plural.

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c. Demonstrative pronouns. Judging from the best-known allied dialects, demonstratives may be numerous in Kamarakoto and these appear to be combinations of conjunctive personal pronouns and particles.[81] The following are the principal words actually heard and my interpretation of their possible etymology — this interpretation is inevitably uncertain.

510. n:orõ, "he, she, it; that person or thing yonder." Probably = n + norõ and norõ, in turn, may be pronominal no- + the particle -rõ.

511. in:ərə, meaning apparently the same as n:orõ. Probably = i + n + mərə, and nərə may be nə- (= no-) + -rə (= rõ).

512. n:amorə, "That person or thing (near you?)." Probably = n + na + morə, and morə may be mo- + the particle -rə, but I do not recognize the function or meaning of -na- in this compound.

513. mõtsən, "you (there)." Probably mõ- (for m — before a consonant) + -tsən, a particle not otherwise identified. This may be more nearly a true personal pronoun than a demonstrative. Examples of use are in the plural.

514. mõtsamorə, "you yonder (there where you are)." Probably mõ- (= m-) + -tsa- (= -tsan) + -morə (as in n:amor) which may be mo- + -rə. Examples of use are in the plural.

81 [see footnote on p.316, category 116 - Analyst]

*193 d. Reflexive pronouns.

515. te-, t-. This conjunctive form is reflexive in the sense of referring to the subject of the sentence, e.g. teumo "his son (son of the person who is being mentioned as doing something)."[82]

Verbs.

*192 *193 It is impractical to attempt to reduce the verbs recorded to a standard form and they are given as they were encountered in contexts. What is believed to be the stem form is set off by placing parentheses around the added prefixes and suffixes.

516. Eat — endana, "(I) eat.....eats."
517. Want to eat — endana-pai, endanapai, "(I) want to eat."
518. Drink — enə, "(I) drink,.....drinks."
519. Want to drink — anembai, "(I) want to drink, ...is thirsty, etc."
520. Drink (intoxicants), or become drunk — (i)etari(ba), "He is drinking, or is drunk."
521. Sleep — ɛ'(-moron), "(I) sleep."
522. Want to sleep — wenumbai, "(I) am sleepy."
523. Walk — etame, "(I) walk, travel, go."
524. Swim — sururupe, "(I) swim."
525. Live, be alive — panape, in pero panape, "The dog is alive."[83]
526. Die — yɛtɛka ".....is dying."
527. Go — ɯɛ(dai) "(I) am going (am in the act of doing so now)."
528. Twist, bend, weave — ka(tsa'), "twisted, etc." (participial; ka may be an apocopated stem form).
529. Grasp — karo. Given out of context and explained as "to grasp with the fingers around an object, such as a stick." This is probably the base stem form.
530. Hold — paõkɛ (stem uncertain), in kawai paõkɛ uyepũi, "I have come holding the trumpet" ("trumpet holding I came").
531. Come — (u)ye(pui), "I came, have come," yeu(pũi) ".....are coming."
532. Come — (a)chi(kə), "come here!" (not heard in any other phrase).
533. Come (to a place, visiting) — ade(-polu ɛ), "(I) have come visiting (to here)." (The construction is not clear).
534. Get up (from bed), go or come out — (u)paga, "get up! come out!" (imperative). (ide)paka(pə), "he came out."
535. Find, encounter — epo (lupui-ya), "(he) found."
536. Give — (i)depa(pə), "he gave." The stem is probably repa, with the r- becoming (open) d after i.

82, 83 [see footnotes on p. 316, category 11b - Analyst]

*192 537. Advise, teach, show — erupa(poyɛ). "(he) advised."
*193 538. Empty — anoka(põtipə). ".....emptied."
539. Gather, take out, collect — anumbatu(põyɛ). ".....gathered." anumu(pə). ".....gathered." The basic root is probably anu- or anum- but anumbatu appears also to be used as a verb stem.
540. Know — putu. ".....knows."
541. Make, do — koneka. "I make, ...does."
542. Sound (as a rattle) — sakauma-nõi (stem uncertain), in maraka-i sakawma-noi. "I sound the rattle."
543. See, visit? — ene(se), in yeupũi .... enese. "are coming (in order) to see, visit."
544. Kill — ereukai (stem uncertain), in yeupũi.....ereukai. "are coming (in order) to kill."
545. Wash (gold) — koka(-toʔ) in watea woroʔ koka-toʔ. "a batea (gold-pan) to wash gold."
546. Want, desire — numbai, -mbai. This verb was not observed except as a suffix or more or less fused postposition to other verbs making them desiderative, but it is tentatively listed here as a verbal element whose meaning is constant and not analogous to mere tense or mood suffixes. It is equivalent to or includes the verbal suffix — pai.

Be (also auxiliaries, etc.) — The system of auxiliaries and of verbs best translated as forms of "to be" is very complex in Kamarakoto, as in all Carib dialects, and I cannot fully elucidate it, but can only give a few forms recorded in phrases.

*193 547. daiʔ, edai, edaiʔ, e.g. endana-pai pura edai. "(I) do not want to eat," ("want-to-eat not (I) am"), utɛdai (for utɛ edai). "(I) am going" (go (I) am"), autsimbe daiʔ. "(I) am satisfied."
548. man. This verb is usually used in the third person where edai, etc., would be used in the first person singular and hence might be considered a form of the conjugation of the same verb, but the roots are so obviously different that it might also be considered that there are two different imperfect verbs: e.g., ene:pe man. "(he) is sick," but ene:pe edaiʔ, "(I) am sick."
549. põʔman, pouman. These probably grammatically identical variants may be a combination of põ, as a particle of some sort, and man, but the combination is used as if it were a unified verb, e.g. etamen põʔman. "(he) is walking" ("to

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walk, or in the act of walking, (he) is"), auyukana pōuman, "(it) is dawning" ("dawn is being").

550. pōʔ. There are various suffixes and the like that resemble this word, and it usually seems not to fulfill any verbal function in the sentence from the European point of view, but in the following phrase, at least, it is difficult to see how it can be anything but verbal: warato endana woto-pun pōʔ "the man is eating meat" ("man eating, or eats, meat is").

551. ɛpətí(pə). This more frequent and surely verbal form may be a more highly compounded form of the last word; note the more evidently related Taurepán forms (Koch-Grünberg) ɛ-pə (or ɛ-pō — he generally uses the same symbol for these, to me, different sounds) and ɛ-pə-teʔ-pə. E.g. maichaʔ ɛpʔtipə putapun, "Maichak was ignorant," teumo-dakarə leukin yepətipə, "he had only his son with him" ("his (own) son — with alone he was").

552. medan. This may be the second person equivalent of edai and man. E.g. we-numbai medan, "art thou sleepy?" ("to want to sleep art (thou)").

553. (y)etsi(pə). e.g. putu pura yetsip, "he did not know" ("know not he was"). A different form (n)itsi of the same verb is seen in konekapəʔ-tauʔ nitsi, "he was making" (more or less literally "having-been-making, he-is").

Miscellaneous.

*192
*193

Here are gathered some postpositions, particles, a few nouns, etc., with nothing in common except that they do not fit well into the other categories and do not seem to warrant making distinct sections for them.

554. Yes — ina.

555. No — ake. (But Kamarakotos seldom say "no" flatly, usually answering by a dubious or qualified "yes.")

556. Not — pura, pōla. This is not used independently but only after a verb to place it in the negative.

557. Then (thereupon, or after that) — morɛ-popɛ.

558. Then (forthwith) — marōdau.

559. For some time, during an unspecified period of time — mono-pɛ.

560. With (accompanied by) — -dakarə, used as a postposition, e.g. teumo-dakarə, "with his (own) son."

561. Without (lacking, -less) — -pun. Used as a postposition or privative suffix, e.g. imedapun, "without a wall, wall-less."

562. To (motion toward) — -poirə. Used as a postposition, e.g. uruyen-poirə ɛtɛupai, "I am going (will go) to Uruyen."

*192 *193 563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pe. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pe, "like an animal."

565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona tankin. "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.

566. Method, means of use — (it)etern.

567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoi' — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karosiai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Atito.

Grammar

*193 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [197] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*193 footing as augmentatives, privatives, etc., not ordinarily thought of as involved in declension. Ordinarily these postpositions do not change the form of the root, but occasionally they do for simple phonetic reasons, e.g. imedan, "wall," but imedapun, "without a wall."

The plural is formed by several suffixes of which the most common are -kon or -gon and -ton or -don, e.g. warato, "man," plural waratokon, uyetse, "my brother-in-law," plural uyetseton. The plural ending is not rigidly required if not necessary to avoid confusion. It may, for instance, be used when the noun is modified by a number or by an adjective of quantity, but is then commonly omitted. Names of inanimate objects rarely have a plural form.

The nominative, genitive, and accusative of Indo-European grammar are not ordinarily indicated by postpositions but by syntax with the noun left in its absolute or non-inflected form. The basic word order is subject-object-verb and modifier — thing modified. When this order is simply followed, the relationship of the nouns are generally clear without the use of special suffixes. There are, however, forms used in cases of inversion or possible confusion that I can only interpret as involving nominative and accusative suffixes. Thus in the sentence wai-kɛ pemon-ya idepapə, "the man gave him a gourd," -kɛ specifies the thing given and -ya the giver. In woto-pun-pɛ endana daiʔ, "I am eating meat," -pɛ seems to have the same function, however one cares to designate or to translate it: it sets woto-pun off as the object and not as the subject or modifier of endana.

A virtual genitive, more accurately described as an adjectival form, is obtained simply by placing one noun before another, for instance, in such forms as piricha-yeuku, "juice of the yam," which is rendered, as is also so common in English, by saying literally "yam-juice." Expressions like uma-yeima, "farm-trail," i.e. the trail to the farm-patch (conuco), depart still farther from the idea of a genitive in our sense and yet are in absolutely the same construction in Kamarakoto. Often the first noun in this construction can only be translated by an adjective or by an adjectival clause, e.g. moroʔ-tuna "fish-water" means "fishy water" or "water containing fishes." Kamarakoto is characterized by a very large number of this sort of compound nouns, as will be noted even in running over the preceding vocabulary, and they can be coined almost at will, making the language both flexible and succinct.

Like other Carib dialects, Kamarakoto has what might almost be called a possessive pronominal declension of nouns which may become quite complicated and may even involve changes in the stem of the noun. The basic form of this pseudo-declension involves these prefixes:

1st Person, u-, uv-, e.g. upupai, "my head," uyeuna, "my nose."
2nd Person, a-, ay-, e.g. apupai, "thy head," ayeuna, "thy nose."
3rd Person, i-, it-, e.g. ipupai, "his, her, its head," iteuna, "his, her, its nose."

*793 This is so thoroughly a part of Kamarakoto psychology and indeed of
811 Carib psychology in general that it is difficult for them to think of things that are normally possessed simply as objects at large without regard to possession, an instance of the specificity often characteristic of primitive languages in general. In some dialects this goes so far that one cannot say, for instance, "a head" but must say "the head of someone or something," an unpossessed head appearing to these Indians as an impossibility and possession requiring expression. The Kamarakotos, however, do use unpossessed forms even for parts of the body but in this case the lack of possession must be indicated. "A head," not specified as possessed by someone, is not pupai but pupai-to and -to is used with virtually all words for parts of the body to indicate lack of possession.

*793 In a few exceptional cases the possessed form of a noun instead of dropping a suffix acquires one, e.g. mariza, "knife," but umari.arõ "my knife," waka, "ax," but uwakari, "my ax."

In other cases there occur changes that perhaps have arisen in simple ways analogous to the above but that nevertheless are now true stem changes indistinguishable in type from those of the inflected forms of Indo-European languages, e.g. mumun, "son," but umo, "my son," kami, "hammock," but ukaimi, "my hammock." Analogous examples are given in Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán vocabulary, in which he gives possessed forms of many nouns.[84]

The Kamarakoto noun is without gender. Natural sex is expressed for human beings by the use of different words for the two sexes (see "Vocabulary" and "Relationship Concepts and Words"). There do not appear to be any animals with different names for the two sexes or for the young, but the words waroto, "man," wari', "woman," and murg, "child," can be suffixed if the distinction is essential, e.g. kõroitoko, "domestic fowl," kõroitoko-warato, "rooster," kõroitoko-wari', "hen," kõroitoko-murg, "chick."

The Adjective.

Except as may be inherent in the meaning of the word, there is no clear distinction between nouns and adjectives in Kamarakoto. Thus "red" is an adjective, because there must always be something modified, the object that is red,[85] but the same word can mean "fish" and "fishy," or "strength" and "strong," etc. Aside from forms that are best translated as adjectives but that really are parts of verbs, I did not encounter any special adjectival suffixes or any stem changes between a noun and its corresponding adjective.

The adjective normally precedes the noun modified, as in English and unlike Spanish, but they may also follow, particularly words of quantity or size, e.g. waratokon tukango', "many men" (literally "men many"), tuna kaipun, "large stream" (literally "water-big").

84, 85 [see footnotes on p. 316, category 11b - Analyst]

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Comparison of adjectives may be expressed as in this example:

tuwari	itetsɛ ton	tuwari-dō
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor — (than), i.e. poorer than his brothers-in-law.

A predicate adjective may simply precede or follow the noun, with no verb, e.g. wakōrɜ woto-pun means either "good meat" or "the meat is good," or it may precede a "substantive" verb, in which case it sometimes has the suffix -be, e.g. autsim-be daiʾ, "(I) am satisfied," or it may follow such a verb, generally then without -be, e.g. maichaʾ pətipə tuwari, "Maichak was poor."

The Pronoun.

The definitions and discussions in the Vocabulary represent the Kamarakoto pronoun sufficiently for this summary discussion. Its principal peculiarities are that it is basically demonstrative in at least two persons (third singular and second plural — and possibly the others have or had originally a demonstrative element) and that it has a set of conjunctive forms which are intimately united with nouns, as these are actually used, as well as verbs (see below).

The Verb.

The Carib verb is extremely complex and Kamarakoto yields nothing to the other dialects in this respect. It is conjugated (a) by conjunctive pronoun prefixes and postpositions indicating subject and object, (b) by a large number of suffixes usually with some temporal significance, but also modal, adjectival, nounal, etc., and (c) by the use of auxiliary verbs. Unlike the adjective, the verb is distinctly a separate and definable part of speech. Its stem form always indicates an independent act or state of some sort and the forms that can be used or at least translated as nouns or adjectives are formed by suffixes and still are predominately verbal in sense, felt as parts of a verb rather than strictly as in the noun-adjective category. This may, for instance, be seen by the fact that true adjectives generally precede the modified noun, whereas participial forms of verbs used as modifiers commonly follow the noun and may be placed in a position normal for a verb.

Verbal stems are approximately invariable, but simple phonetic changes are often induced by prefixes and suffixes and these occasionally produce a pseudo-inflection, as in the nouns. It differs, however, from true inflection, in that it is never functional: it does not in itself indicate a modified meaning. E.g. ɛʾ-moron, "(I) am sleeping," and we-numbai, "(I) am sleepy," show stem changes ɛʾ — and we — but in either form the stem has the same meaning and it is only qualified by context and suffixes.

*193 The conjunctive pronouns given in the vocabulary are used in connection with verbs as well as with nouns. With nouns they indicate possession, but with verbs they indicate either the subject or object of the action. Thus three pronominal cases so radically different in Indo-European grammar, nominative, possessive, and accusative, may be formally identical in Kamarakoto with only the context to show the correct translation. The discrepancy appears to be in the attempt to force Carib languages into an Indo-European grammatical framework. The Carib conjunctive pronoun is not nominative, possessive, or accusative, but a single form that might be called relative, indicating in all its uses the person to whom the action is related without showing (in itself) the nature of the relationship. Thus iteuna, "his nose," means "nose with relation to the third person," iyendana, "he goes," is the present act of going with relation to the third person, and ikoneka?, "make it," "make (imperative form necessarily addressed to the second person) with relation to the third person." In all three of these examples i- actually has the same meaning although it must be translated into an Indo-European language in three different ways.

Conjunctive pronouns, always prefixed to nouns, may be either prefixes or suffixes with verbs. With an intransitive verb and sometimes a transitive verb with object otherwise expressed, the prefixed pronoun is the subject. With a transitive verb, the prefixed pronoun is usually the object and the subject is expressed either by a separate word or by a pronominal suffix. This suffix is normally followed by the nominative particle -ya; thus the conjunctive pronoun -u-, "I," when it follows a verb as its subject, is uya. Elision and fusion may sometimes mask the vowel values of pronouns in this position. The object of a transitive verb is never a suffix.

These conjunctive pronouns may be retained even when the subject and object are otherwise expressed, but normally they are not. The verb may also occur without any subject (or object) and is then usually taken to be in the first person. Thus endana, without context, will usually be taken to mean "I eat."

There is some suggestion that the typical or primitive verb stem was monosyllabic or bisyllabic and that most or all longer stems are in fact compounds. Whatever their origin, however, trisyllabic words used as basic verb stems are now at least as common as shorter stems, and some of four and possibly five syllables exist. There does not appear to be any formal difference by which a bare verb stem can be distinguished from that of a noun or adjective aside from its meaning.

The simple sort of pronoun plus verb stem combination is seen in the following forms of endana, the stem signifying eating.[86]

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person	endana	inandana

86 [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 - Analyst]

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	Singular.	Plural.
2nd person	abendana	mötsamorö endana
3rd person	iyendana	to> endana

This also illustrates irregularities such as occur with most verbs as these are actually used and prevent the abstraction of a paradigm that can be applied to any verb without definite knowledge of usage. Thus uy- is omitted in the first person singular, ab- is a rare form of the second person pronoun, which is usually ay- (or a-), and iy- is more commonly it- in the third person. The plural forms must be considered as disjunctive, but in colloquial speech in the first person ina and endana fuse to make a pseudo-conjunctive, pseudo-inflected form inandana.

This bare stem form of verbs is usually translatable as a present tense of the indicative, but it signifies the action simply as occurring, without reference to relative or absolute time except by the implication that if the action were not now going on this would probably have been shown by using a suffix. With its lack of inherent temporal or modal tint, this is also the form generally used with auxiliary verbs, e.g. endana edai, "I am (engaged in the process of) eating," where endana means simply the more or less abstract process or activity and edai specifies that the speaker is engaged in it.

There is no general formal distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs and the same verb may be used in either way if the meaning permits. Thus in the preceding examples endana is intransitive but it may be used in the same forms with an object and then is transitive.

There is no passive voice and the idea is expressed by forms of the active verb or by circumlocutions. "He does" means just as well "is done" (by him or by someone unexpressed). If confusion arises as to whether a preceding noun is the doer or the thing done (analogous to subject of the action or of the passive verb in Indo-European grammar) this can be specified by a suffix not on the verb but on the noun, -ya indicating the doer, or active subject, and -kɛ or -pɛ the thing done, or passive subject.

Suffixes are used to express more or less the tenses and moods of Indo-European grammar, but the exact sense conveyed seldom, probably never, exactly corresponds with any one given tense of the latter sort of grammar. Strictly speaking, there are no present or future tenses. Any form that does not express completion of the action or its non-contemporaneity may be used in a way translatable as a present or future. The bare verb stem may refer to any time and is commonly used where we would use a present or future tense. Forms that indicate continuing action or action desired or intended, and hence not going on at present or completed in the past, are commonly translatable as future tenses, but I am convinced that to call them "future tenses" is to graft

*193 onto Kamarakoto (and other Carib languages) an idea really quite absent in the minds of the speakers.

Negation may be expressed by special verb forms which should probably be considered privative or prohibitive rather than negative in a strict sense. General verbal negation is expressed by the particle pura (etc.) following the verb.

An incomplete but representative list of Kamarakoto (non-pronominal) verbal affixes follows:

-i. Simple preterite, completed action.

-pə. This, the most common of all verbal suffixes, is usually translatable as a preterite. It can, however, better be considered as a suffix showing non-contemporaneity with a point of reference. Hence it indicates a past tense in the sense of showing that the action is not going on now. In this broader sense it can also be used with nouns, e.g. utapũi, "my house" (in general or now), utapũipə, "my house" (sometime, but not at the time of which I am speaking or not now). In narratives verbs in -pə are usually used for simple historic.

-pũi. A somewhat doubtful suffix perhaps related to the last. It generally designates a past tense and may be a narrative historic alternating with -pə, e.g. epolupũi-ya (probably for epolupũi-iya) "he found," used in a passage parallel with verbs in -pə, but also pemon-don yeupũi, "the Indians were coming," in which it was emphasized that the action was not complete at the time of references (which was a past time). This same word was also translated as a perfect tense, uyepũi, "I have come" (i.e. I am here now), but in connection with another action not completed.

-poyɛ, -põyɛ. Designating past actions. These are possibly phonetic variants of -pə -ya or -pə -i-ya, the non-contemporaneous suffix -pə +(or without) conjunctive pronoun -i- + nominative suffix -ya.

-pauya. This is probably a similar phonetic form from -pə -u-ya, a past tense in the first person singular.

-tana, -tanaʔ. This designates contemporaneous action and hence is in part the positive of which -pə is the negation. It usually refers to the present time, but also is used to show an action that proceeded or proceeds (at any time, past, present, or future) at the same time as another expressed or implied action.

-se. A continuing action, not specified as having stopped at any relative time. Since the action may continue into the future, verbs with this suffix frequently can be translated by a future tense.

*193 -pe. Dependent action. Action conditional on some other action. E.g. konekape utambai. utambai = desiderative form of ute, "go," hence more or less "let us go," konekape "make" conditionally on the other action: "let us go and (having gone) make," or "let us go and make (then, or as we go)."

-pɛ. A doubtful form, perhaps merely a variant of -pe but translated as implying continuance of an action over a period of time, not necessarily dependent on another action.

-puti, -pata. The root equivalence of these is not certain, but they were used in different phonetic surroundings to designate the same idea, that of past continued or repetitive action, "used to do," "kept on doing....." etc., explained as "something that you often did in the past but are not doing now."

-ka. Imperative. "Do!" — here or in general.

-ta. Imperative. This is a sort of demonstrative imperative, the implication being that the action is to be performed elsewhere, more or less "go and do...."

-ka. Imperative, possibly a simple variant of -ka, but used in certain combinations, where -ka was not heard, e.g. in the common expression achika, "come!" "come here!"

-nika. Imperative, = -ni + -ka.

-tanika. Imperative = -ta + -ni + -ka. Despite the presence of -ta, the sense is not necessarily "go and do..." and may even be "come and do...." but this idea is more specifically expressed by achika, e.g. achika konekanika, "come (here) and make...."

-ʔ. Imperative, noted only in konekaʔ, with which -ka is not used and is possibly replaced by this.

-pai. Translatable as desiderative, voluntative, optative, imperative or subjunctive. It has the sense of desiring to do a thing or wanting to have it done. It may also express the intention of doing a thing, and hence may be translatable by a future tense, with which it has been confused. It is, however, future not in the temporal sense but only in expressing will to do, which naturally usually refers to something not yet done. This is clearly the -bai of -mbai, etc. (= -mpai or -npai, the bilabial stop makes the nasal bilabial and the nasal makes the stop voiced), and it could be considered as an auxiliary verb rather than as a suffix. E.g. utɛupai, "I want to go, I intend or am going to go," may be utɛ, "go," and upai "I will or want to." But it also frequently fuses with another stem and is commonly taken to be a verbal suffix (e.g. by Koch-Grünberg in Taurepán) whatever its origin may be.

*193 -dareu. This somewhat doubtful form is apparently used in some circumstances to express the intention of doing something.

-ima, -ma. This is another form of similar voluntative or optative subjunctive or imperative sense. It can often be translated "cause to..." "may they, etc., do....." and so is used to build causative modes or essentially new causative verbs which may in turn take other suffixes.

kai-... -i, ka-... -i. This combination of prefix and suffix forms the negative imperative or the prohibitive, "do not do ...." etc.

-tope. This is a purposive form, or one expressing an end to be accomplished, "final" (as Koch-Grünberg calls the Taurepán equivalent) in this sense, not in a sense of terminal or completed action. Williams calls the Makuchi equivalent a gerund, but the Indo-European gerund could seldom be used to translate the Kamarakoto verb in -tope, usually renderable by some phrase with "in order to." Examples of this are connected with negation but the negative does not seem to be inherent in -tope; this connection is not clear.

-kapa. A similar purposive form, "in order to...." etc., also used as a sort of subjunctive or third person imperative, "that he do...." etc.

-namai. Negative purposive. Corresponding with -tope and -kapa in use but definitely negative or prohibitive.

-sa', -sa'. This expresses the idea of a definitely completed action and can be translated in different contexts as an indicative preterite, as a past participle, or as an adjective. E. g. konekasa'-uya, which is an independent verb with a subject, "I made, did make (and completed)," and cannot be considered as participial, but tamõi-konekasa', literally "tobacco made," i.e. "prepared tobacco, a cigar," which is essentially a compound noun and in which the verb with -sa' is best translatable as a participle or adjective. There are many expressions of this sort in Kamarakoto. Despite the translation as an adjective, the idea is really still verbal, it is "tobacco (that) was made, tobacco (that) one or (that) I made."

-nin. This suffix introduces what is, in Indo-European language, a nounal concept, meaning "the doer of...." sometimes translatable as a present participle, but with its elusive properly verbal sense perhaps more fully preserved by considering it as making a form of the verb equivalent to a relative clause. E.g. konekanin amaure, "making thou, thou who art making." It can be used without a modified word and these must be freely

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translated by a noun, konekanin, "the maker." It implies that the action is not completed.

-tapon. This is used in the same way as -nin, but the action is completed. konekanin, "the maker (who is still making), konekatapon, "the maker (who has completed making, or of something now made.)."

-to?. This is used in ways analogous to -nin and -tapon but it designates the means or instrument involved in or required for the action, rather than the active agent. konekato?, "the maker (used in making)." This is not the personal pronoun to?.

-n. This also is used where Indo-European languages would use a verbal noun or a noun and it comes the closest of anything in Kamarakoto to being a true gerund. It signifies the act or process of doing something, e.g. endana, "eat," endanan, "the act of eating." It, however, like the other Carib so-called verbal nouns, is basically verbal, not nounal. It can be used with auxiliaries, e.g. etame, "walk," etamen pō?man, "he is walking" ("in the act of walking is").

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As an illustrative comparison, the Kamarakoto equivalents of the partial Taurepán paradigm given by Father Baltasar de Matallana were gathered.[87] Later it was possible to compare this with Taurepán at first hand. The results of the comparison are instructive from several points of view and so are given here, obviously without any pretension of giving a complete comparison or of setting up a full or model conjugation. It should be remembered that Father Baltasar's transcription is not meant to be phonetic.

1. Verb stem and present or non-temporal indicative. Koneka. Taurepán, koneka, (Baltasar) koneka.
2. Indicative forms showing completion or non-contemporaneity. "Pretérito" of Baltasar.
   a. konekapauya, phonetic derivative from koneka-pa-u-ya = stem + non-contemporaneous prefix pa + personal pronoun u + nominative particle ya, "I made." The simple tense form is of course konekapa. Taurepán, konekapōya = konekapa-ya, without indication of person, (Baltasar) konekapue uya, "hiciste" ("thou madest").[88]
   b. (Not in common use by Kamarakotos who habitually replace it by the next form.) Taurepán, konekapoti?-uya, "I made repeatedly, used to make," (Baltasar) konekapueti-uya, "hiciste (repetidas veces)," "thou madest" (should be "I made?") "— repeatedly."

[87, 88] see footnotes on p. 116-17, category 11b — Analysis

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c. konekaputi-panya, phonetic form from koneka-puti-pə-u-ya. "I made repeatedly, used to make" (but do not now). Simple (non-pronominal) form konekaputipə. Taurepán, konekapõti'-põya, "used to make," (Baltasar) konekapuetipue-uya, "hiciste (de un todo)" "thou madest — " (should be "I made?") "— definitely."

d. chikonekai, "I made." Simple form konekai. Taurepán chikone-kai, (Baltasar) chi-koneka-i, "hice (en este momento)." "I made just now."

e. (This form is definitely absent in Kamarakoto.) Taurepán chikonekatai, (Baltasar) chi-koneka-tai, "hice (hace tiempo)." "I made some time ago."

f. konekasa'-uya, "I made." Simple form konekasa'. Taurepán konekasa'-uya, (Baltasar) koneka-sak-uya, "hiciste (esto mas bien es el participio transformado en mado personal)." "Thou madest" (should be "I made?"). "— This is rather the participle transformed into the personal mode." The last remark is true from a strictly European point of view, but I feel that no transformation has taken place from the Indian point of view and that konekasa' is a verb form which, like most others, can be used either with or without a personal pronoun subject and that can be translated at times by the indicative, at other times by a participle.

g. konekapə'-tau'-nitsi, "he was making." This is properly a compound verb (or tense of a verb): koneka-pə'-tau', a past form of koneka here used more or less participially, + the auxiliary n-itsi, n- being the third person conjunctive pronoun as subject of the auxiliary. As nearly as a literal translation could be attempted, it might be something like "he is having been in the state of making." Taurepán, konekapə-nichi, (Baltasar) koneka - pue - n - ichi, "hizo," "he made." This is the same as the Kamarakoto form but without the suffix -tau'-.

3. Forms expressing desire or intention of doing or having done, voluntative, optative, imperative, etc.

a. ikoneka', "make it," simple second person imperative. i- is the object pronoun and the verbal form is koneka'. Taurepán, ikoneka-ke, (Baltasar) i-konekake, "hazlo," "make it."

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b. ikonekata, "(go and) make it," "make it (there)," second person imperative with demonstrative sense. Verbal form konekata. Taurepán ikoneka-ta, (Baltasar) i-konekata, "vete a hacerlo," "go and make it."

c. ikonekata-nikə, "make it," imperative with triple suffix, -ta + -ni + -kə, apparently demonstrative in a vague way, not necessarily explicitly "there" or "here," and not strictly "come and make it," which would be achikə ikonekata-nikə. As before, i- is the object pronoun, not strictly part of the verb. Taurepán, ikonekata-nikə, (Baltasar) i-konekata-neke, "ven a hacerlo," "come and make it."

d. ikoneka-pai-nokon, "let us make it," with no demonstrative sense, i- is the object and -nokon the subject, the simple verbal form being only koneka-pai, a voluntative or optative. Taurepán, ikoneka-pai-nikon, (Baltasar) i-koneka pai-nokon, "vamos a hacerlo," "let us go and make it."

e. kai-konekai, "do not make," simple second person prohibitive (or negative imperative). Taurepán ki-konekai, (Baltasar) ki-konekai, "no lo hagas," "do not make it."

f. toʔ-ya ikonekaima, "let them, may they, have them make it," a voluntative or third person plural imperative. toʔ-ya is the subject and i- the object, the simple verb form being konekaima. I did not record this in Taurepán but Baltasar gives konekaima, which looks like the same form but which he considers to be a present gerund, "haciendo," "making," which the Kamarakoto form is not.

4. Purposive. Baltasar calls these "participios de final," "final participles."

a. koneka-tope, "in order to make," used in negative context, exact sense not quite clear. Taurepán, koneka-tope, (Baltasar) koneka-tope, "para hacer," "in order to make."

b. konekapa, "in order to make," simple purposive. Taurepán, konekapa, (Baltasar) koneka-pa, "para hacer," "in order to make."

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c. koneka-namai, "in order not to make, that .... should not make," negative purposive. Taurepán, koneka-namai, (Baltasar) koneka-namai(d), "para no hacer (negative)," "in order not to make (negative)."

5. Participial or modal forms expressing continuing action or action relative to other actions, expressed or implied. Baltasar calls these in Taurepán "gerundios del presente," "present gerunds," which is not a clear statement of their use or usual translation in and from Kamarakoto.

a. koneka-tanaʔ, "is making (while something else is being done)," used as an essentially indicative form expressing contemporaneous action. Taurepán, koneka-tana, (Baltasar) koneka-tana, "haciendo (mientras hacia)," "making (while ... was making)."

b. konekase, "making, is, was, will be making," expressing a continuing action. Taurepán (Baltasar) te-koneka-sé, "haciendo (al mismo tiempo)," "making (at the same time)." The prefix te- is probably the reflexive pronoun and not part of the verbal form, strictly speaking. In Kamarakoto this verb form is usually not translatable as "making at the same time," but only as expressing an action not thought of as complete at any given time.

c. konekape, "make, made, etc.," conditional on or following another expressed action which is to be performed with or before the action of the verb in -pe. Taurepán, konekape, (Baltasar) koneka-pe, "haciendo," "making," — an occasionally adequate translation but not an explanation of the sense of the verb form.

d. konekasəʔ, "having made, made, having been made," a form that can be used as an indicative preterite (see 2, f, above) or as a participle or adjective. — konekasaʔ. (Not given by Baltasar as a separate form, but he gives the indicative use, see 2, f.)

6. Verbal nouns of agency, or relative modifying verbal forms. Baltasar calls these "participios de presente," "present participles."

a. konekanin, "one who is making, knows how to make." Taurepán (Baltasar) konekanin, "hacedor," "maker."

b. konekatəpon, "one who did make, maker of a completed thing." Taurepán konekatəpon, (Baltasar) konekatepon, "hacedor," "maker."

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c. ikonekato', "the means or thing used to make (it)." i- is a conjunctive pronoun. Taurepán, konekato', (Baltasar) konekatok, "lo que se hace (hechura)," "that which is made." This would be an incorrect translation of the Kamarakoto word. I am not sure regarding Taurepán but note that Koch-Grünberg gives quite a different word, inkone:ka'-pə, for "That which has been made" in that language.

d. ye-konekase, "one who is making," a more purely verbal form of expressing the same thing as konekanin. It is simply the continuing verbal form konekase with pronominal prefix. Taurepán, (Baltasar) te-konekasen, "hacedor," "maker," probably also simply konekase with a reflexive pronoun and perhaps with the nounal suffix -n.

7. Three forms that Baltasar calls "gerundios de preterito," "preterite gerunds," were not recognized by my Kamarakoto informants or encountered in Kamarakoto texts and perhaps are absent in that language. A Kamarakoto would substitute konekasa' or konekasə' for them in most contexts. Baltasar's expression of them is:

te-koneka-id	(te-koneka-i')
te-koneka-pue-se	(te-konekap-se)
konekasak tese	(konekasa' tese)

— all translated as "habiendo hecho," "having made."

Other Parts of Speech.

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It is difficult or impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction, as a special part of speech. Some words indicating time, place, etc., are inherently adverbial in sense. Other qualifying words are used, without any change of form, to modify either nouns or verbs and hence are translatable either as adjectives or adverbs. Nouns and pronouns with prepositional postpositions, indicating manner, direction, and the like, are also often used to qualify the action of a verb and so may be translatable as adverbs, but calling them adverbs is merely a manner of speaking and not a logical classification. Perhaps the nearest analogy to Indo-European adverbs is the use of the postposition -pɛ (sometimes -pe or -pō) to form adverbial (but also adjectival) expressions from nouns or adjectives. The syllable can usually be translated "-like," e.g. woto-pɛ, "like an animal," and its formation of what amounts to an adverb is analogous to the use of "-ly" in English or of "-mente" in Spanish.

*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, a:, a:i, etc., are often heard, also the less universal aka:, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so [153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard.[89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maicha'	ɛpətipə	putapun	maicha'	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛton	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛtseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)

a gourd bottle. He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving

wai-kɛ	more -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's

him (Maichak) a gourd bottle. Then he showed him how

539 etserukɛ marodɛn maicha'-ya moro?
use. Forthwith Maichak fishy
to use the gourd bottle. Then Maichak emptied (from

tuna anokapətipə to? anumbatupõyɛ
water emptied then gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-pɛ moro' anumbatupɛ itetsɛton-ya
For a time fish gathered. His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itɛtseru putu pura yetsipə teumo-dakarə
his method know(ing) not were his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin yepətipə moro' anumupə
only was fish gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

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Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	m'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ncha.

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Cumanagoto (Adam) t-uto, t-uta, y-ucha, y-ucho. Note also the following words for "tree" given by de Goeje: Cumanagoto ekiche, Chaima yekich. These contain the root for "tree" (yɛ' in Kamarakoto) and a suffix -ich- comparable with icha.

2. Cucurito (palm)	yoloki	maripa(da)	mariba	I do not find any word very like yoloki. The somewhat similar Astrocaryum palm, awara in Modern Kamarakoto, is yawala in Oyana (de Goeje) and some other dialects. Compare also kɛ:-liki for the cucurito in Guinau (Koch-Grünberg) an Arawak dialect with which the Kamarakotos have been in contact.

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*192 *197	3. Arrow	mapuru	purau	pulõu	I do not find any forms closer than Modern Kamarakoto. Puru would be a likely variant of the usual Carib root. ma- may be a prefix of some sort.
	4. My hammock	utauri	ukaimi	ukarimi	Chaima (Adam) u-y-etuat. Variations of this root, distantly or not related to the root seen in Arekuna, also occur in at least seven other Carib languages (see Adam, No. 139), including Makuchi (Williams). It is speculative, but the Taurepán possessed form (as given; unpossessed form is kami) suggests that there may have been an ancient root kari, and if so, tauri could be a normal derivative of it.

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				of it. Note also that the word for "hammock" often is related to that for "cotton" (cf. de Goeje No. 51 with Adam No. 239) and that there is an Arawak root for "cotton" not unlike tauri, e.g. Adzaneni (Koch-Grünberg) tauali. But the possessive prefix u- is pure Carib.
5. That one (demonstrative)	miamo	nɨamora	ɨyamor	Chaima (Adam) amiamo-r-com. Cumanagoto (Adam) amiamo-r-como. Akawai (Adam) amiamo.
6. Get up (imperative)	apagaʾ	upaga	pata	In this case the old word is almost the same as the modem one.
7. It is dawning	(airapauna	auyukana	auyukana)	pomon =
8.	(pomon	põuman	põuman)	põuman is clear enough, but I have found no word obviously near

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					airapauna. These words are, however, rare in vocabularies. The equation airapauna = auyukana, although unsatisfactory, may not be impossible, since there are sure examples in Carib of the transformations r = y and k = p.
9. Son, or my son.	keuk̚	mumun, umo	umu		Kaliña (de Goeje) mako, morokoko. Maquiritare (de Goeje) mudekeke. The basic Carib root seems to be m + vowel (usually o or u), but this is frequently followed by a guttural + vowel and the duplication of this suffixial element, as in Kalina and Maquiritare, forms a possible source for the vaguely remembered

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keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

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Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor. Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

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The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

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Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
[171] alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

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		any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.
[177] somberero	sombrero (hat))	These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.
kamisa	camisa (shirt))	
pantalon	pantalon (trousers))	
alpargata	alpargata (canvas slippers))	
[177] kaña	caña (sugar cane))	These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.
[171] t rabichi	trapiche (cane press))	
watea	batea (wooden bowl or trough)	
kacho	cacho (cow's horn)	A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.
kachimba	cachimba (tobacco pipe)	
kalaborso	calabozo (jail)	The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.
tap ra	tabla (wooden board)	The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.
sambura	tambur (drum)	The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.
pero	perro (dog)	There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

*192 [231]	kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
	kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439]	oro, woro'	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
	patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapɔra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
unamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulü-kulü	file
kõroitoko	chicken

*192 The last two words are probably onomatopoeic and the others are proba-
177 bly names of native things now replaced by introduced substitutes. The numerous varieties of bananas, supposedly introduced, also have names that are of native origin, as far as known.

*192 Few words can be identified as surely borrowed from other Indian languages and Kamarakoto shows no extensive mixture with non-Carib dialects. They use a few words perhaps of Tupi or Arawak origin but so widespread among Caribs as to be Carib words for all practical purposes. Karoi, for the Genipa dye, differs radically from the word in allied Carib dialects (usually variants of ruku) and may be related to some variant of the Arawak word kanutu. If so, it would be a nearly unique example of borrowing direct from a wholly foreign Indian language and not through other Carib dialects.

Classification of Kamarakoto and Allied Languages.

*197 Omitting numerous subdialects, poorly known dialects, some that became extinct before they were well classified, and others of doubtful or unimportant status, the principal Carib languages may be classified as follows:

I. Main or northeastern division.
- A. Coastal group
  - Kaliña, Kalinga, Galibi, Karibi, Caribi. (The so-called Island Carib is a mixture of Kaliña and Arawak).
  - Kumanagoto, Cumanagoto.
  - Palenke, Palenque.
  - Chaima, Chayma, Core, Paria.
  - Tamanako, Tamanaco.
  - Oyana, Ayana, Uayana, Rukuyen, Roucouyenne.
- B. Amazon group
  - Trio.
  - Umaua: a. Hianakoto.
    - b. Guake, Huake.
    - c. Kariona.
  - Pianakoto.
  - Apalai, Aparai.
  - Wayewe, Wayawai, Woyaway, Waiwai.
- C. Bonari group
  - Bonari.
  - Yauapery, Uaimeri.
- D. Central or Roroima group
  - Akawai, Acawai, Accawai.
  - Ingariko. (Perhaps only an Akawai dialect.)

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Makuchi.
Arekuna: a. Taurepán, Taulipang.
b. Kamarakoto.
c. etc. Various other dialects.
Purukoto, Ipurucoto.
Sapara.
Wayamara.
Krishana, Kirisaman, Crichana.

E. Ventuari group
Makiritare, Maquiritare: a. Yekuana, Mayonggong, Maiongkong.
b. Churuana.
c. Dekuana.
d. Kunuana, Kunumena.
Yabarana, Yauarana.

II. Northwestern division.

A. Motilon group
(Numerous languages or dialects not well classified and not pertinent here.)

B. Peba group
Peba.
Yagua.
Yameo.

III. Southern division - Scattered, isolated Carib languages, including the following:
Palmella.
Yuma, Pariri.
Arara, Apiaca.
Bakairi.
Nahuqua, Nabuqua, Akuku.
Pimenteira.

For the most part the names here given major listing, even within a single group, may be considered as separate languages and not merely as dialects. It is absurd to speak, as some travelers and students do, of "a" Carib language. Carib speech constitutes a great family or linguistic stock with enough features in common to believe that all its members had a common origin, but it includes at least thirty and probably about fifty quite distinct languages, most of them still living although many have become extinct. Despite their assignment to a single stock, these languages differ even more than do, for instance, the Romance languages of Europe. A Motilon certainly could not understand a

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation.[90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease,[91] although it is by no means an
*197 194 identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán. Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak müi = Taurepán yenegam shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is
192 from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taure-
192 pán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

101 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who
114 were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[197] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

92 [see footnote on p. 317, category 116 - Anaport]

101 may be distinguishable as another such group.[93] Probably the Arekuna vocab-
*197 ulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.[94]

Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the
*197 closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed, so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.[95]

*197 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-
101 Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roroima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto. Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roroima more or less in the center.

Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a
[488 separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they
101] call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[101] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 — Analyst]

*197 degenerate, but as a very rough analogy one might compare Kamarakoto among the Carib dialects with Castilian among Romance dialects as less degenerate phonetically than some of their allies (e.g. Portuguese among Romance languages) and less mixed than others (e.g. Rumanian among Romance languages).

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[text continues on p. 107]

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Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p. 107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This
361 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in
103 Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orua, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiːba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous
103 but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking,
[823 which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Enuarapaimá-tepúi, 96
drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b – Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[76] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101

97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analysis]

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (toʔ-esaʔ)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimbaʔ.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley - 11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2	
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3	
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2	
		Total others -	7
		Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekumas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher.
[165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.
165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.
162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.
125 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more
162 were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other
163 close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females
589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.
162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is
165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are,
[165] however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain-
[165] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none
165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to›-esa›, "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

[102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]]

551/177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from out-
551 side the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later,
[123] when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly
[829] have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least
[123] known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would
[177] have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essential-
[797] ly as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized.
[553] The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames.
551 The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and
553 the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such. a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be
[343] less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof
[17] and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal
[114] sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be
[17] called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

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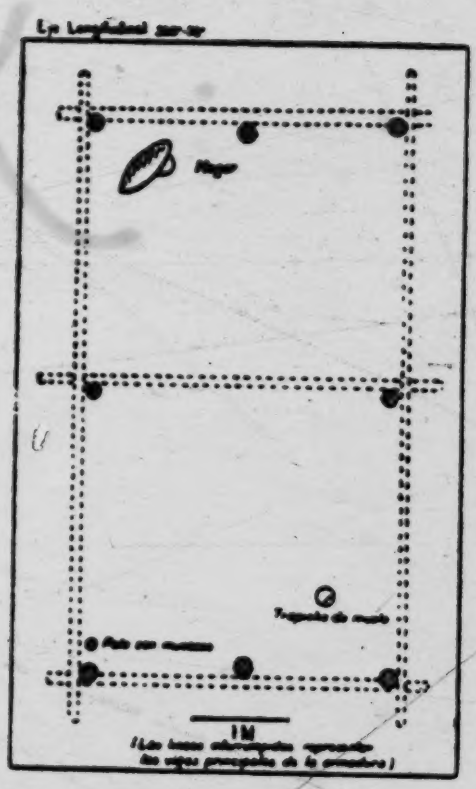

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

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342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakgn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalaboxso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyc' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yare, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yare, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyare, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yare. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

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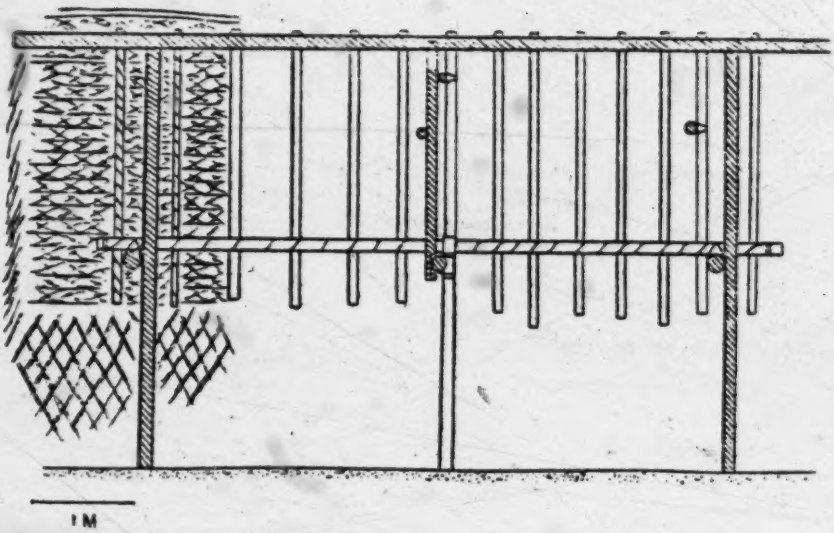

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

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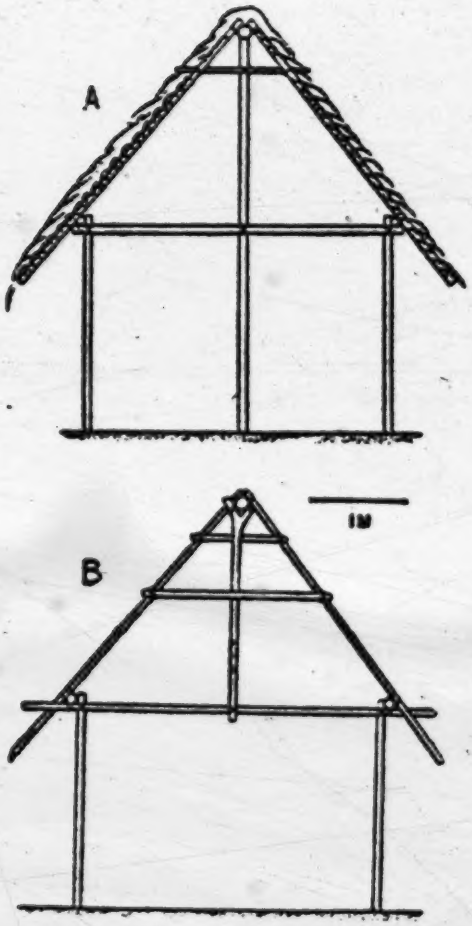

Fig. 4 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Figs. 2-3. A, diagram of northeast end. B, diagram of central member (thatch omitted), showing method of bracing ridge-pole from rafter, leaving center of floor open.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p-120]

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

361 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uru:yi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is 311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarɛ.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakɛn.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

1 [see pp. 115 and 122, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see p. 122e category 116 - Analyst]

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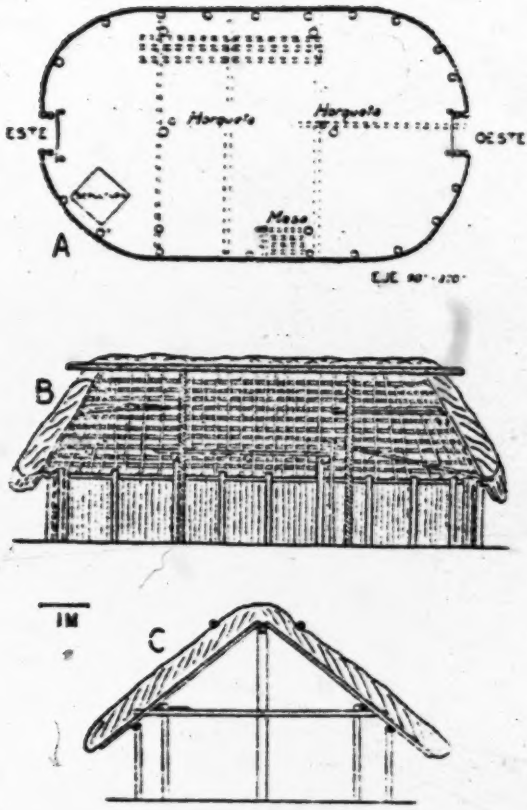

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

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726 Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been. These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

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Fig. 7 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

Same building as Fig. 6. Photograph of eastern end, showing main or front entrance. An edge of the roof of the work shelter of Figs. 2-5 can been seen to the left of the roof of this dwelling.

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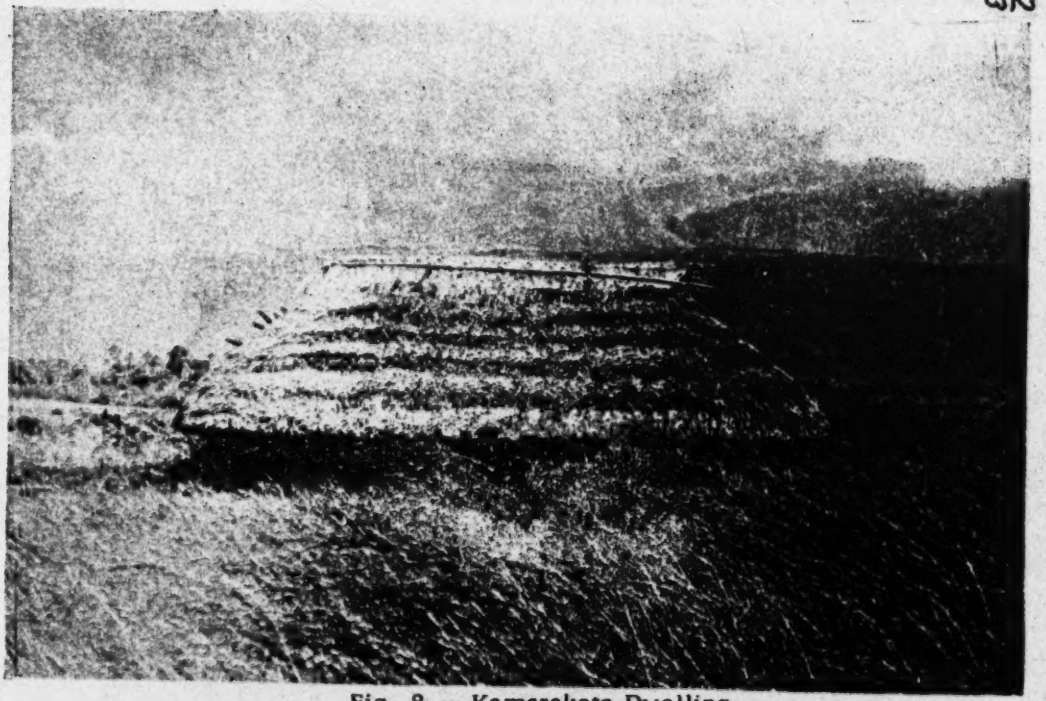

Fig. 8 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Same building as Figs. 6-7. Photograph of south side. (Slopes of Auyán-tepúi visible below clouds in background).

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

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Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.
The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

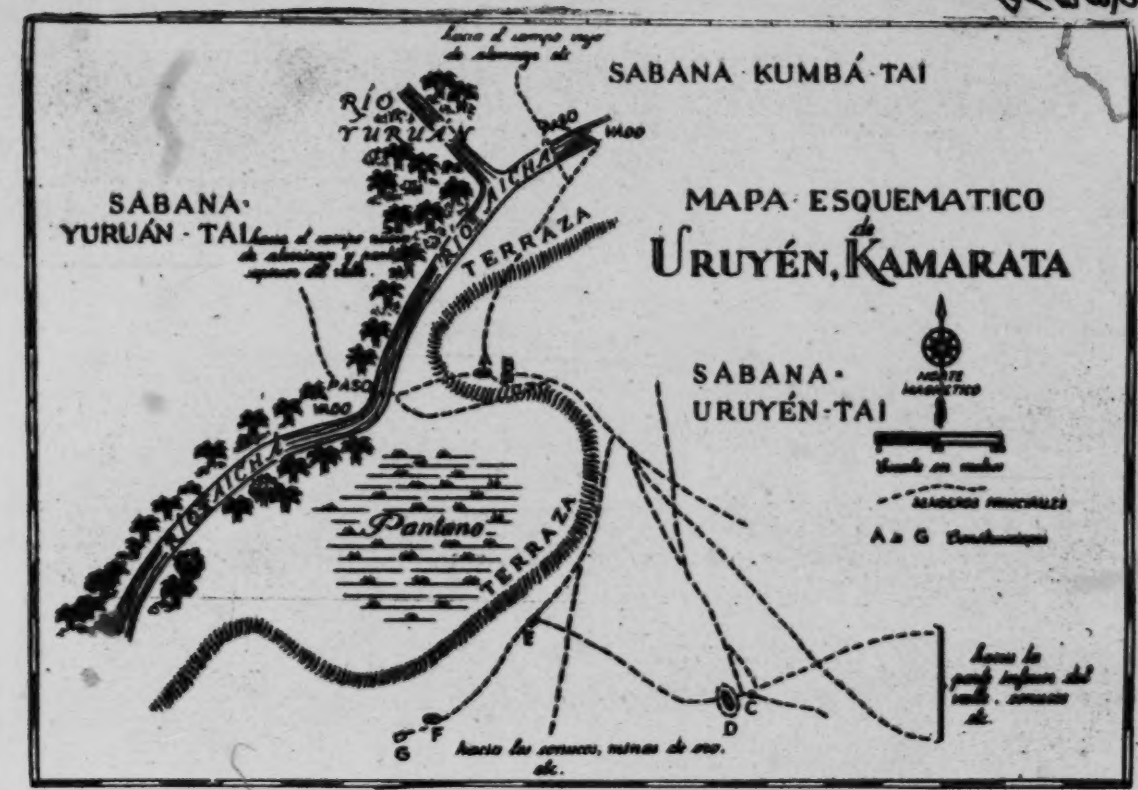

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba› and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the to›-esa›, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p. 19, category 11b - Analyst]

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319 category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

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Fig. 13 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
One of the Uruyén conucos. The method of clearing by felling trees and burning is shown, as well as the haphazard planting.

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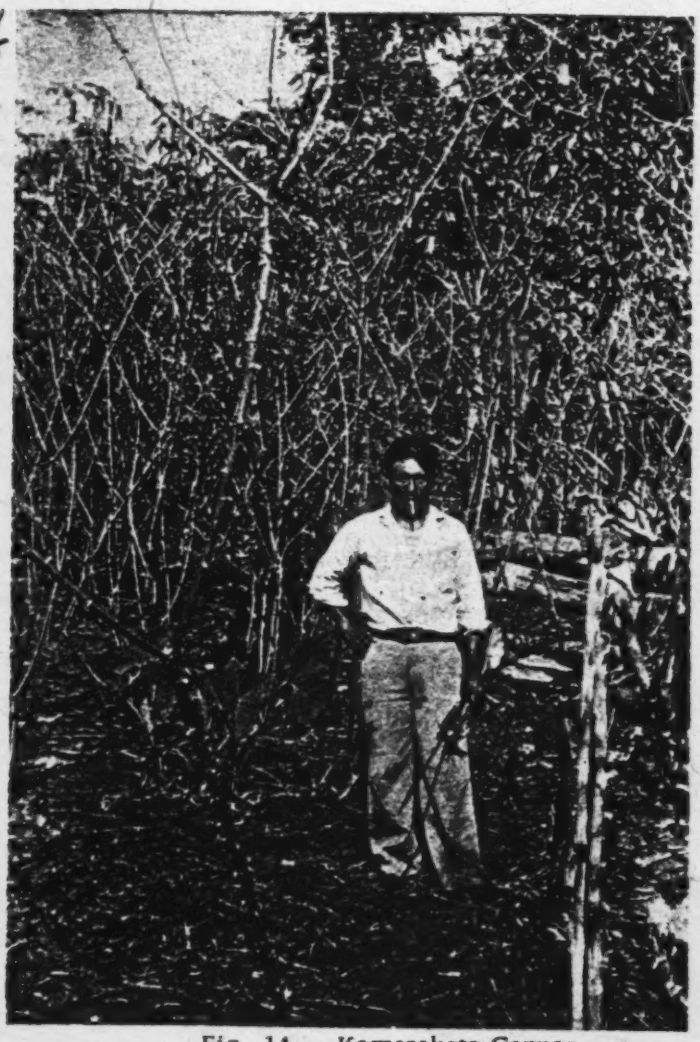

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po. inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1/2]

[see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]

1/2 [see vocabulary on pp. 54-89, category 11b - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremc, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see fnt note on pp. 319-20, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical- [283] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[82] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[204] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p 320, Category 11b - Analysis]

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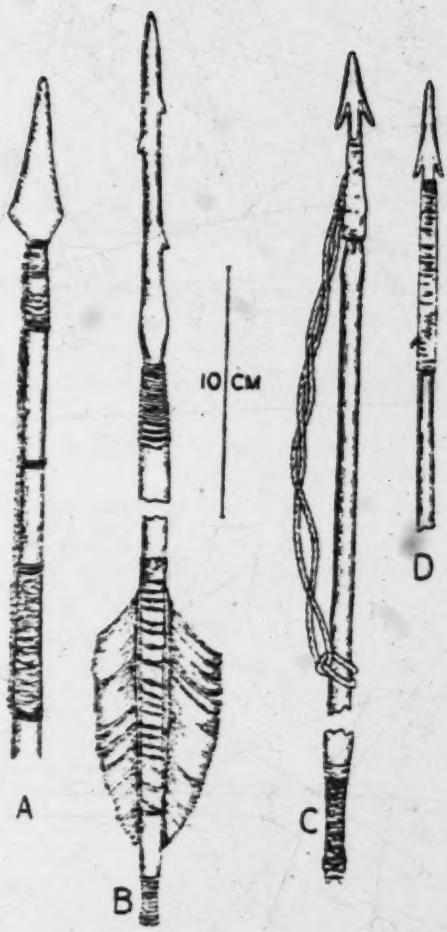

Fig. 16 — Kamarakoto Arrows.
A, distal end of a supalari, showing end of shaft and all of foreshaft and point.
B, tarau, with most of shaft omitted.
C, waibakasi, with most of shaft and proximal end of foreshaft omitted; the point and its looped cord are removable. D, panachika, point and distal end of foreshaft.

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[298] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
[325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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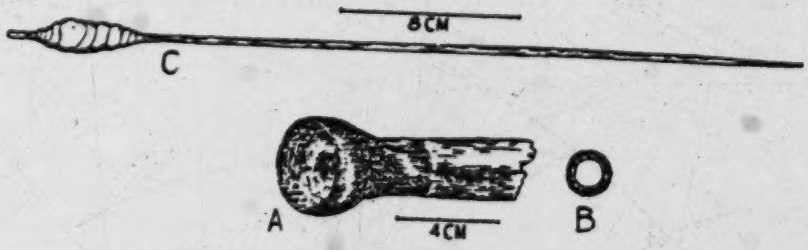

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blow-
gun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a
blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are
a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare
country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
[237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Re-
lated tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they
also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns
with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at
least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user.
A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can
easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great
length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro
and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38-40 cm. in length, are
made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section,
2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is
rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts
are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown,
pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably,
casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison
is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of
poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mōiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form,
from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiʔ, uncoated and without a top,
is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw
of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiʔ, is attached to the top of quiver.
114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumatsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length, [82] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [223] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[114] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
[242] in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
[423] jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
[724] arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
[685] at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
[172] by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
[439] penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 11b - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 136]

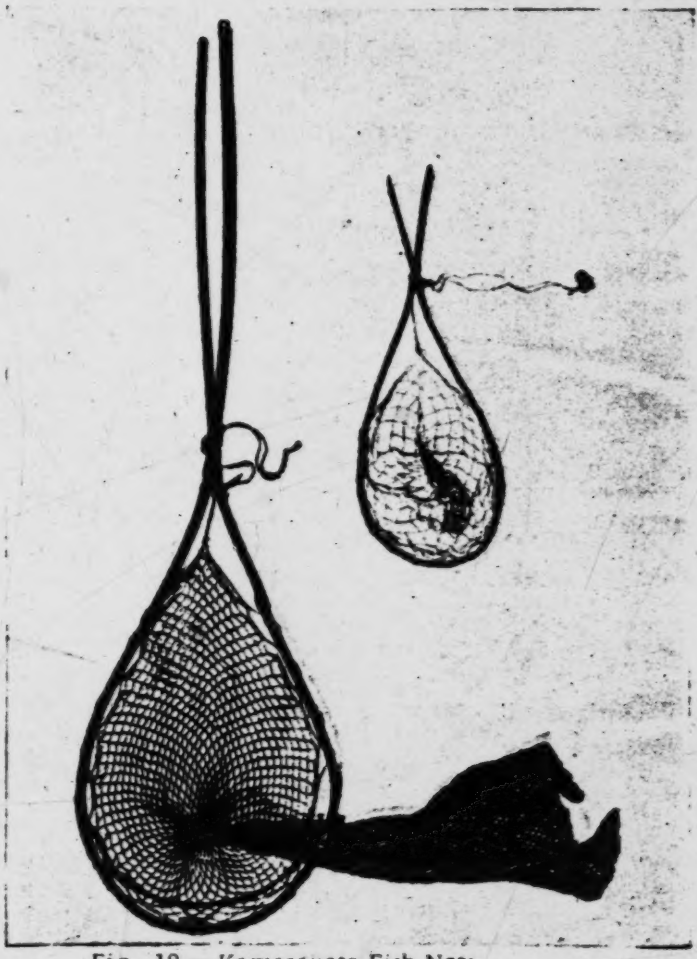

Fig. 18 — Kamarakoto Fish Nets.
A. iru[3]. B. pendə (tied to end of pole for use).

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iru') or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
165 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 137]

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Fig. 19 – Barbasco Fishing.
Carrying the prepared fish-poison (inɛ' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

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Fig. 20 — Barbasco Fishing.
Men beating the barbasco to liberate the poison in the water.

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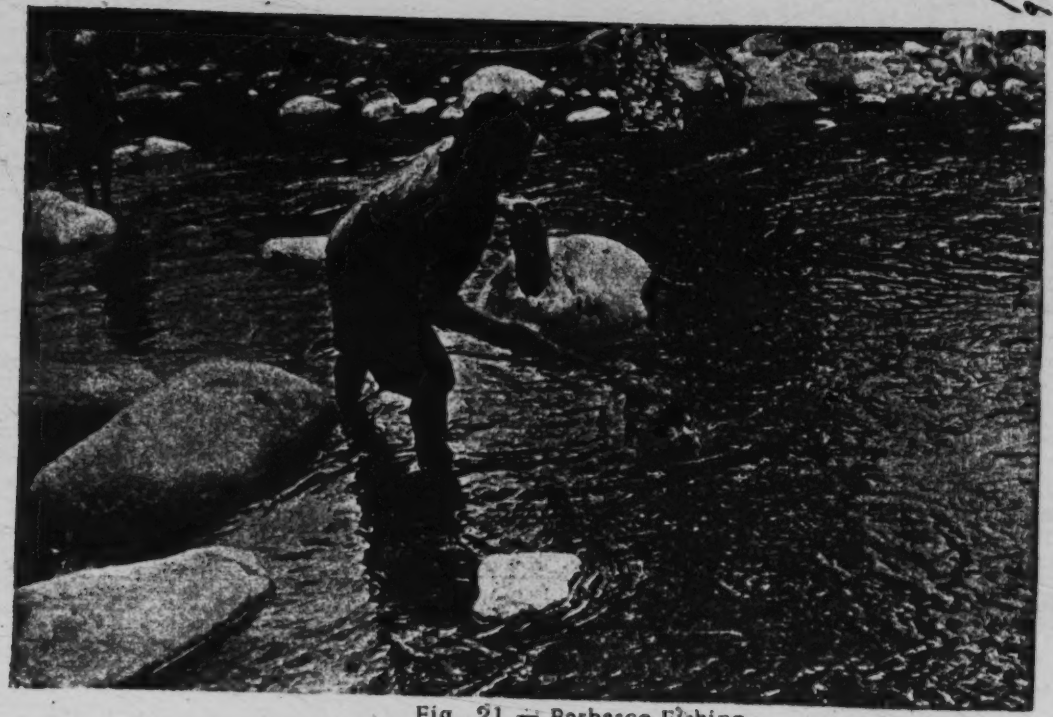

Fig. 21 — Barbasco Fishing.
Woman gathering disabled fish with a net (iru').

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Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsɨ, are first scraped with a knife and then
4/2 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaɨri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

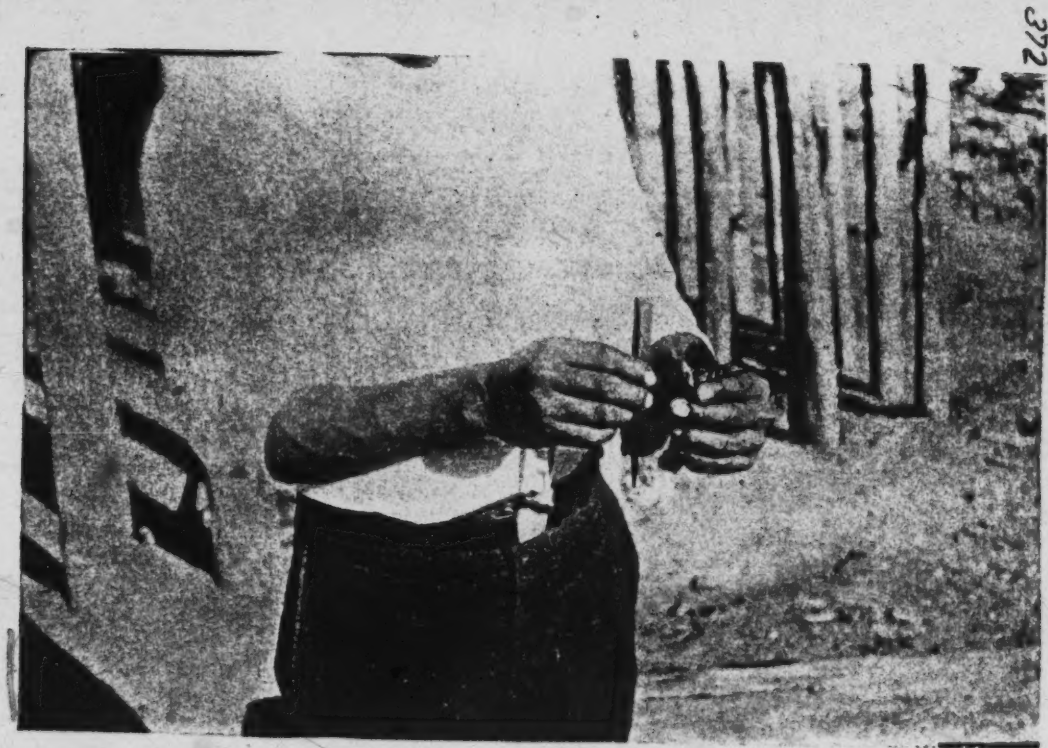

Fig. 23 – Kamarakoto Fire-making.
Use of flint (local jasper), steel (a triangular file) and tinder (a thick roll of native cotton).

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Fig. 24 — Grating Cassave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samairi, into a trough (moru).

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Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán; but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõiʔ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõiʔ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʔ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

257 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
[263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
[171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an intro-
[174] duced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analyst]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

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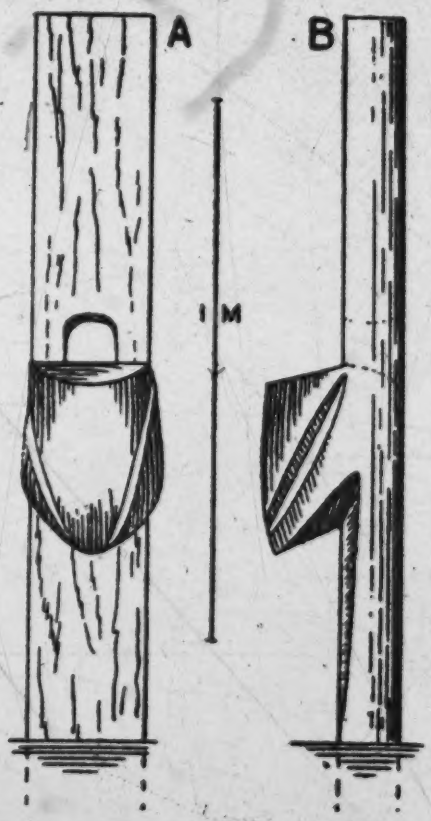

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A, front view. B, side view.

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or muffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

4/2 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers
177 and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of
177 wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced
178 by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The
[324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned
[42] under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and
[252] puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles
[P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[285] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina.
[252] These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless
[531] an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

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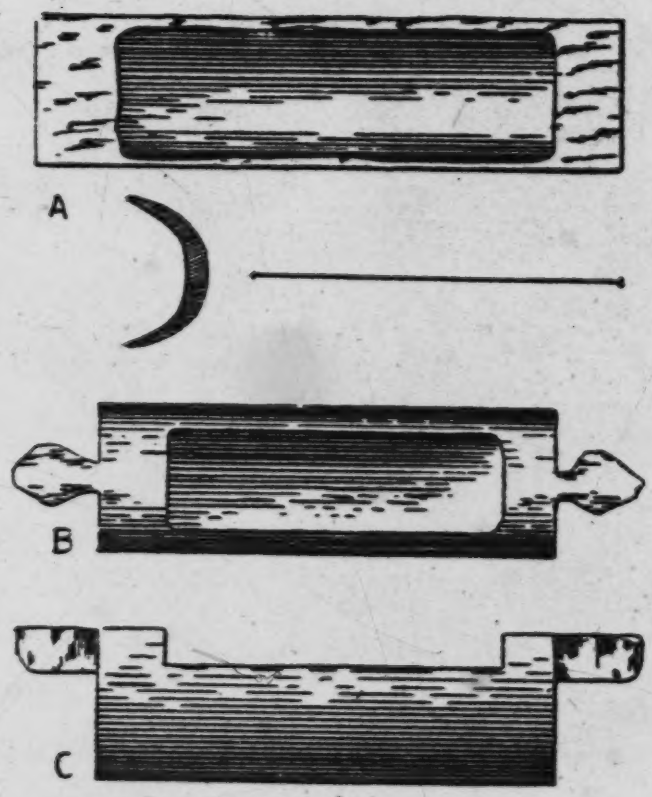

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, moru, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 438 [462] Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this region since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable

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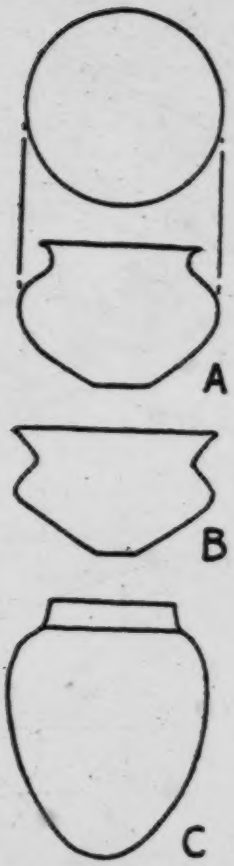

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
412 gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoi, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

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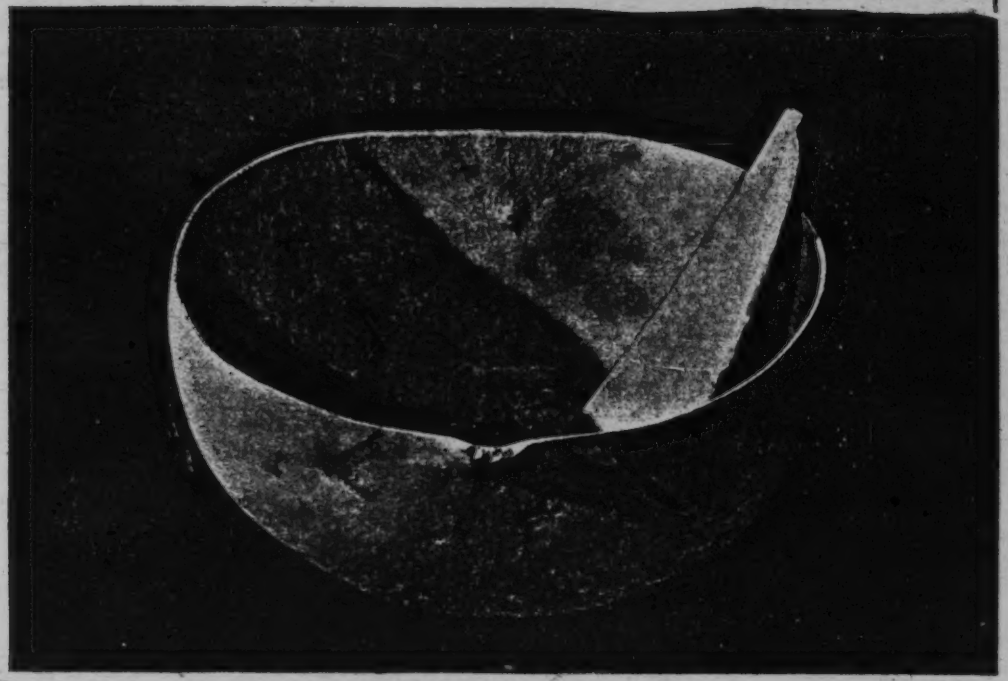

Fig. 29 — Kamarakoto Calabash Bowl and Spoon.
A kamo' with a koireka in it.

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi⁹, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

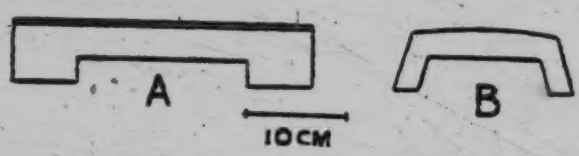

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi⁹, hewn from a single block of wood.

[513] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[182] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangõˀ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiˀ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o. olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoˀ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiˀ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koatai) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaˀ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[4/7] ·ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, [173] gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] [437] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
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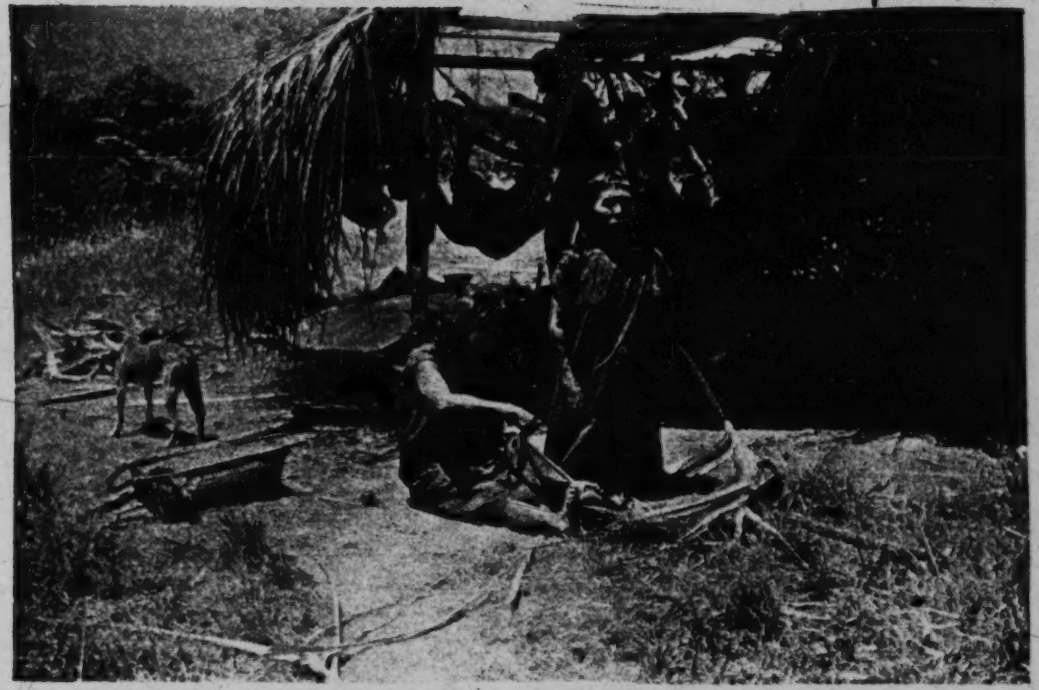

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-akaːmüi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p 322, category 11b - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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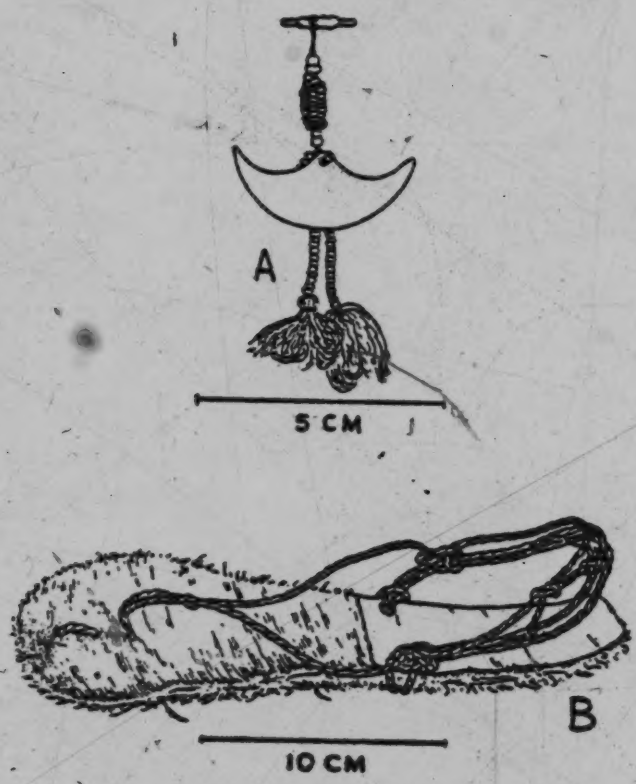

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal. A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 11b - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[285] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[404] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[531] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

174
114 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of
291 believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be sup-
291 posed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea
177 verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to
114 his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for
291 loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekumas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:-nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 11b - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

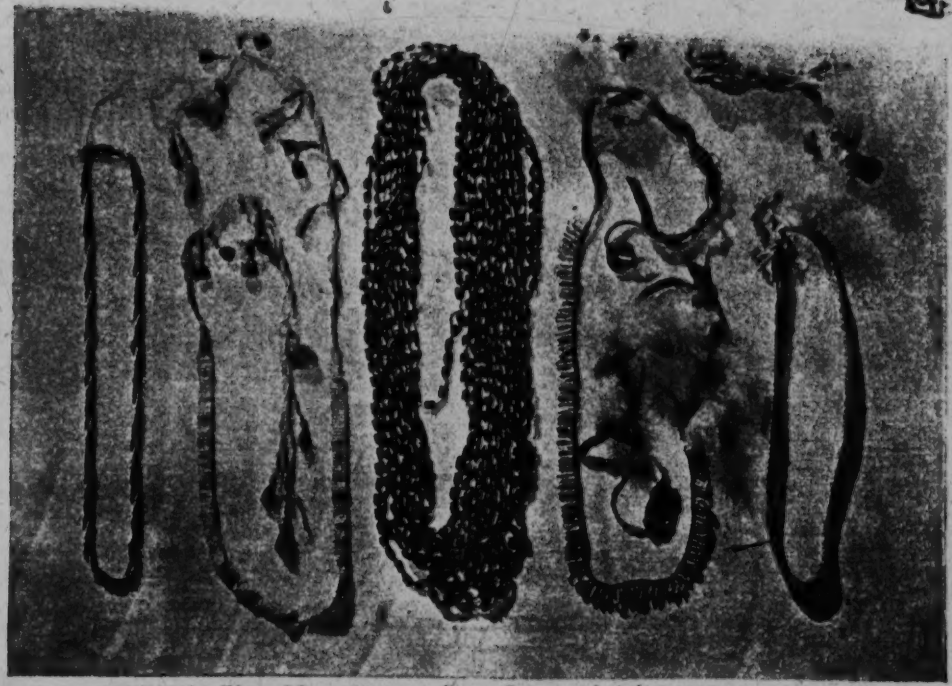

Fig. 33 — Kamarakoto Personal Adornment.

A, a man's belt of twisted strands of red, white, and blue beads. B, flat white bead-band necklace with streamers and tassels. C, multiple single-strand necklace of white beads and brown seeds. D, festooned white bead necklace with tassels and down-puffs. E, woven cotton woman's dance head-dress with back streamer with down-puffs.

301 177 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichiʔ is [237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregaːnsa and the yaichiʔ are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuːru-pregaːnsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 184 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. [304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.

301 304 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.

301 The most prized type of pendant, panadainoʔ, and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away [15] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[5] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [See footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analport]

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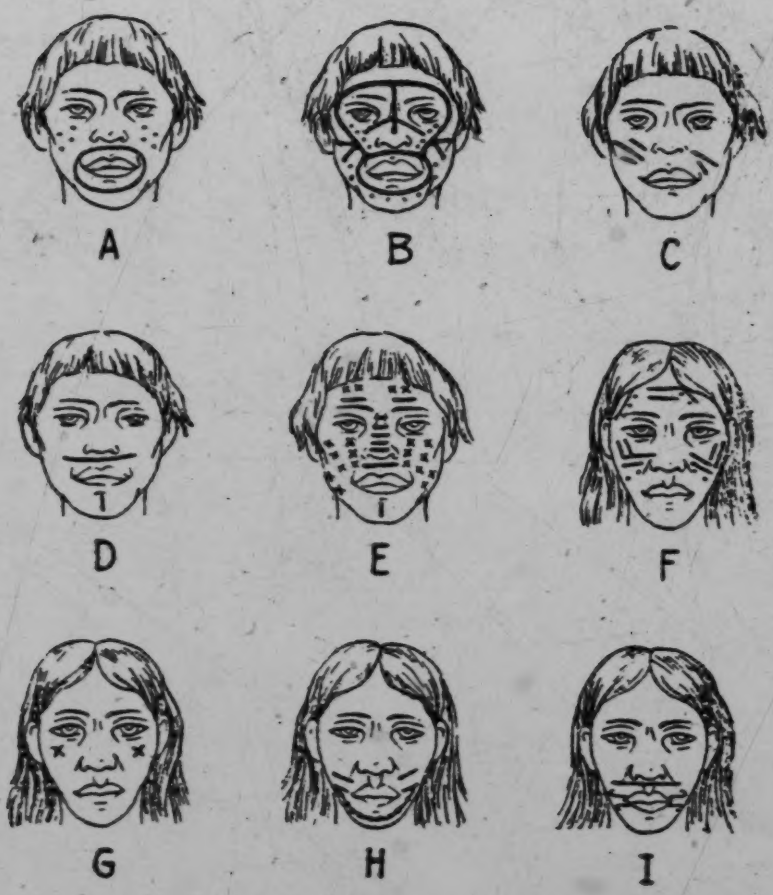

Fig. 34 — Arekuna Face Painting and Tattooing.
A - H, Kamarakotos. A, adolescent male, caruto painting. B, adolescent male, caruto painting. C, young boy, onoto painting. D, adult male, caruto painting. E, adult male, caruto painting, worn by drummer at dance. F, young female, whole face smeared with onoto and design applied over this with caruto. G, adult female, tattooing. H, adult female, tattooing. I, Taurepán, tattooed adult female with typical Taurepán hook pattern not seen among Kamarakotos.

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karōi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberō. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberō, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawōri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberō.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[11] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

Materials.

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128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly – cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic – necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

286 "III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoɔ, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thum and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

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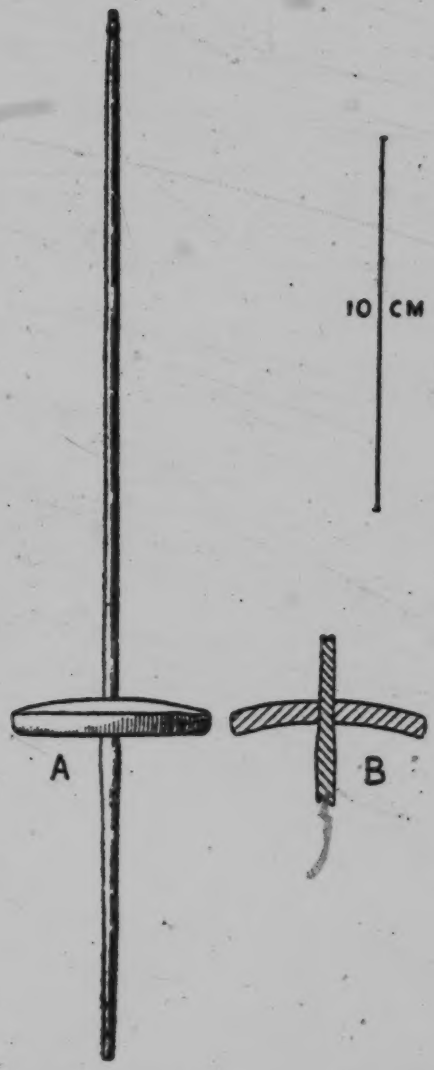

Fig. 35 — Kamarakoto Spindle.
A, side view of spindle. B, partial cross section showing fitting of whorl on spindle.

[824] The whorl is discoidal, undecorated, and usually is a thick but light piece of calabash with the convex side up. It is considerably nearer the lower than

283 the upper end. The upper, working, end does not have a hook but a head, a
[170] slight double swelling formed by notching. This is a common type of spindle among the coast Caribs and the Motilones, and it is remarkably like many Bolivian spindles, but it is curiously unlike the Taurepán spindle which, according to Koch-Grünberg, has the whorl, which is usually decorated, near the middle and has a hook. It is still less like the Maquiritare type, which is much larger and is used horizontally and not dropped.

In use, the unspun cotton is held in the left hand, the spindle is started rotating by rolling the lower shaft (below the whorl) on the right thigh with the right hand, and it is then dropped, still whirling (Fig. 36). Tension is kept up by the left hand and by the weight of the spindle when dropped. This is the procedure also of the Taurepánes, despite their different spindle, and of most of the other tribes of this region but not, as has been noted, of the Maquiritares.

In all the Kamarakoto spun cotton that I have examined the spinning is to the left, i.e., when the thread is held horizontally the fibers (in the basic
[171] single strand) run from left-up to right-down. This is true also of the Taurepánes and Maquiritares and probably of Caribs generally, as far as the point has been determined, but the non-Carib Bakaïrís, who have given their name to this general type of spindle, spin to the right and so do many other tribes. Left-spinning is not exclusive to the Caribs but it is certainly one of their striking characteristics.

The single strand thread resulting from one spinning is, if well-made, very fine and rather weak and it is almost never used in this form. Usually two strands are attached and are twisted together on another spindle, making a two-ply twine. This spinning is always in the opposite direction, i.e. to the right, which keeps the first twist tight. Two two-ply strands are often twisted again, this time to the left, to make a composite four-ply twine, a double two-ply. A straight three-, four-, five-, and up to eight- (or even more) ply twine may also be made by one twist, to the right, from the basic strands and various combinations occur. A 21-ply heavy cord made from three 7-ply strands is not uncommon, and I have seen a piece of 93-ply cord, as strong as rope, made of three twists of thirt-one strands each, but I am not certain that this was Kamarakoto although so informed by the Indians. This heaviest twining is not done on a spindle but is rolled on the thigh with the palm of the hand.

All these native twines are remarkably fine and uniform and sometimes can hardly be distinguished from a machine-made cotton twine.

Moriche and curagua twines are not made with a spindle but are rolled on the right thigh with the right hand while the fibers are fed and tension adjusted with the left hand. Long strings finer and stronger than those of cotton may thus be made and like cotton twine they are usually of more than one ply, with about the same repertory as for cotton. With these fibers, however, and especially curagua, the number of individual fibers in the basic strand can be more exactly

[text continues on p. 163]

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekumas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[329] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[174] [162] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[171] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[126] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

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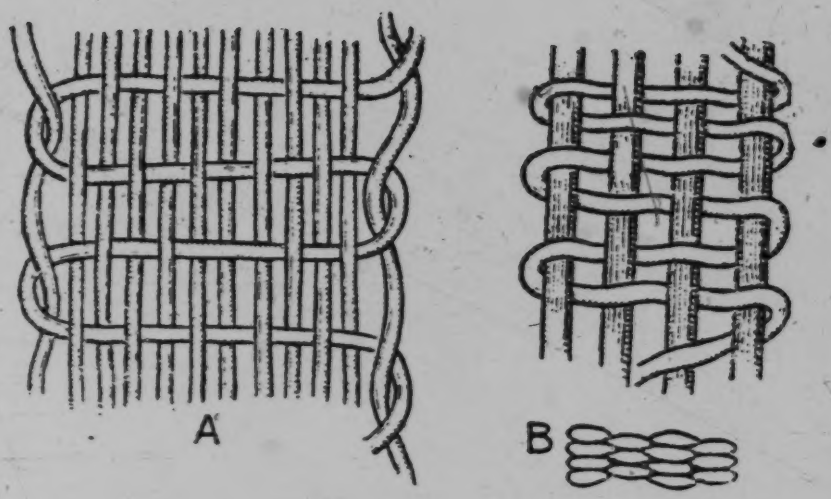

Fig. 37 — Kamarakoto Woven Thread Textiles.
A, strap weave with equally flexible warp and weft; when the fabric is closed the surface is formed by the warp. B, band or headdress weave with relatively inflexible warp; in the actual closed fabric the surface is formed by the weft, as shown below. These are diagrams to show the weave. In the actual object the threads are, of course, twisted and the fabric is closed and tight. The headband in Fig. 33E is woven like B of this figure and the carrying strap in Fig. 43A like A of this figure.

formed wholly by the weft and thus consists of a number of longitudinal ridges, almost always four, each composed of transverse strands. In the other variety, producing somewhat wider and decidedly flatter bands generally used as carrying straps, for instance on a pakara, warp and weft are of the same character, almost always simple two-ply threads. Here the weft is essentially straight in the finished fabric and the warp forms the surface, which thus has numerous transverse ridges composed of longitudinal strands.

The process used to make hammocks is fundamentally unlike true weaving, although it uses a crude loom, and the name loom-twining seems most appropriate for it. The loom is the simplest conceivable and is barely worthy of the name, consisting only of two upright posts set in the ground. The continuous warp strand is wrapped around this in an elongate spiral until the necessary width is reached, and the warp is thus horizontal and as originally stretched has one set of strands in front of and another behind the posts. The weft consists of

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekumas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

143 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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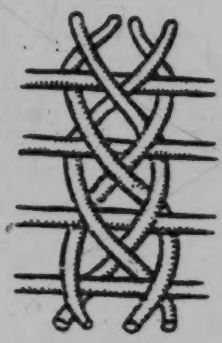

Fig. 38 — Kamarakoto Hammock Crosstie. Diagram showing how the four-strand crosstie holds the longitudinal warp strands of the hammock. In the actual hammock the warp strands, here shown as single for clarity, are always double.

286 171 Nordenskiöld calls this technique Tumupasa, from a group of Tacana-speaking Indians northeast of Lake Titicaca, who use it, and he shows that it has a very curious distribution: in the Guiana region here considered and in the far southwestern part of the Amazon Basin (Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 26). It is barely conceivable that so complex a technique could have arisen independently in these two areas, but no satisfactory explanation has been given for its occurrence in two regions so separate geographically, culturally and racially.

286 In this technique there is no distinction of warp and weft. All the strands are placed on the loom in the same direction and all are treated in the same way, intertwining them with each other, so that the process is pure plaiting and not weaving even though a loom is used: This loom consists of two crossed sticks, like a large X, with a transverse stick tied across each end (Fig. 41). A new loom is improvised when needed and no care is taken in their manufacture except to see that the transverse bars are smooth so that the thread slips on them easily. The thread is tightly wound in a long spiral around these end pieces just as, on a much larger scale, the hammock warp is wound. When in use, one end of the loom is grasped with the toes and the other end rests on the knees or upper legs, leaving the hands free for plaiting (Fig. 42).

To make the simplest pattern, one-over-one, the first thread (on the worker's left side) is passed under the second, then drawn above it and looped over the fingers (first finger or first two or three) of the left hand. Then the

[text continues on p. 169]

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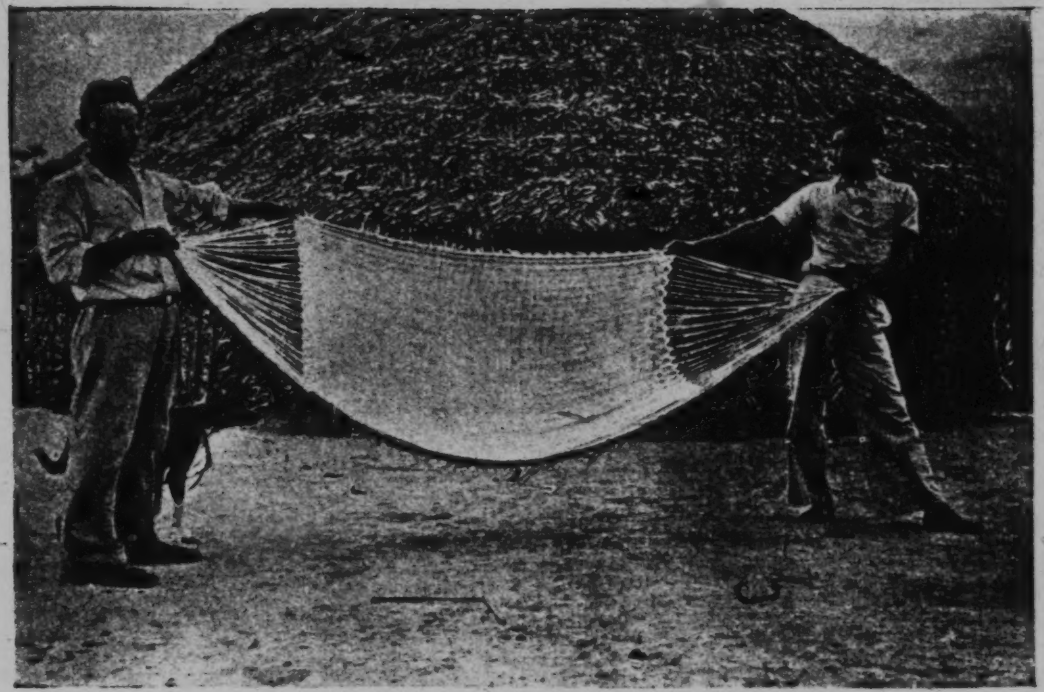

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 40 – Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

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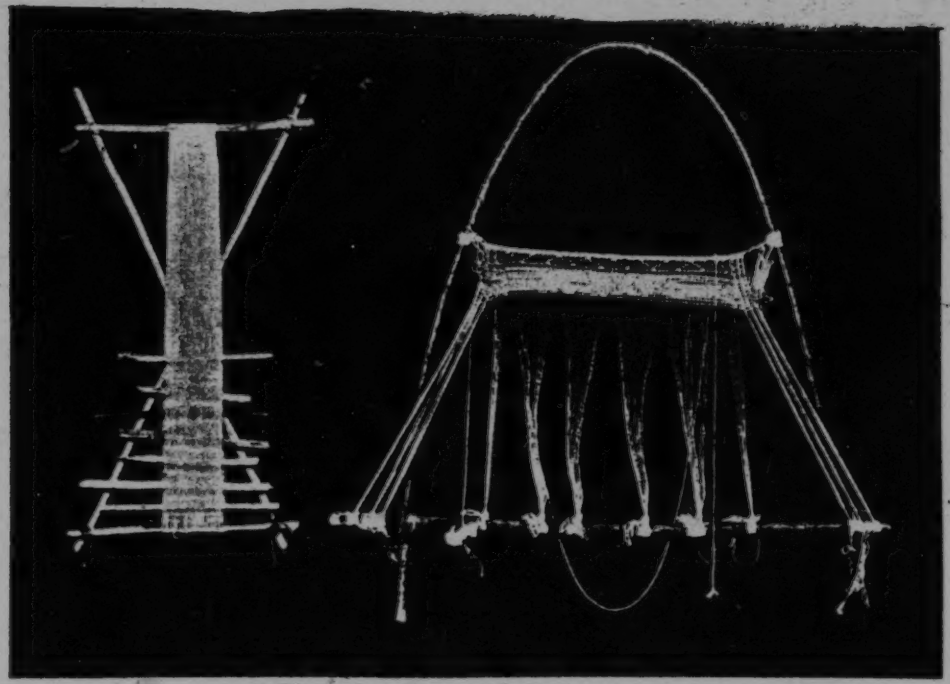

Fig. 41.– Kamarakoto Looms.
A, plaiting loom; the plaiting is done with the fingers at the upper end where a section of finished fabric can be seen (this is much narrower than the slings usually made on such a loom). B, bead apron loom; the upper border and part of the adjacent body of the apron are completed.

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Fig. 42 – Kamarakoto Plaiting Loom.
The loom in Fig. 41 A is here shown in use.

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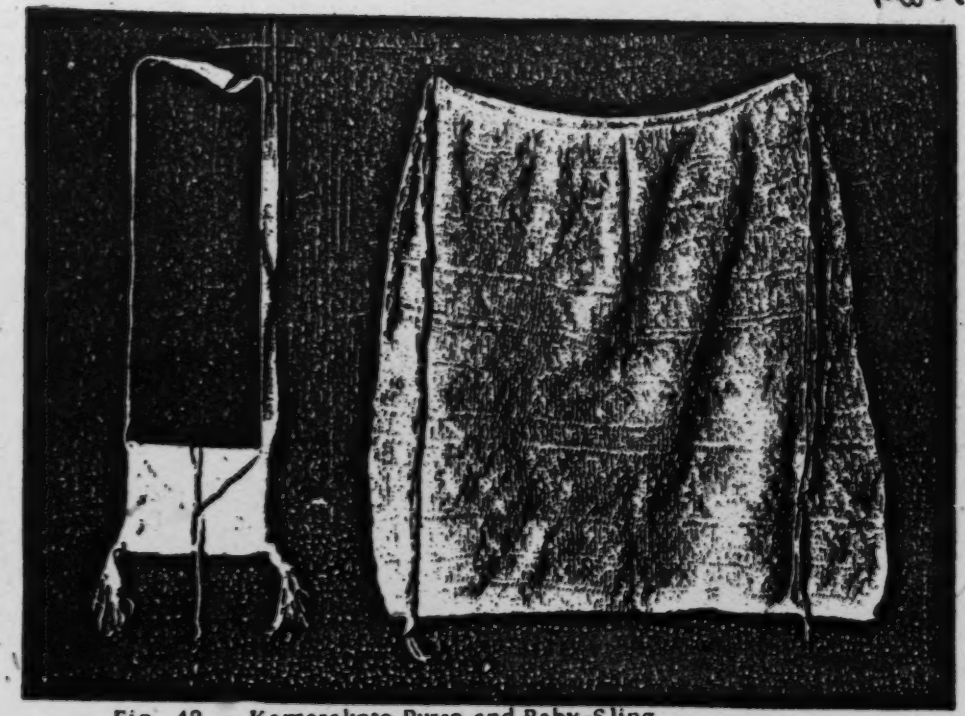

Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A, cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B, cotton baby-sling.

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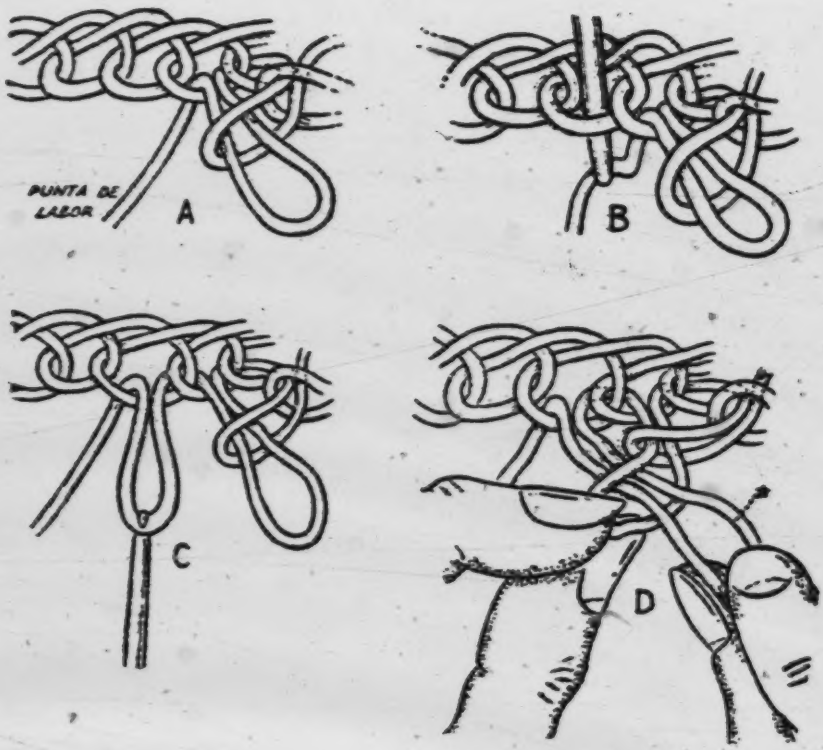

Fig. 44 – Kamarakoto One-needle Crocheting.
In the stage of work shown, the starting chain (top) has been made and the second row is being crocheted. A, work with free loop left from last operation. B, needle is inserted through chain (or last row) and catches working end of thread. C, new loop is pulled through with needle. D, new loop is slipped through former loop with fingers; by pulling on the thread at the point marked with a star, the work is now tightened and the condition seen in A again appears, one stitch farther to the left. The body of the pouch in Fig. 43A is made in this way, as are also some of the leg bands visible on the women in various photographs.

286 third thread is similarly twisted on the fourth, the fifth on the sixth, etc., until the right-hand side is reached. Obviously there must be an even number of strands for this pattern, and in fact the number used is always a multiple of four in order to allow of variations using two strands at once.

When the edge is reached, a smooth, round piece of wood is inserted in place of the fingers, pulled toward the near end of the frame to tighten the fabric, then the left fingers are inserted between the front and back strands on the near side of the stick. The front strands, starting now at the right edge, are successively slid off the finger while between each a back strand is picked up and placed on the fingers of the right hand, in such a way as to twist each back strand across and then above a front strand, just as was done the first time across but now working in the reverse direction. On reaching the other (now the left) side, another stick is inserted and the process is repeated, back and forth from one side to the other.

When the number of sticks becomes so great (commonly ten or twelve) that too much tension is produced, the farthest stick is pushed right around the end of the frame and up its other side until the twist in the strands that it pushes ahead of it reaches, at the near end, that put in and held by the fingers, and then the stick is removed. Then the second, third, etc., sticks are similarly slid around and removed, leaving only two or three in place, and the plaiting proceeds as before. Thus on the back, or under side, of the frame the sticks produce a fabric at the same time that the fingers do on the upper side which is equal in amount to that formed on top, on the near side of the fingers, and is an exact mirror image of the latter. In order to keep the working place conveniently near the body, the whole completed part of the fabric can, from time to time, be slid around to the lower side of the frame.

When the fingers have thus plaited what amounts to the full length of one side of the frame, the sticks have produced an equal amount and the whole thing is completely plaited in a continuous circular band. If, now, the last sticks were removed, the two reversed halves would run into each other and the plaiting would quickly unravel. It is necessary to insert a join or lock between the two. This may be done by replacing the last two, three or four sticks with transverse strings, or, more elegantly, by a crosstie similar to the plaited hammock crosstie described above. In either case the transverse locking strings are tied together at the edge of the band and their long ends are left dangling. Not uncommonly these ends are decorated with tassels, bead streamers, seeds, etc.

The simple one-over-one pattern described is seldom used, as a matter of fact. The commonest patterns are one-over-two and two-over-two. In the one-over-two pattern a single thread is twisted under or over the next two, etc., across the band. The two-over-two is exactly like the one-over-one except that pairs of threads are used each time instead of single threads. By

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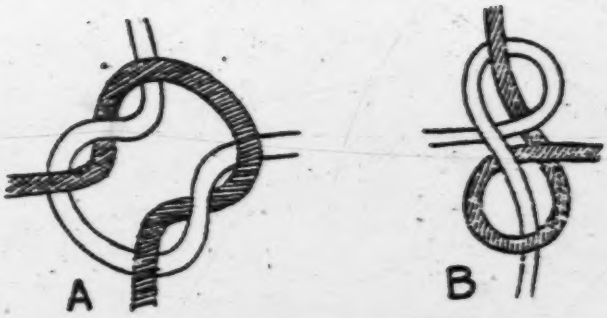

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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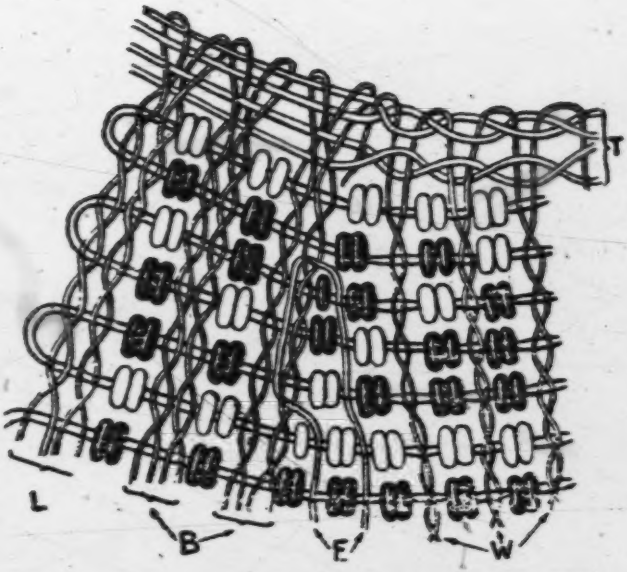

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb [293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the [227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]
[text continues on p. 174]

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Fig. 47 — Kamarakoto Bead Aprons.

Four typical bead aprons, motsa or mosa. The upper apron, for a small girl, is mainly white with red, white, and blue borders and a blue bead belt. The second is mainly blue with blue and white borders and red beads along top of fringe. The other two are plain blue with blue and white borders. In all four the cotton fringe is irregularly smeared pink or red.

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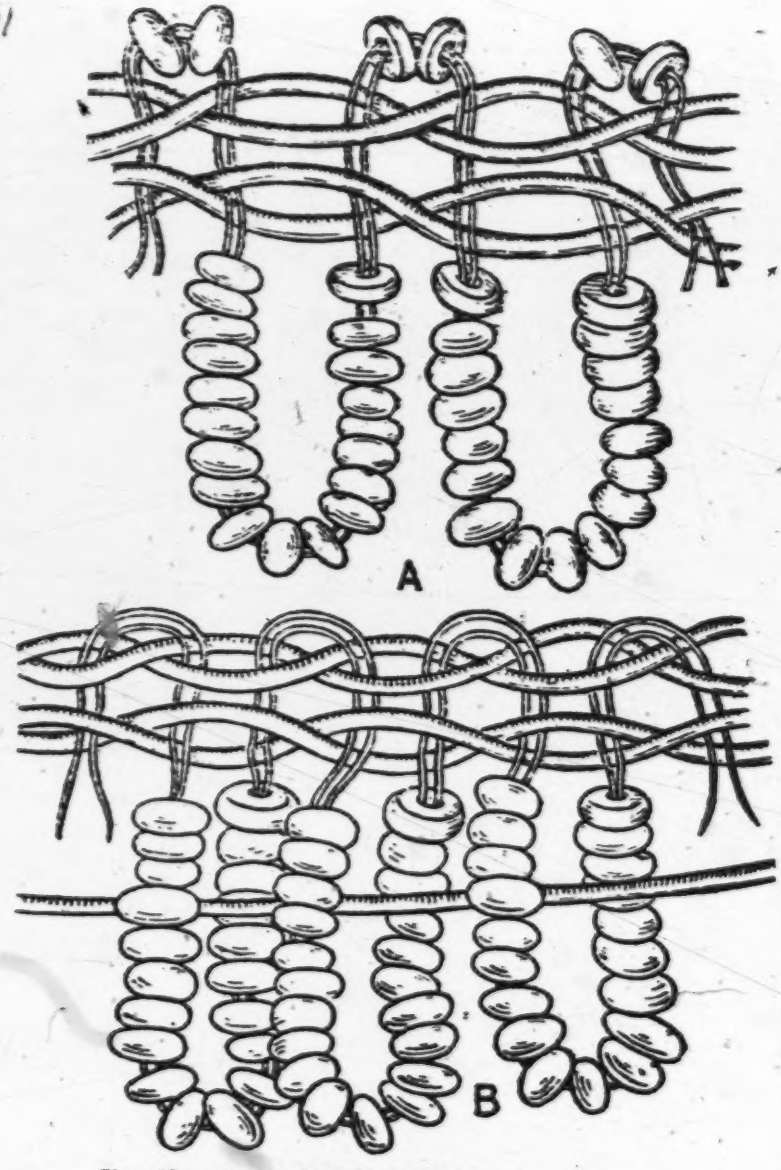

Fig. 48 — Kamarakoto Bead Necklace Technique.
A, B, two types of festooned necklaces. In the finished necklace the work is drawn tight and is shown here in a diagrammatic way for clarity. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is made by this technique.

Beadwork.

286 Beaded textiles form a distinct class because the beads are integral parts of the fabric and not merely applied in a textile that would be self-sustaining without them. The rigid hole of the bead joins threads or permits a change in their direction without the threads themselves necessarily interlocking in any way, as is necessary in all textiles without beads.

The most complicated and important beadwork is the construction of the mosa or woman's apron. (See Fig. 46) This is woven on a loom made by bending a flexible stick into a wide inverted U and tying a straight stick across near the ends (Fig. 41 B). A bundle of four stout cotton strings is tied across this frame in its upper part, the ends left long and tied to the frame temporarily — they later become or are attached to the belt by which the apron is suspended. Warp strands, each a lightly twisted two-ply cotton thread, are tied into this in a manner analogous to the simpler four-strand hammock crosstie and exactly like the tie for festooned bead necklaces. (Fig. 48). A bundle of four warp strands on each side is tied at the end of the crossbar, outside the curved frame, to form the edges of the apron, and a second bundle of four, and sometimes a third or an additional bundle of two, is tied in the same place on each side medial to these border strands. As the weft is applied, it is worked into the edge strands so that they form a tie on the weft like the top crosstie on the warp and make a finished edge. Two beads on each weft strand are left between this and the next bundle of four warp strands and if there is a third bundle two beads are similarly left between it and the second bundle and these bundles are tied in like the edge bundle or, if there are only two strands in the third bundle, with a simple spiral twist like the simplest two-strand hammock tie (as described by Roth, for instance — the Kamarakotos themselves do not use a two-strand tie in hammocks).

The beads are strung on two strands of very fine two-ply cotton thread, the two strands being kept separate although strung together through each bead. A meter or so may be strung at one time. These strung beads form the weft. In the cases I have seen, the work is speeded up by working in two distinct weft strands at once, then doubling back with both. In descriptions of similar work among related tribes only one weft strand is mentioned.

The way of working the weft strands in the border bundles of warp strands has already been mentioned. In the main body of the apron the process is different. Here the warp strands not in use are lightly tied in several (five, six, or more) bundles on the crossbar to keep them from snarling. To work in the weft, the appropriate warp bundle is untied and the first warp strand of the bundle run between the two threads on which the beads are strung, then the next warp strand is run through, and so on, in each case leaving two beads between adjacent warp strands.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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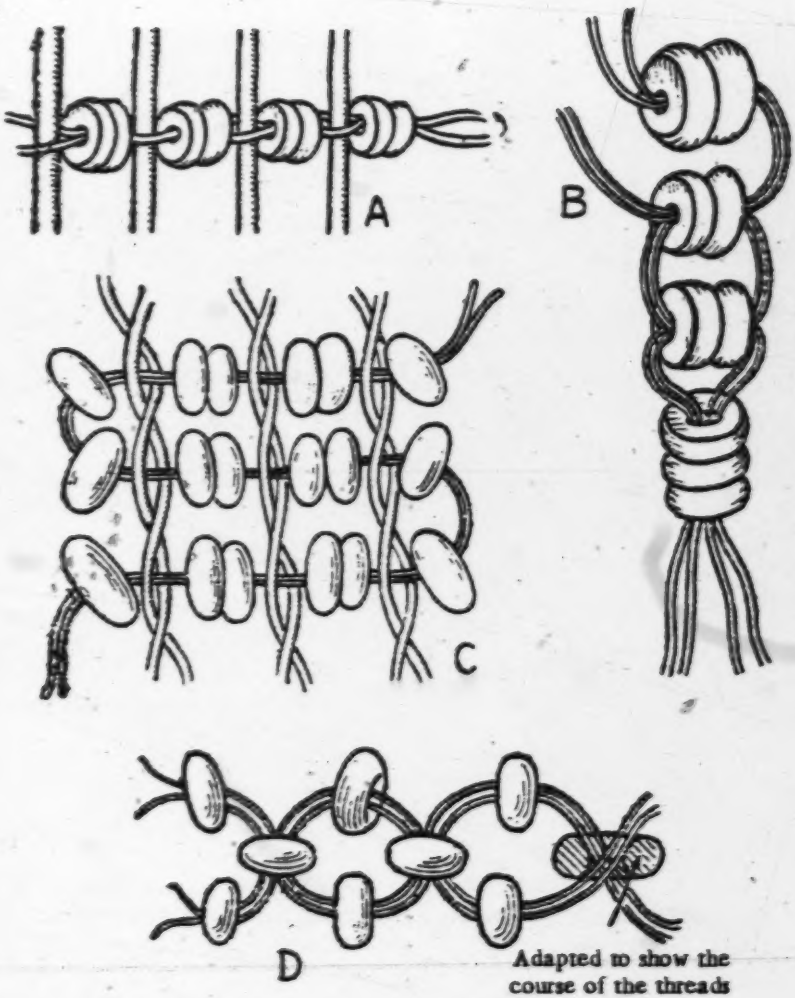

Fig. 49 — Kamarakoto Bead Technique.
A. the basic fabric (apron) technique. see Fig. 46. B. C. D. various necklace techniques. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is woven by the technique shown here in C.

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture,

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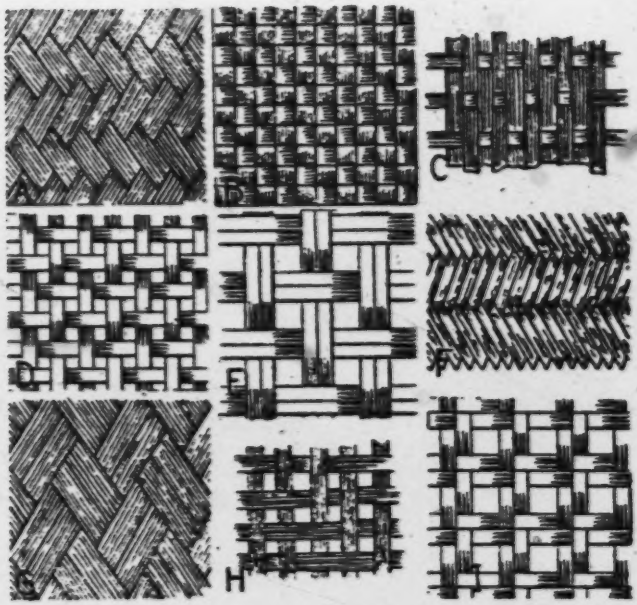

Fig. 50 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise noted.

A, One-over-two twilled woven plaiting. B, closed checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C, half-open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. D, open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Sinai.) E, open, two-over-two, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Patamona.) F, all-over, one-over-four, twilled woven plaiting. G, all-over, two-over-three, twilled woven plaiting. H, all-over, open, single-strand, one-over-two twilled woven plaiting. I, all-over, open, paired-interwoven-strand twilled woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.)

*285 nor do they use special baskets for religious purposes, or in connection with burial rites.

[128] In attempting a summary of this abundant and complex material it is convenient to consider first the basic techniques involved, the way in which the materials are united to form basketry textiles, and next the forms, functions, and nomenclature of the objects produced. Basketry is here taken to include all textile work made of untwisted materials, as opposed to the thread-textiles and thread-and-bead textiles, and so includes such things as mats and trays that are not, strictly speaking, baskets.

*285 114 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, †. Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------PLAITING.

*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)----------Plain Plaiting.

†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]----------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

*1 over 2.

Etc.

*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)----------Woven Plaiting.

*1. Elements in two directions

*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

†Closed

*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

*1 over 1

*1 over 2

Etc.

146 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

*285 †Open (both sets of elements). (Oblique and rectangular varieties occur, but the difference is probably not essential.)

† 1 over 1

† 2 over 2

Etc.

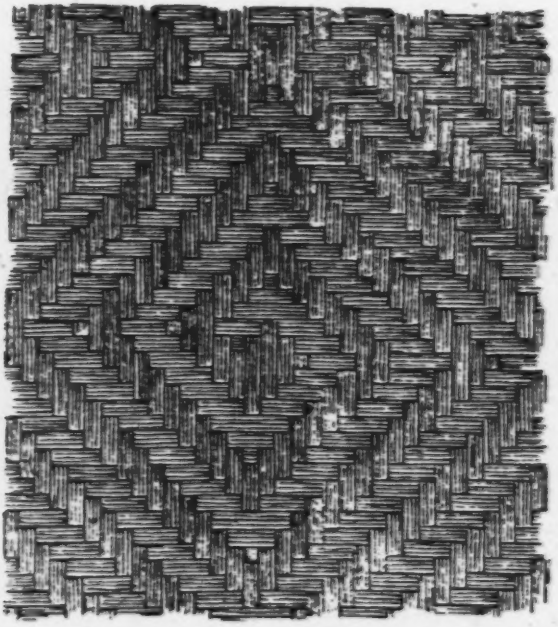

Fig. 51 — Kamarakoto Basketry Technique. Typical section of twilled woven plaiting with an internal pattern.

*b. Stepped complexly alternating quadrangles------ Twilled Woven Plaiting.

*With all-over pattern (constant over-and-under formula)

*Closed

†1 over 2

*1 over 3

*1 over 4

*2 over 3

Etc.

*285

*Open
*Single strands
*1 over 2
†1 over 3
Etc.
† Paired interwoven strands
*With internal pictorial pattern (varied over-and-under formula).
(Always closed)

*2. Elements in more than two directions------Lattice woven plaiting.
*a. Additional elements crossing a quadrangular base-----Crossed quadrangular lattice.
*Base strands untwilled.
† Elements in three directions
(only single-crossed variety recorded).[147]
*Elements in four directions
*Singly crossed (leaving some open squares)
†Doubly crossed in one direction
*Base strands twilled.
†Base of paired interwoven strands
† Elements in three directions
† Elements in four directions
*Base of single strand, slightly open, all-over twill.
*Base twilled
*b. Hexagonal basic pattern (all with elements in three directions)----------Hexagonal lattice.
*Base strands single (or two-ply treated as one)
*Without extra strands (leaving hexagonal openings)
*Extra strands in one direction
†Extra strands in two directions
*Extra strands in three directions
*Base of paired interwoven (twilled) strands
†2-ply in all directions
†3-ply in two directions and 2-ply in the other

*II. Relatively flexible active elements (weft) woven across relatively inflexible passive elements (warp)---------- -- WEAVING.
*A. Weft interlaced--- ----------Wicker Weave.
*1. Warp in one direction
*a. Simple alternating quadrangles (usually one-over-one)---------- - -- - ------ ------Checked Wicker.
†b. Stepped or complexly alternating quadrangles (one-over-two, etc.)----------Twilled Wicker.

147 [see footnote on p.324, category 116 - Analyst]

*285

2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wicker.

†B. Weft twined (two or more intertwined strands in each weft element)----------Twined Weave.

†1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Twined Weave.

2. Warps in more than one direction---------- Lattice Twined Weave.

*C. Weft wrapped (single weft strand doubling around warp elements)----------Wrapped Weave.

1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Wrapped Weave.

*2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wrapped Weave.

†D. Weft locked or imbricate[148]----------Locked Weave.

III. Active element coiled, or coiled along a passive element-----COILING.

A. One element, jointly active and passive----------Crude Coil.

B. Separate active and passive elements----------Foundation Coil.[149]

*285 128 171 Recent classifications based on North American basketry usually recognize five main techniques: plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coiling, of which the second to fourth are often united as weaving and contrasted with coiling and with plaiting. Schmidt long ago pointed out that such a classification, excellent for most of North America, is very poor when South American baskets are included and that, indeed, the most common and typical of all South American baskets cannot properly be placed in any of these categories. They often have a relatively active (weft) and a relatively inactive (warp) set of elements, and so resemble weaving rather than plaiting, but they are not wicker in any usual use of that word and are not twined or wrapped in any possible sense of those words. On the other hand, they may be made with all the elements about equally "active" or "passive," and hence be considered as plaiting, but the technique and the result are not essentially unlike the more literally "woven" basketry and cannot logically be considered as in a different major category.

Schmidt maintains, and I think with considerable probability, that this most important class of South American basketry is genetically related to plaiting rather than to weaving even though in some variations it falls within some technical definitions of weaving. It probably arose from the still widely used plaiting of segments of palm leaves, left attached to their midrib, and developed in the direction of weaving when unattached fibers, particularly split reeds, were used. Such work did not develop over most of North America because its primitive material, palm leaves, was generally absent there, although some North American work converged toward it departing not from plaiting but from wicker weaving. Thus of the two techniques, even though

148, 149 [see footnotes on pp. 324-25, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 183]

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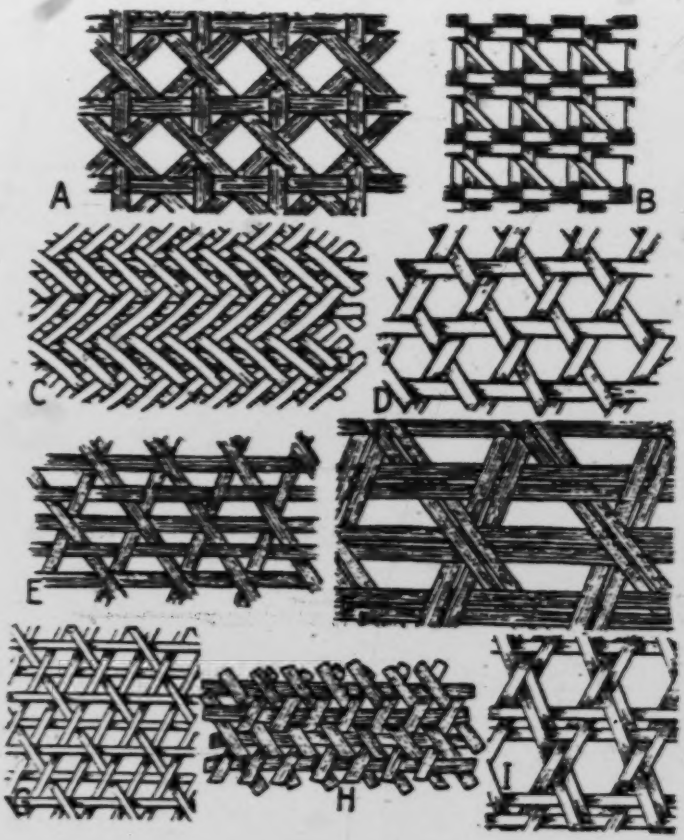

Fig. 52 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise stated.

A. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base strands untwilled, elements in four directions. B. Crossed quadrangular lattice, paired twilled base strands, elements in three directions. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base of single-strand one-over-three twill, crossed in one direction. D. Plain single-strand hexagonal lattice. E. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in one direction. F. Same as E but double-strand. G. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in two directions. (After Roth, tribe not designated.) H. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions. I. Two-ply hexagonal lattice of twilled, paired strands. (After Roth, tribe not specified.)

*285 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development
128 of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving
171 with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket
128 textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertinent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigidly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matustu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly
[286] rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of lattice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique really has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

150 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warraus, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp[151] is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285 171 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques, the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.[152] It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most *285 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of 171 what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples *285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnotes on p. 325, category 116a - Analyst]

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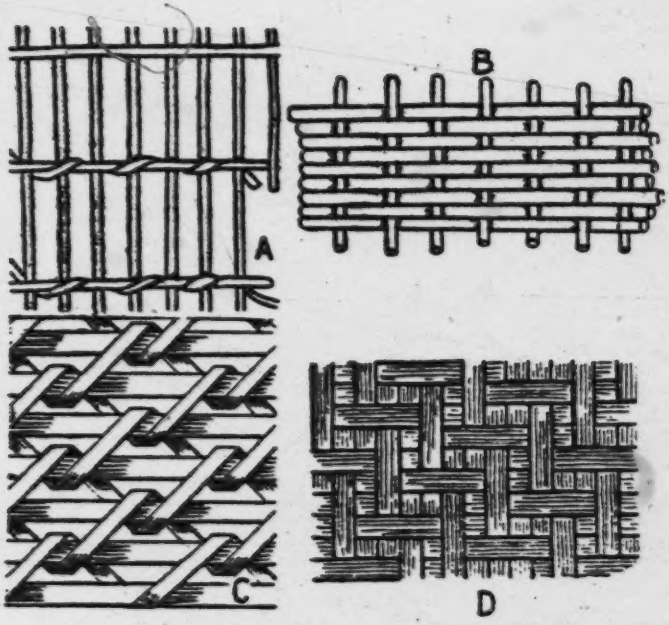

Fig. 53 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
A. Lattice wrapped weave (relatively stiff warp elements in two directions wrapped together by a flexible weft). Kamarakoto. B. Checked wicker. Kamarakoto. C. Locked weave. Tribe not specified (after Roth). D. An unusual, complex twill seen on a basket in use by Taurepánes, by some said to be made by that tribe and by others, said to be Makuchi, but surely Carib of the Roroima Region.

*285 to the various open twilled and lattice patterns and so is avoided by the more expert workers. The Kamarakotos do use a half-open checked woven plaiting (which, as will be understood by reference to the illustrations, Fig. 50 C, produces a weak closed fabric), but only as the inner layer of two-ply baskets and in some dubious examples that can better be classified as wicker weaving. It is never used for the main and independent fabric of a whole basket.

The only other conspicuous gaps in the Kamarakoto basketry repertory — and these may be known to someone in the tribe since they are everywhere relatively rare — are the crossed quadrangular lattices on a paired twilled base and multiple-strand twilled hexagonal lattices. These are complex patterns surely not beyond the skill of a Kamarakoto but with no incentive for

[text continues on p. 186]

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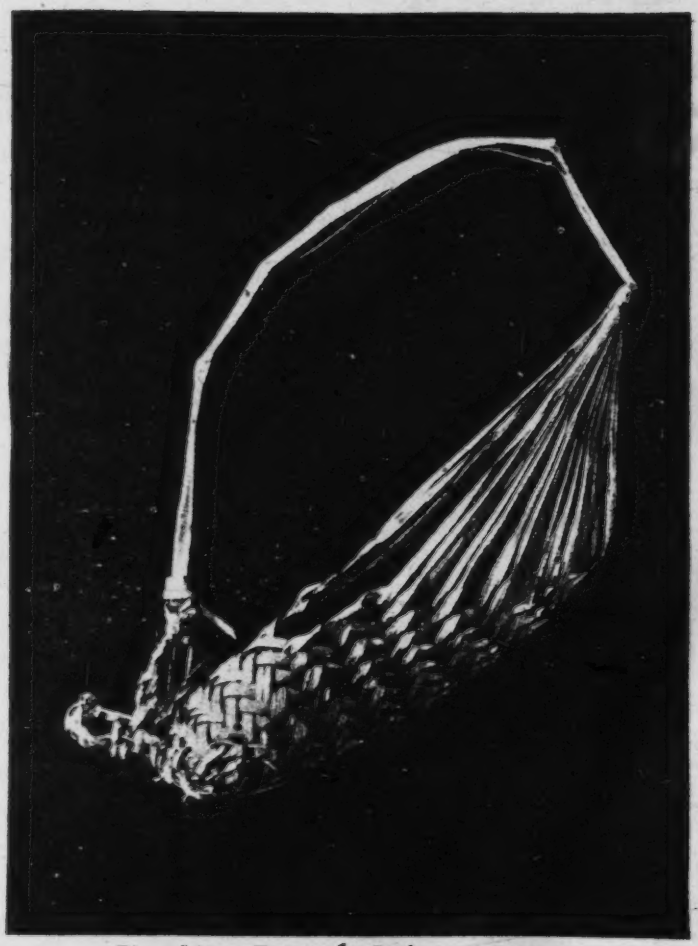

Fig. 54 — Taurepán Basket.

[824] A worokopɜ, variety of pakarama, made by plain plaiting of a single moriche palm leaf.

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Fig. 55 – Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

*285 their use since they serve no better, in some cases even worse, than the simpler lattices. The Taurepánes do rarely use a crossed quadrangular lattice with paired twilled base, but the hexagonal pattern with multiple-strand twilled base occurs among no close allies of the Kamarakotos and is exceedingly rare. I know of only two recorded examples, one reported by de Goeje (1906, Pl. IX, Fig. 12) from Dutch Guiana and one recorded by Roth (1924, Fig. 188) found in British Guiana but of unknown tribal origin.

*285 171 176 On the other hand the Kamarakotos probably use no basketry techniques that are entirely unknown to other tribes and it is doubtful whether they have originated anything in this field. Indeed it is almost impossible now to point to any tribe that can be said definitely to have originated a basketry technique. The whole complex has spread over the whole region, with some irregularity but without clear regard for tribal or geographic divisions. Some tribes are more skilled than others — the Kamarakotos rank very high but perhaps not at the top in this respect — and each group has some tendency to prefer certain techniques and to reject others more or less similar, so that despite the general diffusion of this basketry culture each local group can be separately characterized in these details. I have identified one Kamarakoto basketry weave that is at least rare if not wholly unknown elsewhere, but it is also rare among the Kamarakotos and it is unlikely that it is really confined to or was definitely originated by this tribe. (Fig. 52 C.)

*285 171 Articles made of basketwork. The following outline classification includes most, but not quite all, of the general classes of basketry objects used in this broad culture area with, of course, more detailed attention to those observed among the Kamarakotos. In cases where such an object of native manufacture was definitely seen in use among the Kamarakotos, its name is given.

I. Mats.
- A. Plain plaited.
  - Large door and floor mat----------kumara-katsa'.
- B. Woven plaited.
  - Twilled quadrangular fan or plate--------o. olori.

II. Trays (and sieves).
- A. Circular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - Fine, rail-edged, pictorial twill--------o:apa.
  - 2. Openwork.
- B. Quadrangular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - a. Edged mat.
    - b. Basket tray.
      - Basketry and rail-edged, with legs------maturtu.

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2. Part or all openwork (sieves).
Rail-edged, open twill----------pangaiʔ.

III. Sacks and allied forms.
A. Plain plaited.
Deep back-carrying bag----------wakawaʔ.
B. Woven plaited.

IV. Baskets, strictly speaking.
A. Hexagonal base.
Closer weave, extra weft strands.
Deep, without worked-in handle------waricha.
Less deep, with spirally wound loop handle----------warakapi.
More open weave, no extra weft strand. (otherwise like waricha)-------ɛno-saramba.
B. Circular or elliptical base.
1. Radiate foundation.
2. Vertebrate foundation.
Flask-shaped, wicker weave----------trimuiʔ.
3. Diaphragm foundation.
4. Unenclosed foundation.[153]
C. Conical base.
D. Rectangular base.
1. Openwork.
2. Closework.
a. Checked.
b. Wicker weave.
c. Twilled woven plaiting (hourglass).
aa. Base equidimensional.
Flask-shaped, rim flaring, not re-enforced------sokoʔ.
Bucket-shaped, rim not flaring, re-enforced-----wapa.
bb. Base elongate.
Chest with cover----------amartu.

V. Presses.
Cassave press----------tangõiʔ.

VI. Back-packs (knapsacks).
A. Openwork bottom----------akaiʔ.
B. Closework bottom----------koataiʔ.

VII. Quivers.
Blowgun-dart quiver----------mõi-yɛ.

VIII. Fish traps (or creels).
Wrapped lattice trap----------muroiʔ.

153 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] [79] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the amartu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
[127] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Maknchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Maknchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as tme weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

[171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ocapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

The casave sifter, pangai? (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized [171] basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern.

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

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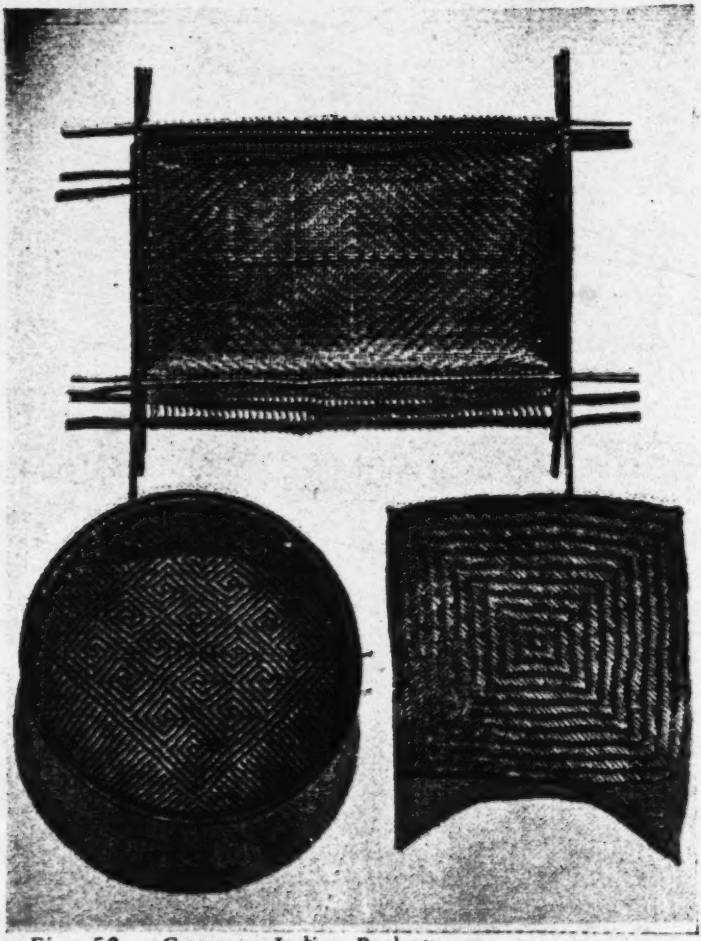

Fig. 56 — Guayana Indian Basketware.
A and C are Kamarakoto, B Maquiritare (Maiongon), in use among Kamarakotos and almost identical with some made by them. A, casave sifter, pangai'. B, o:apa. C, o.olori.

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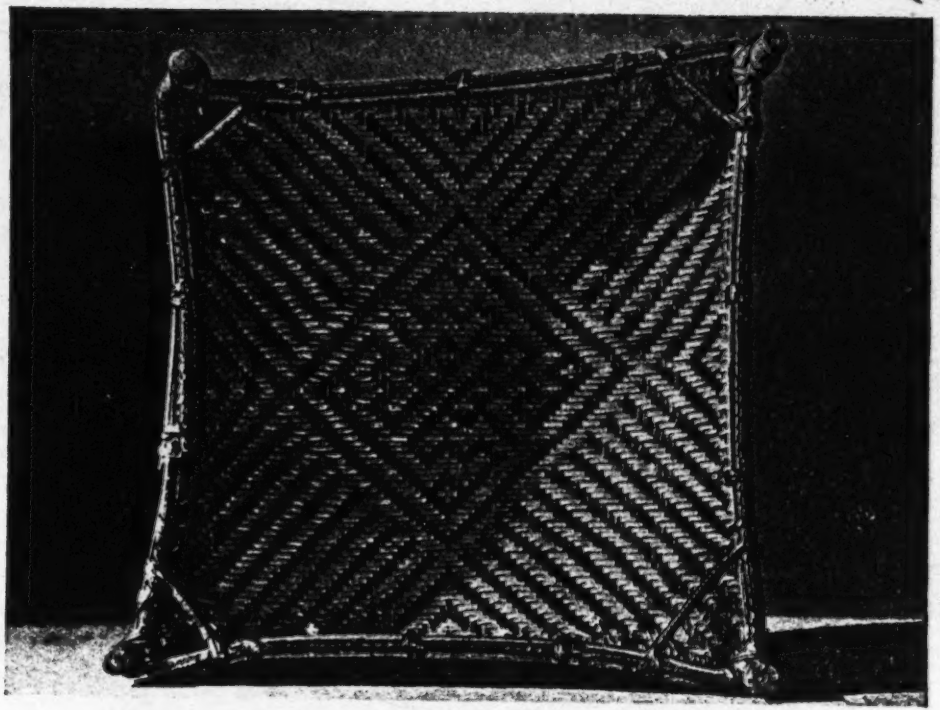

Fig. 57 – Kamarakoto Basketware.
A small matu:tu, top view.

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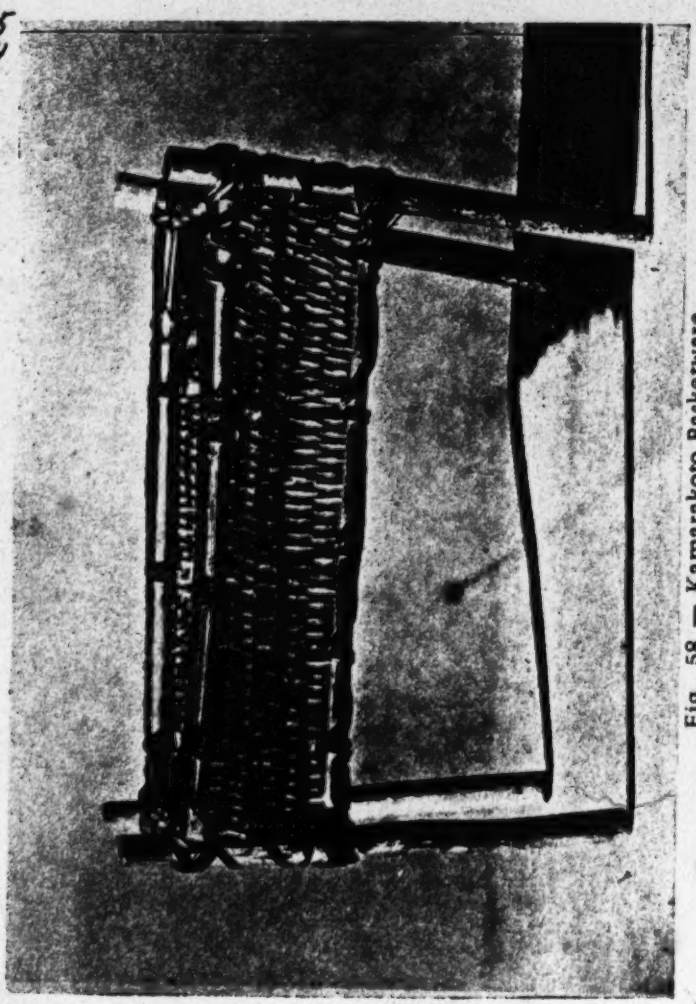

Fig. 58 — Kamarakoto Basketware.
A small matu:tu, same specimen as Fig. 57, side view.

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Fig. 59 — Kamarakoto Baskets.
A, wapa. B, soko'. C, vase-shaped waricha. D, [illegible]mon waricha. E, warakapi. F, tightly woven waricha (hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions).

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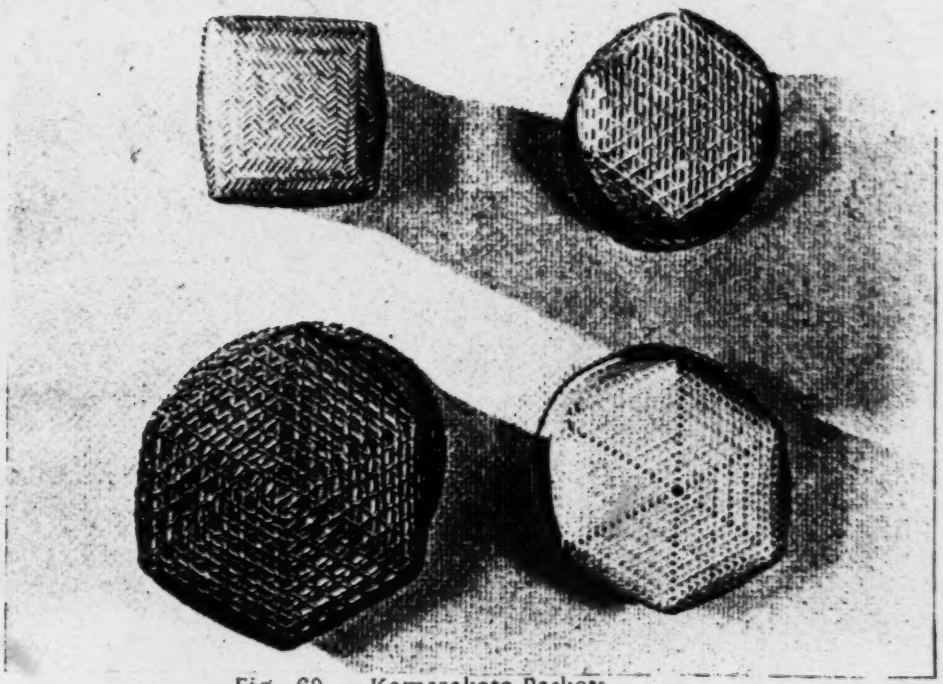

Fig. 60 — Kamarakoto Baskets.

Bases of three of the baskets shown in Fig. 59. A, soko', (Fig. 59 B), typical quadrangular base with one hour-glass. B, waricha (Fig. 59 C), hexagonal base with parallel crossing strands in one direction, extra horizontal strand of sides inserted at corner of base. C, waricha (Fig. 59 D), with commonest type of hexagonal base; crossing strands formed by a single spiral which becomes the extra horizontal strand on sides. D, waricha (Fig. 59 F) with extra strand insertion and base of type shown in B but with parallel crossing strands in all three directions.

*285 them makes their bands produce a concentric square pattern on the fabric as a whole which, however, is very inconspicuous.

The rim re-enforcement is formed by two rails, one on each side, projecting well beyond the corners where they overlap as in a rail fence. At a given edge the basketry strands that are there at right angles to that edge are gathered in groups of two and each two-ply strand passes up inside the rails, circles completely around the top rail, is then passed over itself between the rails and looped back to the outer side, passes around this side of the lower rail, and is then woven obliquely into these same fibers where they depart from the sifting fabric, so as to form an obliquely twilled close-work border all around the bottom of the sieve. This edging technique is essentially constant and is seen on no other basketware.[155] The details of the bottom weave vary slightly.

The Kamarakotos do not, like the Makuchis, make sieves with basket-
[171] work rims rising above the rails. In Santa Elena the Franciscan Sisters kindly gave us a casave sieve of Taurepán manufacture which has most of the bottom of closework with a small central quadrangle of complicated lattice (woven in four directions with a twilled two-ply quadrangular base) and Roth illustrates somewhat similar Wapishana (and Makuchi ?) sieves. Certainly these are native work and made with native techniques, but I am doubtful whether they are made for the Indians' own use. They are not the common sifters in these tribes and they are more adopted for display than for use, their sifting area being small and its mesh large.

Some Indians, including some Arekunas, make purses of woven plaited basketry but the Kamarakotos have abandoned these in favor of the somewhat less esthetic but decidedly more practical thread-textile purse of the same form (pakara, a word also applied to the basketwork purses).

The waricha (Figs. 59 C, D, F) is perhaps the commonest Kamarakoto bas-
[422] ket. A family may have a dozen or more of somewhat different sizes. These roughly bucket- (or rarely vase-) shaped baskets are used for the storage and transportation of any small objects. They always have hexagonal bases and side, as well as bottom, is of hexagonal lattice with at least one extra strand, horizontal on the sides. Roth distinguishes varieties with the horizontal side strands spiral (one or two continuous strands) and those in which they are circular (each a separate strand), but the Kamarakotos and their closer allies make only the former variety. Two varieties, not given separate names, can be distinguished, however, by the way in which the horizontal strands of the sides are worked in.

In both the horizontal strands on the sides consist of two separate strands both working around repeatedly, one above the other, in a spiral until the rim is reached. In both one of these strands is an oblique strand on the side which runs to a corner of the base and along one of its six sides but which then, instead of turning up and becoming an oblique strand on the side in the opposite

155 [see footnote on p. 325, category 11b - Analyst]

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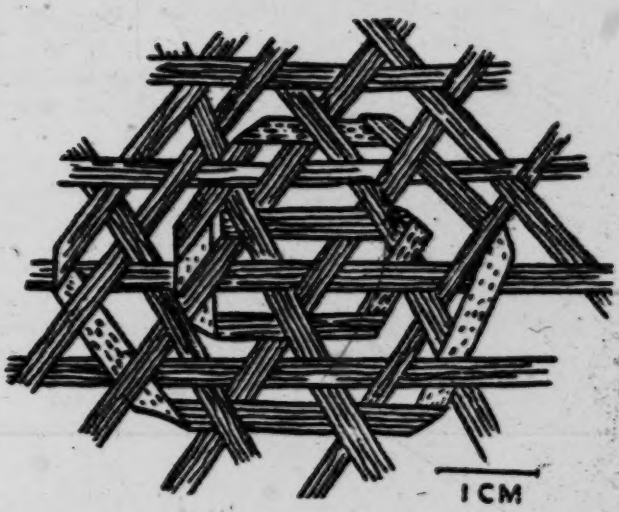

Fig. 61 — Kamarakoto Basketry Technique. Center of the common type of hexagonal basket base, showing plain hexagonal lattice with an extra strand woven in spirally.

direction, continues up the side as horizontal strands (one strand in a spiral). In one type (Figs. 60 C, 61), by far the commonest, the other, the "extra," horizontal strand is such from the start, at the center of the base, being woven into the hexagonal lattice of the base in a flat spiral.

In the other, rare, type (Fig. 60 D) there is no spiral strand in the base but all the strands are woven straight across, producing a pattern which (in each triangular segment) looks merely like a tighter variety of the same weave as on the bases previously described but which as an element in basket construction and in the technique of weaving is very distinct. From a descriptive standpoint it can perhaps most clearly be designated as an open hexagonal lattice across which three sets of extra strands are plaited, in the same directions as the basic three sets and between the latter. The necessary extra spiral strand for the sides is then merely inserted near one corner at the bottom and since it here takes the place of a non-spiral bottom strand that would become an oblique side strand, another strand is also inserted at the same point and run up the side as an oblique strand which, unlike all the other oblique strands but one (the one that becomes the other spiral side strand) is not also a bottom strand.

In both cases, with the exceptions already noted, the base strands are bent at the edge of the base and run up obliquely in the side, so that if any one strand be followed from the rim it runs obliquely down to the edge of the base,

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[171] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekumas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ẹno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tumui' (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on
[128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-
[114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

*285 Diaphragm foundation baskets, which employ a sort of looping technique quite foreign to the Kamarakotos, are unknown and so are the rare (and, to a Kamarakoto, useless) unenclosed foundation baskets, if fish traps be excluded from the group of baskets, strictly speaking. The absence of rectangular based openwork baskets has already been explained, as well as the rarity of checked work and wicker weave which accounts for the absence of rectangular based baskets of these types. In each case the functions of these missing types are performed among the Kamarakotos by others of more complex construction and functionally more satisfactory so that their absence reflects a higher rather than a lower development of basketry skill in this tribe.

Roth's class of conical based baskets is also lacking among the Kamarakotos. This includes only filters formerly used by Arawaks and now obsolete even among them and landing-net baskets that are more widely distributed. These are replaced among the Kamarakotos by more satisfactory nets of knotted thread, already described.

The last and at least from an esthetic point of view the best class of true baskets is that of rectangular based forms of twilled woven plaiting in what Roth has aptly called the hourglass pattern. The Kamarakotos distinguish three types of these, sokoʔ, wapa, and ama:tu.

The sokoʔ (Figs. 59B, 60A), which despite similarities is probably, as an exact type, confined to the Arekunas and certainly is typical of them, is a deep closework basket with somewhat flaring mouth used to store and carry relatively small objects which are especially prized or the special protection of which from dirt, etc., is particularly desirable. They are, for instance, commonly used to carry cotton and spindle for spinning or attached to an akaiʔ to carry small treasures while the rougher baggage is on the akaiʔ itself. The square bottom has the two sets of strands parallel to the diagonals, not the sides, of the square by a system that begins with a small hourglass like pattern in the middle (Fig. 60A) surrounded by a figured twill approximating concentric squares. All the strands are also diagonal on the sides where they form an all-over two-over-three twill identical in weave with the main part of a casave press, but of course much smaller. A band of one-over-three is sometimes interpolated here and in any case the upper part of the basket, flaring out to the mouth, is always in a series of bands made by an all-over one-over-three twill. A loop of fine twine (part of which is woven into the basketwork) is attached at the narrowest part of this section for carrying.

The rim is flexible and not re-enforced but is edged in a peculiar fashion. One set of strands is simply cut off at the rim. The other set is doubled back, reversing its obliquity, and woven back along the outer sides of the cut set for a short distance and then cut off on the outer surface below the rim.

The wapa (Fig. 59A) (not to be confused with the totally different ɔ:apa) has the base made in the same way as a sokoʔ but usually larger and the sides

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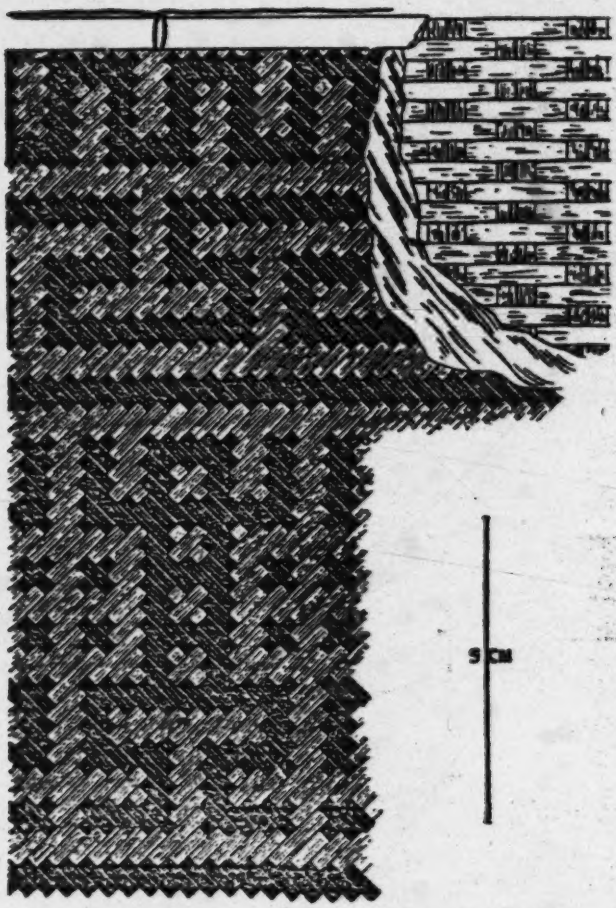

Fig. 63 — Kamarakoto Basketry Technique.
Diagram of part of the side of the bottom basket of an amattu similar to that seen in Fig. 62. The geometric border and the frieze of conventionalized frogs are typical. At the upper right part of the outer layer is shown as cut away, revealing the middle layer of leaves (lacking in the specimen of Fig. 62) and the inner layer of simpler basketwork (always present).

of pictorial twill, often bichrome. The sides above the square base are cylindrical and not as deep as in the sokoʔ. The rim is re-enforced with outer and inner split reed hoops, and often with a small upper hoop spirally wound with

*285 wadapi as in the best matu:tu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The ama:tu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or of its cover) is made like that of a soko' or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the soko' but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

[171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 252 171 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangõi' (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 482 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akai' (Fig. 65 B) if the bottom is of openwork and koatai' (Figs. 65 A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analport]

*286 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 As regards the dart-quiver, nōi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that [128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. [237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

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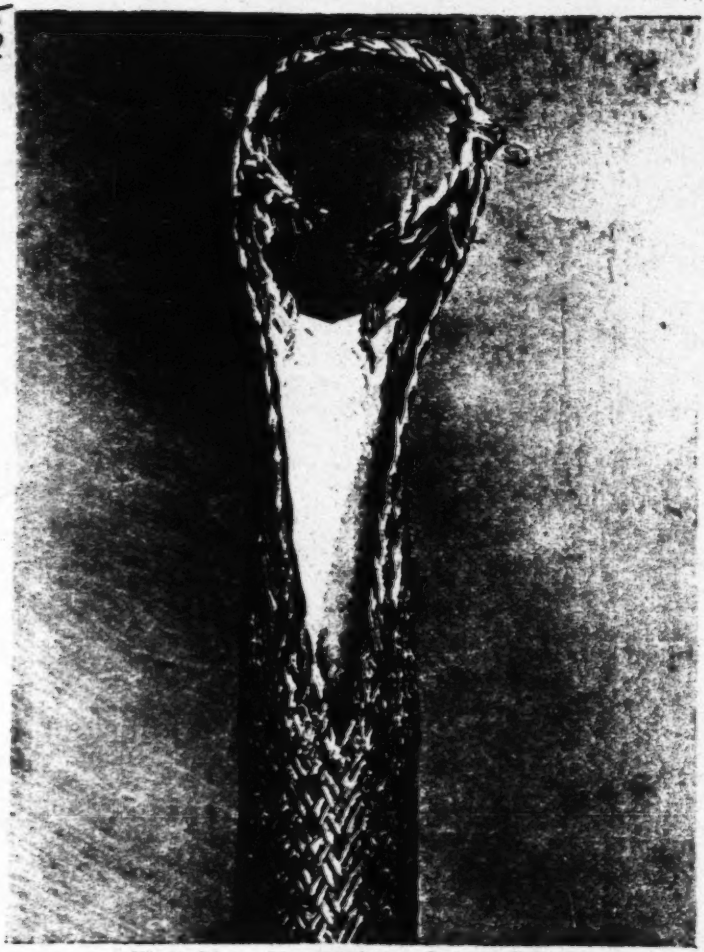

Fig. 64 — Kamarakoto Casave Press.
The upper end of a tangöi', showing typical Arekuna form of neck and mouth, neck of one-over-two twill, without shoulder girdle, and body of two-over-three twill.

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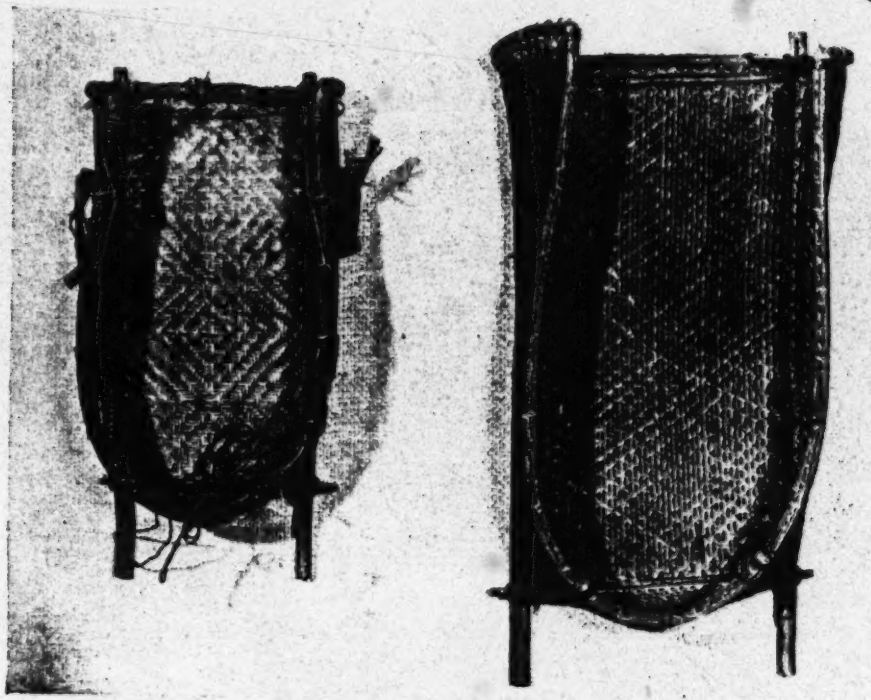

Fig. 65 — Kamarakoto Back-packs.
A, a koatai', with cotton load-lashing and bark carrying strap. B, an akai', without lashing or carrying strap. Both seen from behind (as they are carried in use).

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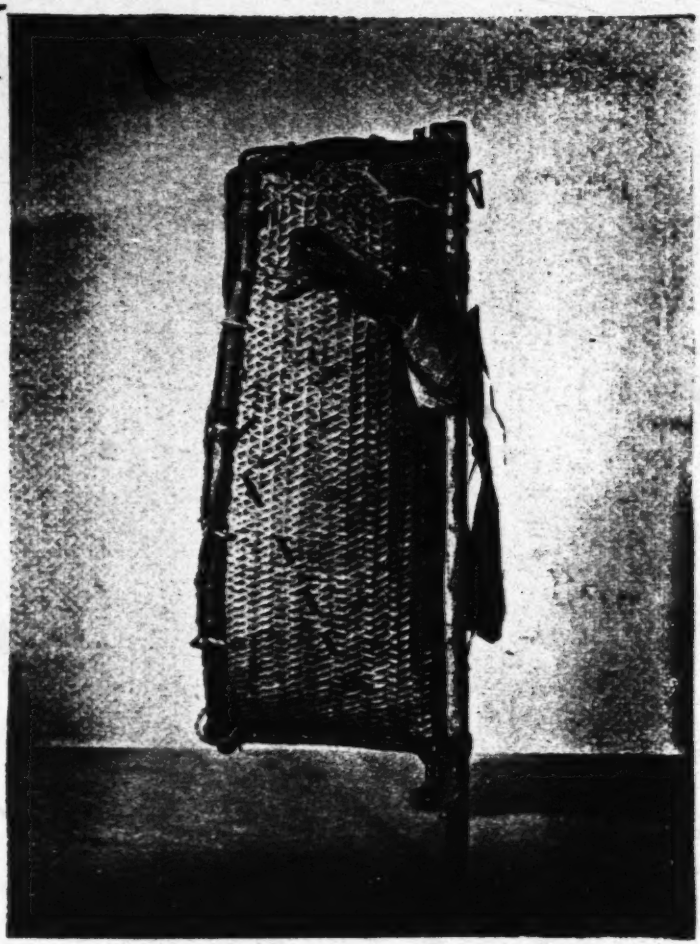

Fig. 66 — Kamarakoto Back-pack.
The koatai', shown in Fig. 65 A, seen from the side.

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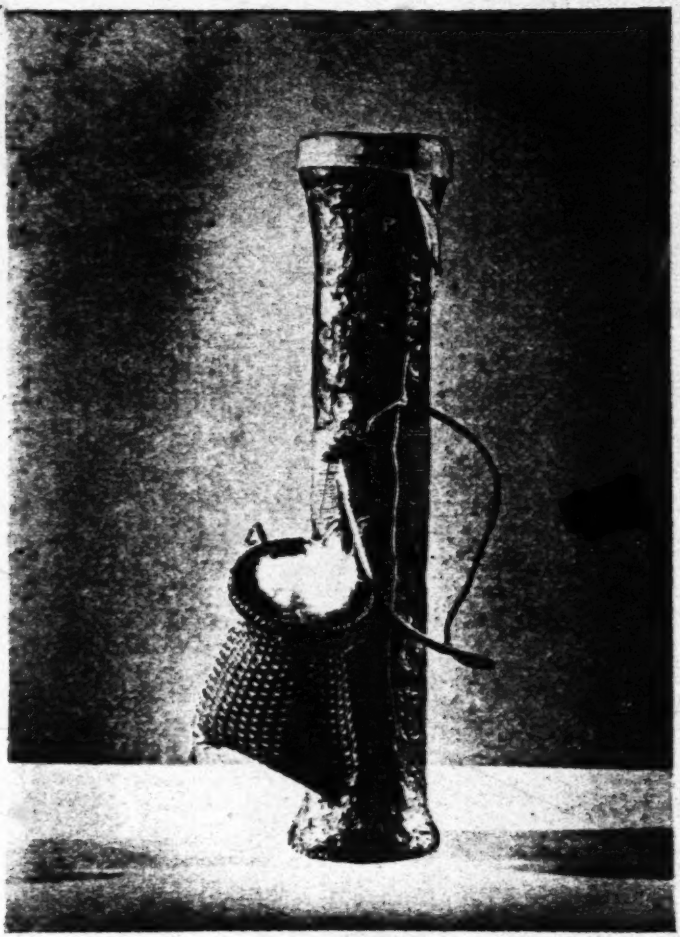

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (mõi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroiʼ or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call amaːtu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	oːapa	oːəpa
	pangaiʼ	pəngaʼ
	matuːtu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawaʼ	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

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	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
	(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
	pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pákaːra (basketwork purse).
Baskets.		
	waricha	waikarapə, variety chimaran.
	warakapi	(Not observed).
	(Not observed)	shimuʼ (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
	tsimuiʼ	tsarambə
	sokoʼ	sokoʼ
	wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
	amaːtu	damaːtu
Miscellaneous.		
	tangõiʼ	tangõiʼ, tenkei[160]
	akaiʼ } koataiʼ }	akaiʼ
	mõi-yɛ	mõi-yɛ
	muroiʼ	muroiʼ

*285 531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e.g. in a matuːtu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnoter on p. 326, category 116 — Analysis]

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amastu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

531 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among
532 many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
534 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
[128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534 I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
  - Flutes
    - Ductless
      - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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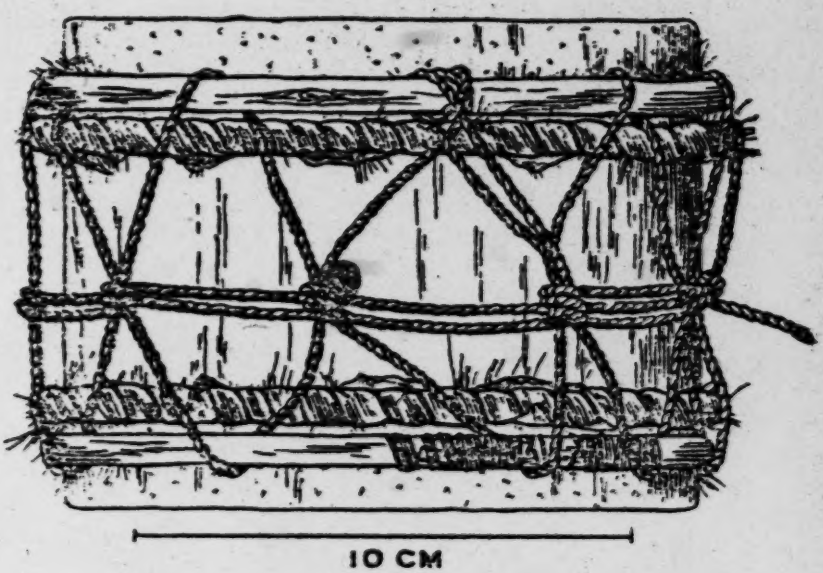

[535]

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 177 202 [535] Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho).

534 171 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáines (von [128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute [124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo- [237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. [535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukúi' (not the parichara), and, unlike [533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [34] [628] [429] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

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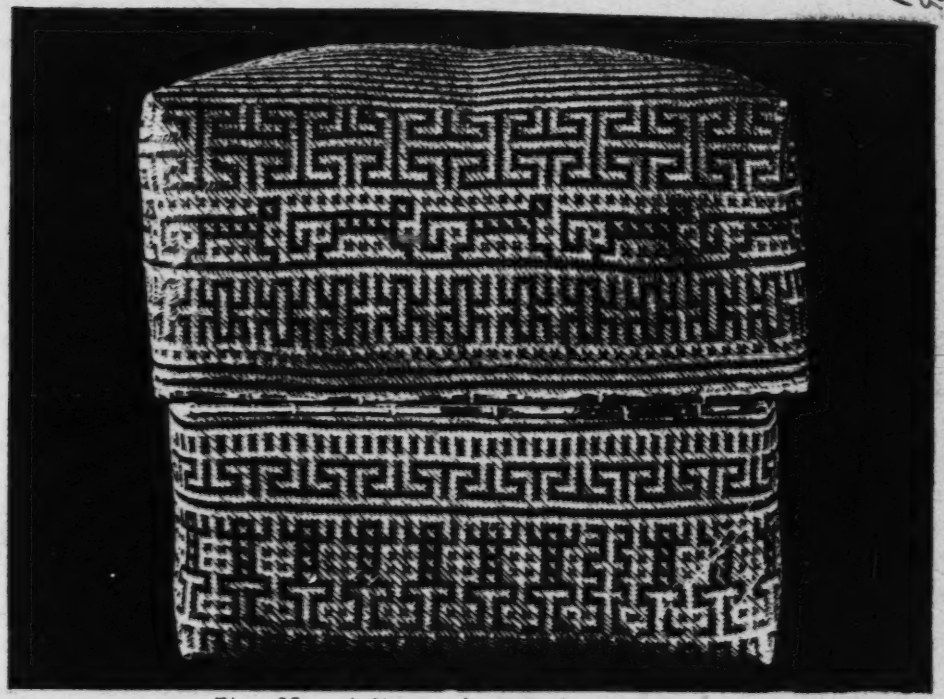

Fig. 62 – A Kamarakoto Basket.

An ama:tu, shown with the cover raised so that the side of the bottom basket is also visible. For details of construction of a different but closely similar ama:tu, see Fig. 63.

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[487] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yĉ)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yɛ', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[text continues on p. 212]

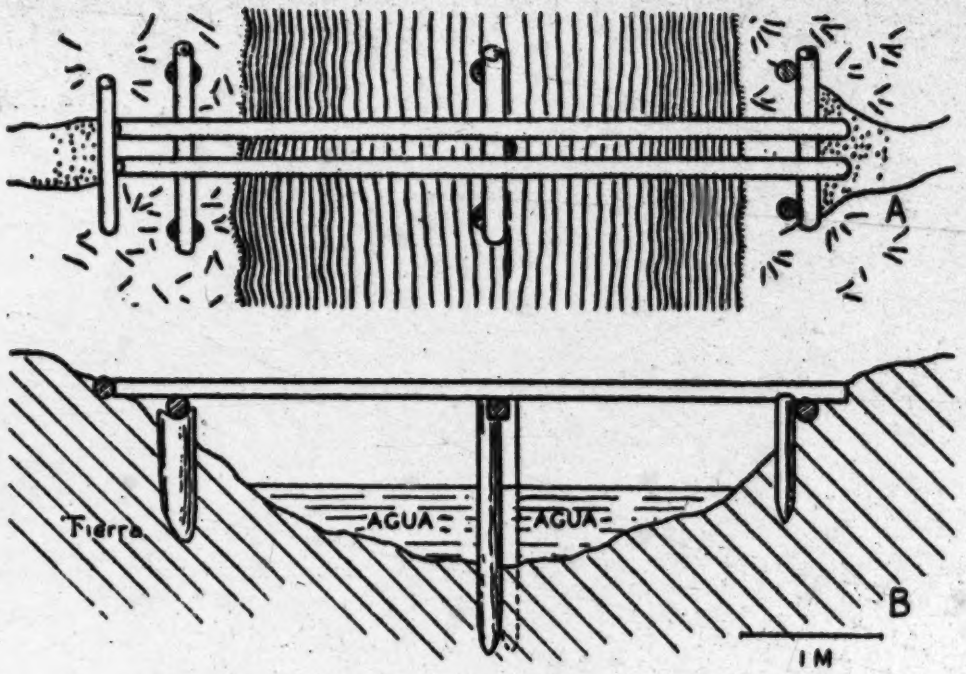

Fig. 70 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Diagrams of the construction of a bridge similar to that of Fig. 69.
A. plan. B. side view, with earth sectioned.

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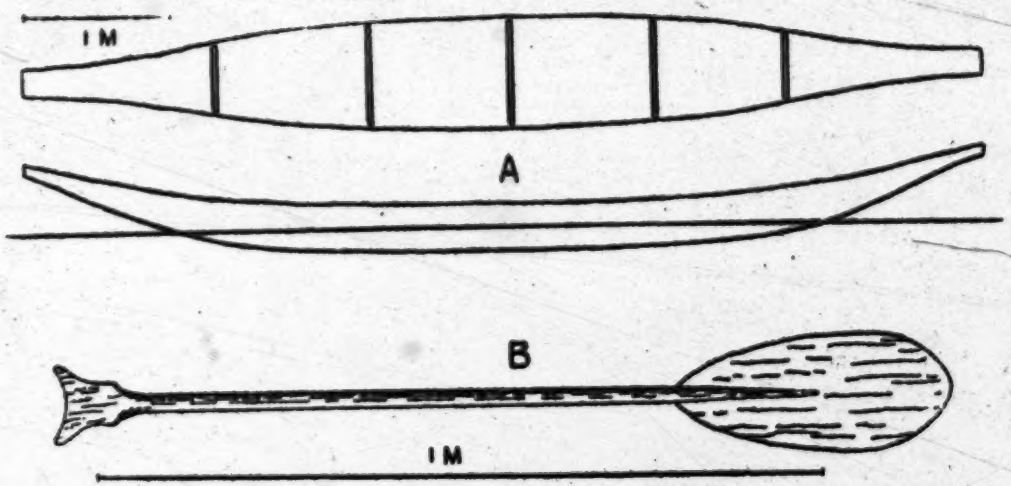

Fig. 71 — Kamarakoto Canoe and Paddle.
A, plan and side view of the dugout used as a ferry on the Aichá at Uruyén (see Fig. 72). In the side view the water line on the unloaded canoe is shown. B, typical Kamarakoto paddle.

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Ameri- 171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai , is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 213]

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Fig. 72 — Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uruyén.

Fig. 73 — Kamarakoto Man's Back-pack.
Man's carrying frame, wayare, as used. The load is lashed to the frame with cords.

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such
621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-
622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the
[621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most
[578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as
[183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no
643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal
643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point
[191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekumas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekumas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuma tribe, since the Arekumas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

P 218
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601 Comparisons are made chiefly with
114 Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of
[171] the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.

P Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister."
M The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized
601 European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In
171 Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetá	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadetə	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nau
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	wə-ri-chi
[redacted]ale	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetə, which means an older
P 601 person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

168 [see footnote on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]

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Sib of the same sex	(Older	(Male	- rūiko
	(	(Female	- pasi
	(Younger		- akon
Sib of the opposite sex	(Brother of a female		- pi(rika)
	(Sister of a male		- pamchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P [595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P M 601 171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	(Father - papai	pa-pa
	(Mother - paikōi[169]	ma-ma
General	(Father - yun	(y)un
	(Mother - san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 A [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

P M 601 171

Sex of parent. (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.	Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).	mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi	enji	mure
Female	Male	(u)rmɛ	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon	(not given)	(u)-n-re

(u)rmɛ and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

P [597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tatamo
Grandmother	noi³	no, go-go

P [888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa³	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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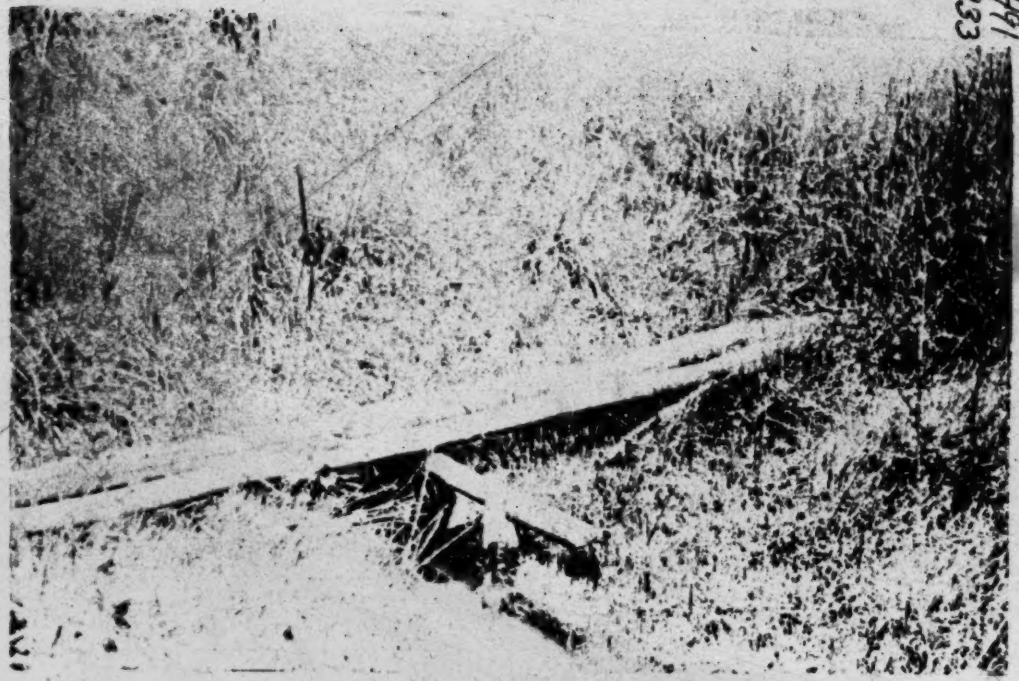

Fig. 69 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Typical pole-bridge of the more carefully constructed sort, across deep water in a marsh near Uruyén.

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Grandson	- pa-waraton,	literally	"grandchild-male"
Granddaughter	- pa-wari,	"	"grandchild-female"

Aunt, uncle, parents-in-law: Aunts and uncles may be designated descriptively, e.g. papai-yakon, literally "papa-younger brother," i.e. younger brother of father. In this case, however, the concept is of relationship between the brothers, of whom one is specified, and not really the uncle-nephew relationship. In dealing more directly with this latter relationship, special words are used which depend on the sex of all three parties, that is, of the person of reference (the nephew or niece), of the parent through whom the relationship exists, and of the person referred to (uncle or aunt).

Sex of person referred to	Sex of intermediary	Sex of person of reference	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Male	"father" i.e. papai, yun	intoo (not given) papai
Male	Male	Female		
Male	Female	Male	mui	tori
Male	Female	Female	awo	awo
Female	Male	Male	wani	wan
Female	Male	Female	wari	awobu
Female	Female	Male	"mother," i.e. paikõi, san	mamai
Female	Female	Female		

[E.g. mui means "maternal uncle of a male," wari "paternal aunt of a female," etc.]

It is seen that special words are used for mother's brother (maternal uncle) and father's sister (paternal aunt) and that these are different for male and female (nephew and niece), but that for either sex a father's brother is addressed and spoken of as if he were the father, and a mother's sister as if she were the mother. This interesting classification is not merely verbal. In a sense, a paternal uncle is a father and, for instance, if a child's father dies or is away, this uncle takes the place of the father to the child in every respect. (But in Makuchi Williams does give a separate word for man's paternal uncle.)

The relationship between any person and the parents of that person's husband or wife is considered to be of the same degree as that between a person and his or her mother's brothers and father's sisters. Thus:

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		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Father of husband	- woman's maternal uncle -	awo	(Not given)
Mother of husband	- woman's paternal aunt -	wari	(Not given)
Father of wife	- man's maternal uncle -	mui	tori
Mother of wife	- man's paternal aunt -	wani	wanə

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These words are (in Kamarakoto) those generally used in direct address. In speaking of the person to someone else, it is usual to be more specific and special adjectival phrases for parents-in-law are then usually used:

Father of husband	- tamõipuyun (for tamupũi - yun)
Mother of husband	- yawoiʔ-pə
Father of wife	- nopuyun (for nopũi-yun)
Mother of wife	- yawoiʔ-pə

— thus yawoiʔ-pə is "mother-in-law" generally and a father-in-law is called "husband's father" or "wife's father" as the case may be.

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Nephew, niece: As with "aunt" and "uncle" the words used for "nephew" and "niece" involve not only the sex of the person referred to but also of the person through whom the relationship exists, i.e. of a parent of the nephew or niece. It would be expected that the sex of the person of reference, i.e. of the aunt or uncle, would also be involved. According to my informants this is not the case. The sex of person of reference is involved in words for "aunt" and "uncle," complimentary to those for "nephew" and "niece," and it is hinted at in Makuchi, which otherwise is rather close to Kamarakoto in these respects.

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Male child of man's brother - "son," i.e.	mumun	Not given.
" " " woman's " - "son," i.e.	(u)rmɛ (?)	
Female " " man's " - "daughter," i.e.	yentsi	
" " " woman's " - "daughter," i.e.	manon (?)	
Male " " man's sister -	poitoru	Not given, but see below.
" " " woman's " -	poitoru (?)	
Female " " man's " -	patsɛ	pase
" " " woman's " -	patsɛ (?)	amu

Although Williams gives only the words for the daughter of a sister, they show a classification based on the sexes of all three persons involved. A root

P M 601 171 evidently cognate with poitoru occurs in Makuchi (Williams) i-(poi-to-rɨ²)-be-wai, "serve (?)," which Williams compares with pai-to, son-in-law of a male, or any subordinate young man. Whether or not this rather dubious comparison is valid, it is likely that this poi-to-ra¹ is connected with Kamarakoto poitoru, which seems otherwise not to have been identified in Makuchi or related languages except in Taurepán where Koch-Grünberg gives poitolg (= poitore or poitorü) as "son-in-law" or "nephew" without the essential further specification.

P 601 Cousins: My Kamarakoto informants disclaimed knowledge of any special words for cousins. Under certain circumstances cousins would be considered as brothers or sisters and so spoken of. For instance a boy or girl calls his or her paternal uncle "father" and if the child lives with or in close association with this male's family he or she will call the uncle's children, actually cousins, "brother" and M "sister," using the words appropriate as to relative age.

601 Of the six words given by Williams as meaning "cousin" in Makuchi, P four seem to be more or less random examples of this same sort of system, e.g. 171 a boy calls his father's brother's son (presumably younger than himself) mo-yi, which is Makuchi for "younger brother of a male." e-ru, which means "husband's sister" is also defined as a female's mother's brother's daughter. The only special word for "cousin," defined as a male's father's brother's son (for which, however, two other words are also given), given by Williams in Makuchi is -a-mi-bɔ. This word, curiously, is practically identical with that for fifth ("little") toe or finger. It seems very doubtful whether Makuchi, any P more than Kamarakoto, really has a special nomenclature for the cousin re- M lationship.

601 If the sexes of all four persons concerned were considered, a complete 171 system would involve sixteen classes, and if relative ages within each of the two generations were considered, sixty-four terms would be necessary. Needless to say, no Carib language really carries this to its logical extreme.

Husband and wife: No concept of relative age is here involved and the relationship automatically specifies the sex of both when one is mentioned, so the words have the same general limits as in European languages.

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Husband -	tampüi	ni-yo, -nyo
Wife -	nopüi	no-bu, -pɔ-zan

Except, possibly, for adjectival differentiation when necessary, no distinction is made between the words applied to the various different wives of one man.

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601 Other relatives by marriage: In speaking of a son- or daughter-in-law, the sex of the person of reference (father- or mother-in-law) is not considered:

Son-in-law	without a child	- payumu
	with a child	- payum
Daughter-in-law		- patsɛ

payum means the actual and payumu apparently means the potential father of one's grandchild, pa "grandchild" + yum "father."

patsɛ is the same word as for the daughter of one's sister, an equivalence analogous to using the same word for mother-in-law as for paternal aunt.

M 601 P 171 In Makuchi, Williams gives pa-se (cognate with patsɛ) for daughter-in-law, but specifies that it is used by males, and he gives pai-to (related to Makuchi (pai-to-rə, "servant," and not to Kamarakoto payum) for man's son-in-law. He does not give words used by females for a son- or daughter-in-law, although he specifies that the words given are used by males (only ?).

P 601 In speaking of brothers- and sisters-in-law the sexes both of the person of reference and of the person referred to are involved.

Husband's brother	-	pipi
Husband's sister	-	yerui'
Wife's brother	-	(y)etsɛ
Wife's sister	-	parətsi

M [601] P [171] In Makuchi, Williams does not give these words, but he does note that pi, Makuchi word for younger brother of a female, sometimes means husband's brother. The Kamarakotos distinguish the words for woman's brother, pi, pirika, from that for husband's brother, pipi.

On the other hand, the Kamarakoto word for wife's sister, recorded as parətsi, seems to be cognate with that for a man's younger sister, paruchi, and I am not sure that they are not simply pronunciations of the same word by different persons or in different contexts, but I think not.

A man calls any woman whom he knows well but to whom he is not particularly related parətsi, i.e. "sister-in-law." A woman similarly calls male friends pipi, "brother-in-law." There is no analogous word for a man's male or a woman's female friends. yetsɛ and yerui' were specifically stated not to be used in this way, and a man cannot use the word pipi or a woman the word parətsi without ridicule.

Marriage

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178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
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Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[554] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[404] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

462 In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.	In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.
----------	All food preparation.
Manufacture of twisted thread, (curagua, moriche, etc.)	Manufacture of spun thread (cotton).
Manufacture of sandals.	Manufacture of all cotton textiles, baby slings, pakara, hammocks, etc., also all sewing of Europeanized garments.
Manufacture (and use) of all weapons, fish nets, etc.	----------
All basketwork.	All beadwork.
Manufacture and use of all musical instruments (except simple jingle-rattle ornaments).	----------
Such woodwork as is done (benches, canoes, etc.).	Manufacture of pottery.
[p54] Some help with care of children.	Almost all of the care of children (which is slight except for babies carried by the women in a sling).
----------	Incidental fetching and carrying, as of firewood and water.
Helping with the heavy carrying, as on journeys.	Much, often the lion's share, of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-esa'.

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to?-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[683] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[721] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody wa[illegible] which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to'-esa' as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to'-esa' as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to'-esa' for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[472] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[558] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[178] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare ozapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [291] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maicongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supematural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supematural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supematural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 116 - Analyst]

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 776 [287] Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be [255] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as [257] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers [254] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

754 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the
824 forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.
361

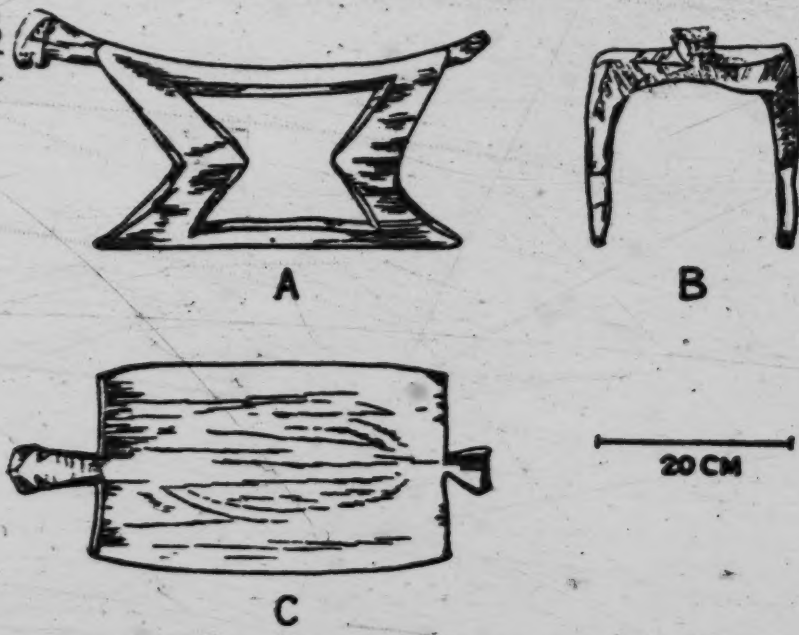

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical inci-
gators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the
797 alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos be-
114 lieve and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated connco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[797] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepanes. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to'-esa') suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[789] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[789] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
77 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not
771 significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have
[764] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one
[581] in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so [123] than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none [124] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their [178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A toʔ-esaʔ (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. [766] No one but the toʔ-esaʔ is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. [769] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a toʔ-esaʔ were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. [178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obliga- [766] tory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about 178 a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
[82] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked -- some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepâne (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalîñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 7/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

7/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 – Analysis]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 11b - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots.
[302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also
[534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which
[302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only
[534] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various eremba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.
533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing
526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination
[223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See p. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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Kamarakoto
248b

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857
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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[178] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

539 was a grown man, twenty years old, he did not know anything. He did not know as much as his brothers-in-law. He did not know how to hunt or fish or weave, and was so ignorant that he was very poor. It was not until he was forty that he knew everything. He used to go fishing and hunting without taking anything with him, no bow, no arrows, no fish poison, no nets.

One day when he was out fishing, when he was about thirty years old, as usual he was not catching anything because he did not know how, and he did not have anything to catch fish with. A man came out of the water of the river and said to Maichak.

"What is wrong, Maichak? Why do you fish and not get anything?"

"I am very sad," said Maichak. "I cannot catch any fish because I am so ignorant."

"All right," said the man from the water. "I will give you a taparita,[185] but do not show it to anyone, because if you do you will lose it."

"What shall I do with it?" asked Maichak.

"Put water from the river in it. Then the river will become empty and you will be able to pick up all the fish. But be very careful only to fill it half full, because if you fill it all the way, the water will overflow and will flood the whole country."

So Maichak did as the river man told him, and he caught many fish. All the men and women, his mother-in-law, his father-in-law, and his brothers-in-law said to each other,

"Where does this stupid man get all these fish?"

Maichak always used to take his son fishing with him. He taught his son how to use the taparita, and warned him never to tell anybody about it. So several years passed.

Everybody wanted to know how Maichak got so many fish. One day the family decided to try to find out. So they invited him to the house and they gave him kachiri and paiba to drink and made him drunk, and then they asked him how he caught so many fish. But even when he was drunk, Maichak would not say anything.

One day Maichak's brother-in-law took his nephew, Maichak's son, out into the forest and asked him how his father caught fish.

"My father has a taparita," said the boy to his uncle, "but it is hidden."

The uncle said, "Well, let us get it, because we need fish to eat at home."

So Maichak's son showed the uncle where it was hidden and he explained to his uncle how to use it, and told him to be careful only to fill it halfway. They filled it halfway. The river became dry, and they got many fish and took them home to eat. When Maichak saw them come home with all these fish, he asked how they got them, and his son told him that they had gotten them with Maichak's taparita.

185 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 — Analyst]

539 One day the younger brother of that brother-in-law went out with Maichak's son to fish with the taparita. He said,

"Let us fill the taparita all the way. Then we will get more fish."

"No," said the nephew, "my father told me never to fill it more than halfway."

But his uncle filled it all the way up. The water overflowed and flooded the whole country, and the uncle dropped the taparita which was washed away in the flood and lost.

Maichak was very sad. For months he looked and looked for his taparita, but he never found it again. He could not catch any fish now that he did not have his taparita. He used to go hunting and fishing, but he never got anything.

One day Maichak was hunting in the woods. He came across an armadillo[186] that talked like a man. The armadillo had a rattle[187] in one hand and he was singing a song. This is the song:

Takaːnaimo poiːnimo maraka i sakauma-nõi,
"Beast's peccary's rattle I sound
("I sound, I sound, I sound the wild peccary's rattle.")
sakauma-nõi, sakauma-nõi.
I sound I sound."

The armadillo sang the song three times, and then he reached up with his hand and rattled the rattle three times, and he jumped back into his hole. Immediately a lot of peccaries[188] came running up, but Maichak did not have anything to kill them with, so he went home without anything.

Maichak decided that he would have to get the rattle, so that he could catch peccaries, so he went out into the forest to get it. The armadillo stuck his head out of his hole and sang his song while Maichak waited with an arrow. When the armadillo had sung the song he stuck his hand out of the hole, holding the rattle in order to shake it. Maichak grabbed the rattle out of his hand. When Maichak grabbed the rattle, it rattled, but no peccaries came. The armadillo came out to see who had taken his rattle.

"Why did you take my rattle?" said the armadillo.

"I took it because I wanted it," replied Maichak. "I want to catch peccaries with it."

"All right," said the armadillo, "you have my rattle, but I am going to give you some advice. You had a taparita once but you lost it, so now I advise you about this rattle. If you are on the ground or in a tree, and you sound the rattle more than three times, the peccaries will come and take it."

So Maichak went home.

One day Maichak went out to hunt. He built himself a platform and he used to keep his rattle on this platform. This day he climbed up on the platform and he sang the peccary song three times. (Here song is sung as before.) Then he rattled the rattle three times. The peccaries came and he killed four

186, 187 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
188 [see footnote on p. 330, category 116 - Analyst]

539 or five or six with his arrow. He hid his rattle and went home with the meat. His brother-in-law asked him where he got so many peccaries.

"Oh," said Maichak, "I got them far, far away."

His brother-in-law did not believe that Maichak had been hunting far, far away.

About this time Maichak's son died.[189]

One day, Maichak went hunting and his brothers-in-law followed him to see where he got all the peccaries. Maichak climbed up on his platform and the brothers-in-law listened to him singing and rattling and then went away. Maichak got about five peccaries near his home.

Maichak's brother-in-law went out in the forest and got the rattle and sang the song. Then he sounded the rattle four or five times. A lot of peccaries came, crowds and crowds of peccaries, and they took the rattle away from the brother-in-law. When Maichak went to look for his rattle it was gone. He had lost it just the way he lost the taparita.

Days and days passed.

Maichak did not know how to make casave presses[190] and sieves[191] but his brothers-in-law did. One day his brothers-in-law asked him to come with them to a place two days away. When they got there, they said,

"Who will stay here, and make a press and other things so that we can have casave?"

"I will," said Maichak, although he did not know how to make a press and other things to make casave.

"All right," said his brothers-in-law, "but do it just as fast as you can. We are going out hunting, and this afternoon we will come back with peccaries, and the women must have some casave ready for us when we get here."[192]

The brothers-in-law went out to hunt. Maichak went to get the fibers[193] to make the press and other things. He went away after breakfast and came back about noon. He got the fibers all ready, but he did not know how to make a press. So of course he could not do anything. The women had the grated yuca[194] all ready and were waiting to press it and make casave bread. The brothers-in-law came with peccary meat.

"Where is Maichak?" they asked the women.

"He is out making a press," said the women.

They sent a boy to call Maichak. They were very hungry.

"Did you make a press?" they asked Maichak.

"No, I do not know how," said Maichak.

"Well, then, why did you try?" they asked him. And they got very angry and abused Maichak.

The brothers-in-law made a press in about two hours.

"All right," they said. "Now we will teach you how to behave."

189 [see footnote on p. 330, category 116 — Analyst]

539 So they tied Maichak's hands together and his feet together, and they hung him up alongside the press, and they impaled him on a sharp stick and killed him. But Maichak got up again from death and was alive again.

The brothers-in-law and Maichak started home with the peccaries. Maichak said for them to go ahead and he would follow, and they said all right. Maichak went with his wife to hunt for peccaries, and the brothers-in-law went to Maichak's house. Maichak got some peccaries. Then he said to his wife,

"Your family was abusive to me, and I am going to take my revenge on you."

He killed his wife, and he salted her body, and put it on the platform where he had his salted peccaries. Then he made an enormous carrying frame.[195] He put the salted wife and the salted peccaries in the carrying frame and took them to the house of the parents of his wife. His mother-in-law gave him some casave and some peppers.[196] She gave him three or four of these peppers. Then she asked him,

"Do you want to eat now?"

Maichak said, "No, first I will go and bathe."

Maichak went to bathe, and his mother-in-law took the carrying frame and took out the meat and saw that some of the meat was her daughter. She shrieked and cried and the brothers-in-law ran after Maichak to kill him. Maichak ran away into the forest.

Maichak broke off a piece of the casave and cut one of the peppers in two and put them in the fork of a tree, saying to them,

"Let me know if my brothers-in-law come this way."

Farther along, he took another piece of casave and cut another pepper and did the same thing with them. When he had gone about half a league into the forest and had come to a river, he heard loud cries from the casave, which was really being taken away by a bird.

"Men are coming," said Maichak.

He got into a canoe on the river but he did not know how to paddle. As he was being carried down the river, a bird sang to him, saying to him,

"Dip in the paddle, dip in the paddle."

Another bird[197] warned him that his brothers-in-law were still following him. He paddled down the river for two days, until he came to a big tributary. He paddled up the tributary for ten days, until he came to its headwaters. He had with him yuca and bananas and all kinds of plants, done up in a small package, in a carrying frame. He stopped and built himself a house, and planted a garden and lived there all by himself.

Piaimá, an animal-man who lives in the mountains and in the forests, and who can be seen only by a piache, not by common Indians, came to Maichak and taught him how to make presses and all kinds of weaving. Thus Maichak learned to weave and to do all kinds of man's work, and he lived happily.

195-197 [see footnoter on p. 330, category 116- Analyst]

539 While he was making his conuco, he lived on wild fruit. Later he had casave to eat. He got tired of nothing but casave so he went out hunting and killed a deer. As he was eating venison on another day, he thought about how lonely he was. He said,

"I am going to get the king[198] of the buzzards to keep house for me."

Maichak went out and killed a tapir. Then Maichak smeared rancid grease all over himself and when the tapir was putrid, he lay down alongside it, and pretended to be dead.

The buzzards came to eat the tapir and the man, and Maichak grabbed the king of the buzzards[199] and went home with him. He used to bring the buzzard meat and they lived together for some days. Maichak would go out to hunt about an hour after sunrise and when he came back at sunset he would find casave and kachiri and other things to eat and drink all made, but only the buzzard would be there. The truth was that during the day the buzzard became a human and made all of these things, and then at night turned back into a buzzard.

Maichak asked, "Who made the casave and the kachiri?"

One day, Maichak said that he was going out to hunt and that he would not be back until after dark, but he sneaked back to the house about noon, and there he saw a beautiful woman, making casave and kachiri and other things. Maichak asked,

"Where did you come from?"

The woman replied, "I am the queen[200] of the buzzards and I live here with you."

They lived there together for a long time, and the buzzard queen remained a woman. One day, the buzzard queen said, "If you would like to see my father, we will go to my house."

She took Maichak to see her father. When they arrived outside the house of the king buzzard, whose name was Atitó,[201] she said to Maichak,

"You stay here and I will go ask if papa will receive you."

Whenever any visitors came to see the king buzzard, he used to kill them and eat them. The queen buzzard said to him,

"I have brought you a son-in-law whose name is Maichak."[202]

The king buzzard said, "All right, daughter, let us see what sort of character he has."

The queen buzzard went and got Maichak and came back in the house and presented him to her father. The king buzzard said,

"All right, if Maichak is a good worker, he can live here. But if he is not, I am going to eat him."

To test Maichak, the king sent him out to drain a big lake. It was an enormous lake, the biggest in the whole world, and Maichak had to drain it in one day to get fish for the king to eat. He had to do this all in one afternoon or die.

198-202 [see footnotes on pp. 330-331, category 116 - Anabirt]

539 Maichak was sitting pensively when a dragonfly came flying up and said, "Why are you so sad, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I am sad because I have to drain this enormous lake in one day, or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The dragonfly said, "All right, then, I will help you."

Multitudes and multitudes of dragonflies came to help drain the lake. Then a bird[203] came flying up and asked Maichak, "What is wrong?"

Maichak said, "I have to drain this enormous lake in one day or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The bird said, "I will sing to let you know when the queen is coming, so that she will not see that the dragonflies are doing your work."

The bird went and mounted guard a little distance away. Every half hour[204] the queen came to see the work, but the bird always wamed Maichak. The dragonflies and Maichak drained the whole lake and finished it about the middle of the aftemoon. The queen came and found that the work was all done, and they got great quantities of fish for the king.

Next day the king said, "Very well, daughter, he seems to be a good worker. But we shall see. We will give him a three day test. If he passes this test, you can marry him, and if he does not, we will eat him. He must build me a house. Here is an enormous stone, and he must build me a house right here."

The queen said to Maichak, "Tomorrow in one day you must make a house on that stone."

Maichak went to see the place. There was nothing but a big stone. There was no dirt or anything. Maichak was very sad.

Remember that at this time, it was years since he had left his brothers-in-law, his mother, his father and the rest. They all thought he was dead.[205]

Maichak said, "I cannot build a house on this rock. Anywhere else would be all right but not here."[206]

But shortly after sunrise he went to cut wood. He got together all kinds of animals and birds. They all worked together and they gathered all the materials for a house, but they could not make any holes in the rock to set up the posts.

Then a worm appeared and said to Maichak, "You have to build this house in one day. How are you going to do it?"

Maichak said, "I do not know because I cannot make holes in this rock."

The worm said, "Very well, Maichak, I will burrow into the rock and you can set up the four posts in the holes that I make."[207]

They did so. So Maichak finished the house and the animals thatched the roof. Everybody went to see the house. The king asked, "Is it done?" and the queen told him that it was all done.

203-207 [see footnotes on p. 331, category 11b - Analyst]

539 The king said, "All right, now tomorrow, Maichak must make me a piache's bench.[208] It must be made out of stone. It must be enormous. It must be able to walk by itself, and it must look like me."

Nobody but the queen knew what the king looked like. He had two heads, and he wore earrings on both. Next day, Maichak tried to make the bench. A termite[209] came and said, "What are you doing?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I cannot."

Maichak did not know that the king had two heads. Then a hummingbird came, and he asked,

"What are you doing, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I don't know what the king looks like."

The hummingbird went to look at the king. The king never paid any attention to visitors. He would not turn his heads, so they could not see what he looked like. The hummingbird sang and sang, but he could not see the king.

Then another small bird[210] came and asked Maichak what he was doing, and Maichak told him. This bird went into the king's house and he sang and sang. The king finally turned his heads to see the bird. The bird saw that the king had two heads and he went and told Maichak about the heads and the earrings on each of them. Maichak told the termite how to make the bench, and the termite made it, and finished it before noon. Maichak had finished his three-day test in two and a half days. Maichak put the finished bench in the king's house and he called the king and queen.

The king said, "Can it be like me?"

The bench said, "I am just like the king" and it came running up like a dog.

The king was terrified and ran away. The king said, "Maichak has frightened me, so I am going to kill him."

The queen went and warned Maichak of her father's intentions. Maichak ran away again. Now he was running away from his brothers-in-law and also from the king of the buzzards.

He came to a big mountain, Auyán-tepúi, or one of the other mountains like it, very near Auyán-tepúi. The king's men were still chasing him and Maichak did not know how to get down the mountain. Then a lizard[211] appeared and asked,

"What is the matter?"

Maichak told the lizard about the king.

The lizard said, "All right, Jump on my back and I will take you down."

Maichak got on the lizard and rode him. Down they went. There was a big tree[212] which fell down. While they were still coming down, the lizard

208-212 [see footnotes on p.331, category 11b - Analysis]

539 stopped about a hundred yards from the bottom and told Maichak to jump. But Maichak said it was too far. Finally they came down to the ground.

Maichak did not know where he was. He wandered about at random until he came to a big river, and then he walked upstream along the bank. He came to a quebrada and he walked up it. This was in Kamarata and he found his family's house there, but he was afraid to let them know that he was there because of having killed his wife. He stayed hidden for three days.

Maichak had two sisters and a brother. One of his sisters had been a girl when he left home and was now a woman. The other sister was just a baby when he went away and she did not remember Maichak. She used to ask, "How many of us are there, three?" and they would reply, "No, there are four of us, counting Maichak, who is dead."

The girls used to go down to the river to bathe. Maichak had turned himself into a little fish in the river in order to hide. When the girls bathed, Maichak touched the older girl intimately.

The girl said, "I will go get a sieve[213] and see what fish is touching me."

She went and got the sieve and went into the water. She gave the sieve to the smaller girl and told her to catch the fish when she shouted. Maichak touched the girl again and she shouted to the smaller girl to catch him. She caught Maichak who was a little fish.

The girl said, "You touched my sister so I will roast and eat you."

Maichak turned back into a man and said, "I am your brother."

Everybody was happy.

(This happened in the Aichá River, and may be it is called that because of Maichak.)[214]

The little sister ran to the house, shouting "Here is my brother."

Now Maichak had learned everything in the course of his travels. He stayed for some time at home and everybody wanted to see him.

He knew everything, he could do everything. He preached and taught, showing the other Indians what to do and how to make everything that they needed. His fame extended far and wide and many other Indians came to him to learn.

One day Maichak was sitting in the house, making an arrow and a woman was in the house, eating. This woman[215] had a speech defect. She was partly mute, and could not speak distinctly, and at this moment she had her mouth full. She turned to Maichak and said,

pemon-don	yeupüi	maichaᵊ	enese.
"People (Indians)	are coming,	Maichak	to see."

Now, at this time, Maichak was still afraid of his brothers-in-law and of the king of the buzzards, from whom he had been fleeing. The woman spoke so indistinctly, that he understood her to say,

213-215 [see footnotes on pp. 331-32, category 116 - Analyst]

539 pemon-don yeupüi maicha' ereukai.
"People (Indians) are coming, Maichak to kill."
[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi': from near Inepa.
Karosiai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three [103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into [101] which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

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II. The story of Maichak and his wife's family:

a. The quarrel and the murder of Maichak's wife.
b. The flight.
— This is one legend with two more or less separable episodes.
(A transitional episode including Piaimá's teaching of Maichak.)

III. The Buzzard King and Queen:

a. The capture of the Queen.
b. The three labors:
1. Draining the lake.
2. Building the house on rock.
3. The magic bench.
— This legend is thus compounded of four distinct episodes.
(A transitional episode of flight from the Buzzard King.)

IV. The return home.
— Brief as it is, this curious episode is quite unrelated to any other and constitutes a separate legend.
(A very brief transitional episode in which Maichak appears as a culture teacher.)

V. The earthquake (involving a sort of Kamarakoto creation legend.)

The whole story is thus composed of a sequence of thirteen different episodes each of which is potentially a separate story, and several of which do indeed appear as distinct stories among other tribes, except that the two episodes of the magic implements and the three of the labors for the Buzzard King are less readily separable. So much has been crowded into this long story that it is almost a whole system of mythology in itself.

Despite this composite nature, the story as a whole has a sort of tenuous common theme or broad plot, which is related to the almost universal culture-hero complex. Maichak appears at first as a completely ignorant, useless individual. His deficiencies are to some extent remedied by the magic implements, but he loses them, largely because of his stupidity. His quarrel with his brothers-in-law and his subsequent flight also arise from his ignorance, the fact that he did not know how to make basketwork.[220]

Then comes the brief but revealing interlude in which Maichak is taught the useful arts by a supernatural being, Piaima, the formerly ignorant culture-hero receiving knowledge from a divine source. Finally Maichak returns to his

220 [see footnote on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[171] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one Wəwɛ as hero, and a Taurepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichaure (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called Kasaná-podoré and his heads are named Mõuyimõn and Etetó. The Kamarakoto name Atitó is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taurepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

171 539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceibo like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221,222 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 11b - Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 823 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

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Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

152 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[172] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
842 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[597] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[574] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
[578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

372 is probably not purposely fired, but it sometimes becomes dry enough to burn
311 and catches from the sabanas. Thus there is a large, gaunt, burned forest high on Auyán-tepuí, where no Indian ever goes, and others were seen in similar situations between Kamarata and Luepa. This custom has had a detrimental effect on the beauty of the region, which is of little import to the Indians, and on the pasturage of the sabanas, which is of still less — both points of some potential interest for the prospect of the opening up of this region.[230]

230 [see footnote on pp. 333-34, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the sur-
178 vivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe
177 before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
123 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

177 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show
123 still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

231 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival) - (new introduction)	No change. Mud-sealed square "calabozos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics, (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

232-234 [see footnotes on p. 334, category 118 - Analysis]

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now [177] quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are so barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that they must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actual features of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

177 178 A brief review of the apparent cause: of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

177 178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably improve the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 281]

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.[236]

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 11b – Analysis]

000 for all sorts of transport, distribution, and other operations that are quite unnecessary for things produced at home for home consumption. Labor that will, expended on one's own garden, produce food for a month may not even pay for transporting a single meal from a distant producer.

From the point of view of maintaining a decent standard for the Indians the problem here is triple: to encourage the Indian to devote a proportion of his labor to products for home consumption, to guide his labor for purchase into channels where it will have as much purchasing power as possible, and to ensure delivery of imports as cheaply as possible. The latter problem is essentially a national one and not mainly the concern of those immediately dealing with the tribe, except as it is possible for them to prevent local profiteering. For the first two problems there is a solution, partial at least, that works toward both these ends and incidentally achieves others.

This solution, which has been found to work with some distant tribes where it has intelligently been promoted, is capable not only of sustaining and raising the Indian standard of living but also of converting the Indians from being, on the whole, a liability to the nation, into an outstanding asset. It is simply to discourage as far as possible their competition with the labor market in general and to encourage the employment and development of their special skills and traditional achievements, not only for their own immediate use and benefit, but also as a means of turning their labor into salable form at as high an exchange value as is practicable. That the Kamarakotos have skills thus convertible should be evident from the present monograph. Instead of turning the men to manual labor or factory production, for which more than enough unskilled hands are already available in the world and even in Venezuela, keep them making baskets of native design for their own use, lessening their necessity of purchases, and for export, where they can be traded far more advantageously than can an equivalent amount of unskilled labor. Instead of teaching the girls embroidery, which cannot profitably compete with either machine- or hand-made products already on the market, encourage them to make native hammocks, ornaments, and fabrics for their own use and for export. The best of Kamarakoto (and other allied Indian) arts and crafts would find a wide and advantageous market if they were made known and a steady supply were available.

It would be fatal (and has already proven so in some cases elsewhere) to urge or, if avoidable, even to permit the Indians to make articles of non-native design, for instance, to weave the baskets of some type already popular elsewhere but not native to the Indians. This simply brings them again into unnecessary competition with the rest of the world and nullifies one purpose of the plan. Their designs can hold their own purely on merit, and to this inherent merit can be added the very considerable advantage and selling point that the articles are genuinely Indian in every sense. Uncontrolled traders (and in some cases more educated people who should know better) have a strong and in the

000 long run devastating tendency to order articles from the Indians made to the trader's design, not the Indian's. Some native designs are better than others and some native workmen are more skillful. It is legitimate and highly desirable to select the best designs as models and to train to the level of the most skilled work, but both should be kept purely Indian.

Encouragement of indiscriminate trading, government subsidy, fixing of abnormally high wages for labor by law or custom, and the other means that have been tried, with the best of motives, in order to help the Indians, are almost certain to have the opposite effect. A system of government trading and control stations, staffed by officials trained for the task (including basic public health instruction) and under orders similar to the suggestions outlined here would do far more good and by making a fair profit on trade, which should be done in any case, could be self-supporting. This is distinctly a situation where private initiative, laissez-faire, and the supervision of missionaries over non-religious matters is likely to bring tragedy.

Another problem that is equally fraught with danger is that of land tenure. It will be impossible for the present Indian system to continue without friction if, or when, colonization involving their lands occurs. Giving the Indians title to land now actually occupied by them cannot be satisfactory, because it allows for no population increase on their part and especially, because it permits no flexibility as to residence and no long rotation of fields according to their custom. It is almost certain that the Indians could not continue to be self-supporting unless they were given what would seem, to one unacquainted with them, unreasonably large reserves, covering not only the land actually occupied but all the land that they now consider as available and desirable for future occupation. It is probably not necessary to point out that the conferring to colonists or speculators of "legal" titles to land here without regard to Indian occupation and needs would be both immoral and dangerous. The eventual introduction of fixed, personal, transferable tenure of land, in direct opposition to the Indian system, is probably inevitable but can only be successfully achieved, (with survival of the Indians), if it is done slowly and is accompanied by agricultural experimentation and education sufficient to make it possible to make a living on the minimum plot to be held by the head of each family.

[text continues on p. 284]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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5:Simpson. N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.
Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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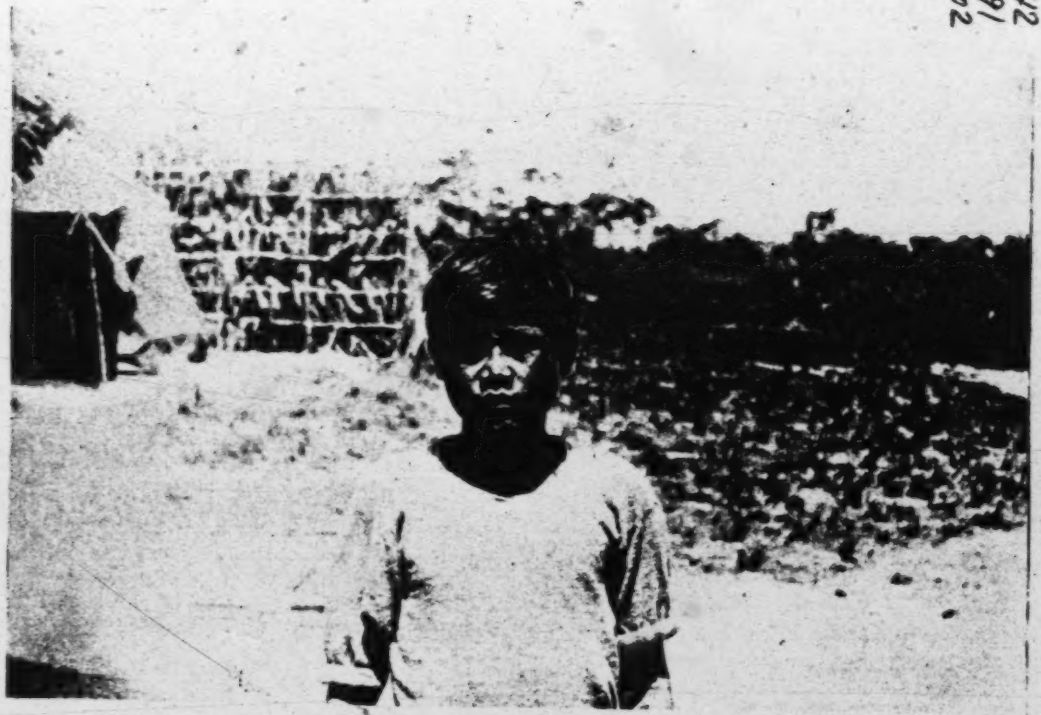

Fig. 87 – Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 89 — Kamarakoto Adult Women.
No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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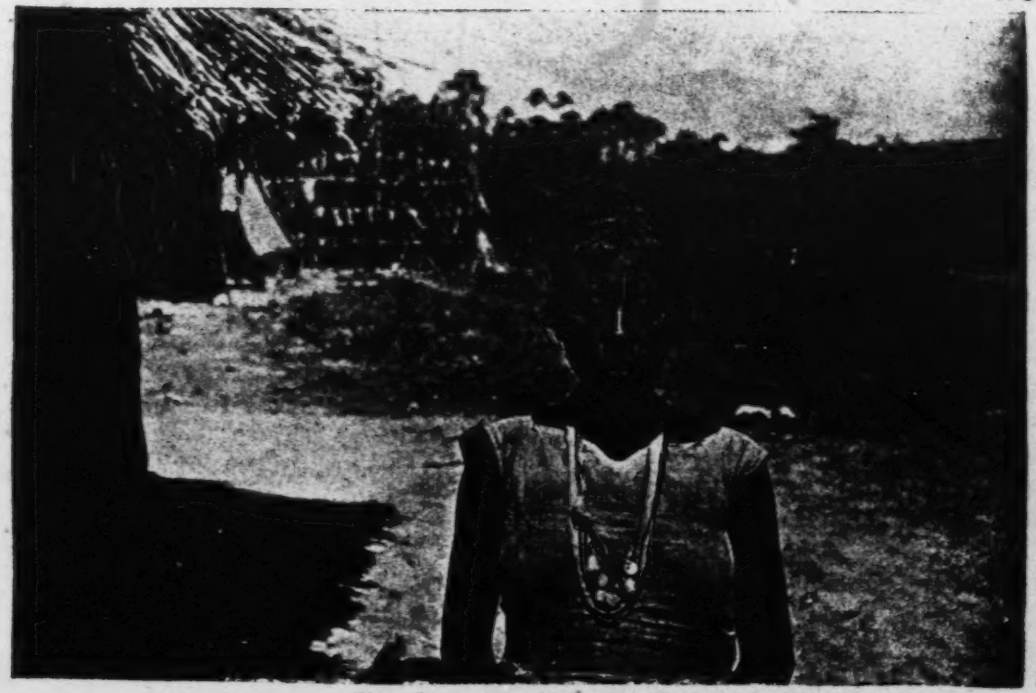

Fig. 90 – Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

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Fig. 92 — Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians
[114] agree that the Arekumas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the hand-
[162] someness of the other Arekumas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepáne (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the
[302] chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [518] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively 232 mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional [847] deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 93 — Feet of Kamarakoto Females.

No. 49 (left, only one foot showing) is adult and the mother of the other three, left to right Nos. 52 (youngest sister), 51, and 50 (oldest sister, but probably not over 8 years). Note increasing spreading of foot and divergence of great toe with greater age.

153 [158] There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

141 126 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 561 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 141 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237? [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analysis]

141

Fully Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 15

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	175 - 194	186.9 ± 1.4	5.5 ± 1.0	3.0 ± .5
Head breadth	150 - 160	154.2 ± .9	3.6 ± .7	2.3 ± .4
Head index	77 - 86	82.2 ± .6	2.3 ± .4	-------
Stature	147 1/2 - 168 1/2	160.0 ± 1.3	5.0 ± .9	3.1 ± .6
Sitting height	79 - 90	84.8 ± .8	3.1 ± .6	3.6 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	68 1/2 - 81 1/2	75.2 ± .8	3.3 ± .6	4.3 ± .8
Span	153 - 180	169.0 ± 1.7	6.5 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .7
Weight	105 - 140	123.7 ± 2.8	10.7 ± 2.0	-------

Young Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 9

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	173 - 190	182.7 ± 1.4	4.2 ± 1.0	2.3 ± .5
Head breadth	143 - 158	152.4 ± 1.5	4.6 ± 1.1	3.0 ± .7
Head index	78 - 86	83.2 ± .8	2.5 ± .6	-------
Stature	150 - 162	155.0 ± 1.0	3.1 ± .7	2.0 ± .5
Sitting height	77 - 86 1/2	80.9 ± .9	2.6 ± .6	3.3 ± .8
Stature less sitting height	71 - 76 1/2	74.1 ± .6	1.7 ± .4	2.3 ± .5
Span	155 - 170	162.4 ± 1.5	4.5 ± 1.1	2.8 ± .7
Weight	105 - 125	112.2 ± 2.1	6.3 ± 1.5	-------

For this group the head index (which is not significantly correlated with age in any of my samples) is not significantly different from that of the fully adult group. The head breadth and the derived figure of stature less sitting height are not technically significantly different from the adult group as isolated figures, but this may certainly be taken as a chance result and the difference shown may, on broader grounds, be taken to characterize the populations. The other means are all decidedly significantly different from those for the fully adult group, the weight most so, and prove that this sexually mature and apparently adult group is not, in fact, full-grown, or in other words that some adult growth occurs.

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Adult Female Kamarakotos: N = 14

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 186	177.1 ±1.3	4.7 ± .9	2.6 ±.5
Head breadth	146 - 159	150.9 ± .9	3.3 ± .6	2.2 ±.4
Head index	80 - 88	84.7 ± .6	2.4 ± .5	-------
Stature	136 - 155 1/2	146.9 ±1.2	4.6 ± .9	3.2 ±.6
Sitting height	71 - 82	77.1 ± .7	2.8 ± .5	3.6 ±.7
Stature less sitting height	65 - 77 1/2	69.8 ± .8	3.2 ± .6	4.5 ±.9
Span	143 - 163 1/2	152.0 ±1.4	5.2 ±1.0	3.4 ±.6
Weight	80 - 120	103.6 ±3.3	12.2 ±2.3	-------

[28] The Taurepán samples are not as good as the Kamarakotos. They are somewhat too homogeneous, being mostly from one section of this far-flung tribe and including too high a proportion of individuals of about the same age to be surely representative of the tribe as a whole. Although all are adult, the males, particularly, average younger than the fully adult Kamarakoto male sample and younger than the adult Taurepán male population. The measurements cannot, however, be very different from the Taurepán norms, and their use in comparisons cannot be seriously misleading if their incompletely representative character is borne in mind.

Adult Male Taurepanes: N = 12

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	179 - 191	184.3 ±1.1	3.7 ± .8	2.0 ±.4
Head breadth	147 - 161	154.2 ±1.3	4.5 ± .9	2.9 ±.6
Head index	79 - 89	83.2 ± .8	2.7 ± .6	-------
Stature	152 - 161	156.9 ±1.0	3.3 ± .7	2.1 ±.4
Sitting height	79 - 87	82.4 ± .6	2.1 ± .4	2.5 ±.5
Stature less sitting height	70 - 79 1/2	74.5 ± .8	2.8 ± .6	3.8 ±.8
Span	156 - 170	164.4 ±1.2	4.2 ± .9	2.5 ±.5

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Adult Female Taurepanes: N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ± 1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5 ± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6 ± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ± 1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0 ± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3 ± 1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ± 1.7	5.5 ± 1.2	3.6 ± .8

141 144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these [582] [648] Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seeming contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekunas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekunas.

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 142 [101] Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although 141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with [128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

141

Comparison of No. 25 (known as "Simon Bolivar") Adult Male, with Adult Male Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	165	+10.8	3.0
Head index	88	+ 5.8	2.5
Stature	158 1/2	− 1.5	.3
Standing height	84 1/2	− .3	.1
Span	167	− 2.0	.3
Weight	140	+16.3	1.5

Comparison of Head Dimensions of No. 25 with Adult Male Taurepanes

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 3.7	1.0
Head breadth	165	+10.8	2.4
Head index	88	+ 4.8	1.8

Comparison of No. 14 (known as "Rosa Bolivar"), Adult Female, Sister of No. 25, with Adult Female Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	183	+5.9	1.3
Head breadth	160	+9.1	2.7
Head index	87	+2.3	1.0
Stature	148 1/2	+1.6	.3
Sitting height	79	+1.9	.7
Span	157	+5.0	1.0
Weight	100	−3.6	.3

[144] Simon's head is significantly broader than those of the Kamarakotos and is confirmatory of the belief that he has some non-Arekuna blood. His head index is not quite significantly greater (P is less than .02 but greater than .01). Rose Bolivar's head is about at the limit of significance in its greater breadth in comparison with Kamarakoto (P slightly less than .01), but her index is not shown to be significantly different. In other dimensions these Indians fall well within the Kamarakoto normal range. The difference of Simon's head breadth

141 from the Taurepán sample is not significant (P somewhat greater than .02) but in view of the other relationships this can probably be imputed to the deficiency of that sample. It is, however, to be kept in mind as a possibility that these people might belong to a group that is more variable than are the Kamarakotos in this respect, rather than one that is definitely more broad-headed. This would not alter the fact that they are different.

[124] I was able to measure three adult male Arekunas from south and west of Kamarata, typical of the Indians of outlying regions, with respect to the central Kamarakotos, whose pertinence to this tribe is dubious. They compare as follows with the fully adult Kamarakotos:

Comparison of Three Adult Male Arekunas from the Region of the Caroni with Adult Male Kamarakotos

Measurement	Individual No.	X	d	d/σ
Head length	1	195	+ 8.1	1.5
	2	181	− 5.9	1.1
	3	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	1	155	+ .8	.2
	2	148	− 6.2	1.7
	3	157	+ 2.8	.8
Head index	1	79	− 3.2	1.4
	2	82	− .2	.1
	3	84	+ 1.8	.8
Stature	1	165	+ 5.0	1.0
	2	164 1/2	− .5	.1
	3	172 1/2	+12.5	2.5
Sitting height	1	89	+ 4.2	1.4
	2	82	− 2.8	.9
	3	79	− 5.8	1.9
Span	1	175	+ 6.0	.9
	2	172	+ 3.0	.5
	3	175	+ 4.0	.6
Weight	1	155	+31.3	2.9
	2	115	− 8.7	.8
	3	115	− 8.7	.8

No. 3 (Fig. 94) is taller than any central Kamarakoto but the difference is not surely significant (P is between .02 and .01). No. 1 is distinctly outside the Kamarakoto normal range in weight (P definitely less than .01), but little

141 importance can be given a character so largely dependent on environment, even over a short period of time, when the environment of this Indian certainly is different (in whatever way) from that of the central group. In other respects these Indians are well within the Kamarakoto range, as they are also in the less measurable characteristics of appearance, and there is no reason to separate them physically from that tribe or at least from the group of Arekunas of this general region.

Kamarakotos and Taurepánes compare as follows:-

Comparison of Adult Male Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 15 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 12 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	186.9	184.3	2.6
Head breadth	154.2	154.2	0
Head index	82.2	83.2	-1.0
Stature	160.0	156.9	3.1
Sitting height	84.8	82.4	2.4
Stature less sitting height	75.2	74.5	.7
Span	169.0	164.4	4.6

None of these differences is significant (d/σ is less than 2.5 in all cases) and as far as these measurements go no distinction between male Kamarakotos [145] and Taurepánes is shown. The fact that the Taurepánes appear to be slightly smaller in all dimensions is due to the observed fact that the average age of the individuals in the Taurepán sample was slightly less, and some adult growth occurs in these groups.

Comparison of Adult Female Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 14 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 11 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	177.1	176.5	.6
Head breadth	150.9	150.6	.3
Head index	84.7	85.4	- .7
Stature	146.9	145.8	1.1
Sitting height	77.1	77.3	- .2
Stature less sitting height	69.8	68.5	1.3
Span	152.0	153.1	-1.1

P 141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P 142 101 P M 128 141 114

The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141

The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

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Fig. 94 – Arekuna Adult Male.
No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

5sSimpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.
No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.
No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

P M 141

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P M [128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P M [101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

P 128 145 [114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analyst]

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 15 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	188.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	146.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.8	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.8	144.7	155.0	169.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.6	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	59.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	128.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	38.0	51.0	112.2	122.7

[126] [123] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

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Growth in Female Kamarakotos

	No. 52, about 3 years old	No. 64, about 5 years old	Mean of Nos. 29, 32 & 51, about 6-7 years old	No. 50, about 8 years old	No. 27, about 10-11 years old	No. 61, about 15 years old	Mean of 14 adults
Head length	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Head breadth	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Head index	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Stature	92	107	113	134	143	146 1/2	146.9
Sitting height	51 1/2	59	60 1/2	73	73	76	77.1
Stature less sitting height	40 1/2	48	52 1/2	61	70	69 1/2	69.8
Span	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Weight	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

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The available data for male children and young adults, of whom 24 of central Kamarakoto stock were measured, in addition to the 15 older adults, provide (apparently for the first time) an opportunity to study relative growth in such a relatively pure and primitive human stock. This rather lengthy study is not within the proper scope of the present work, but in order to make the important data all available here in most convenient form, a tabulation of the linear measurements of these individuals (omitting the oldest group in which no determinable growth occurs) is presented below. Logarithms are given instead of raw measurements because the latter should be turned into logarithms for clearest study of relative growth in any case and one step is thus saved the reader without using any more space here. The sequence is that of stature.

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
35.	1.9320	1.6946	1.5563	1.9395	2.2175	2.1335	2
68.	1.9335	1.7160	1.5563	1.9395	2.2380	2.1461	2 1/2
30.	2.0149	1.7634	1.6580	2.0128	2.2430	2.1761	4
67.	2.0191	1.7520	1.6812	2.0294	2.2380	2.1461	4
63.	2.0828	1.8195	1.7404	2.0899	2.2455	2.1584	7-8
33.	2.0969	1.8261	1.7634	2.1004	2.2430	2.1732	7-8
37.	2.1038	1.8228	1.7818	2.1206	2.2355	2.1523	8-9
54.	2.1106	1.8261	1.7924	2.1271	2.2455	2.1675	8-9
36.	2.1206	1.8603	1.7745	2.1038	2.2553	2.1790	9-10
48.	2.1492	1.8808	1.8129	2.1492	2.2553	2.1761	12-13
46.	2.1538	1.8603	1.8451	2.1761	2.2480	2.1335	12-13
47.	2.1568	1.8692	1.8420	2.1732	2.2577	2.1553	12-13
16.	2.1703	1.8779	1.8603	2.1931	2.2480	2.1644	10
40.	2.1718	1.8949	1.8451	2.1903	2.2718	2.1931	12-13

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos (Cont.)

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
15.	2.1761	1.8865	1.8633	2.1903	2.2601	2.1847)	Young
62.	2.1790	1.9031	1.8513	2.2014	2.2577	2.1790)	adult, ca.
22.	2.1875	1.9031	1.8692	2.2014	2.2648	2,1553)	16-21 (ex-
23.	2.1875	1.8976	1.8751	2.2095	2.2380	2.1703)	cept No.
18.	2.1889	1.9165	1.8573	2.2304	2.2648	2.1875)	53 who is
							large but
58.	2.1917	1.9031	1.8779	2.2122	2.2625	2.1790)	younger
24.	2.1945	1.9031	1.8837	2.2135	2.2672	2.1987)	than others
10.	2.1973	1.9217	1.8692	2.2068	2.2788	2.1959)	in this
53.	2.1973	1.9004	1.8921	2.2175	2.2648	2.1818)	group, ca.
41.	2.2095	1.9370	1.8779	2.2279	2.2601	2.1959)	14).

[p. 301]

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[p.305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai – Andyrt]

194
197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bi-syllabic. Among them o. ũna was also recorded but õ. ina and õina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worũwori and wõrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[128] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word tsigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai — upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ' is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

194 character and its status as a separate phoneme seems to me to be conclusively established by the fact that when word- and phrase-building bring it into a phonetic position where d, t, k, and g can occur, which often happens, it never becomes one of those sounds but retains its own character or disappears altogether.

23. In many languages an analogous effect is produced by a glottal stop which may be heard even in English words like "no" when pronounced very quickly and decisively. The effect is the same but the means are different.

24. Most conveniently so written, but unlike the combination of a plosive t + s, which does not occur in Kamarakoto.

25. I suspect that some travelers, familiar with ch and not with affricative ts, have mistaken the latter for the former, but to one conscious of the distinction they are usually readily separable.

26. In the Kamarakoto word, contrary to rule, the penultimate vowel is short so that the relative vowel quantities are: 1, a — short; 2, a — slightly longer; 3, i — short; 4, a — short. This is similar to the abnormal long a: in the Taurepán word. The normal shortness (or inconspicuousness) of the i — vowels sometimes produces such anomalies in Kamarakoto and allied languages (but a long i, i:, does occur).

27. This sound is absent in American English and is not invariable in British English. Americans always and British often use fricative r even in words like "very." To the American ear the flapped r sounds like a dull d.

28. To such an extent that it would hardly occur to a German to represent this Indian sound by r and, for instance, Koch-Grünberg almost invariably writes it l. E.g. he writes "Taulipang" for the tribal name now standardized in Spanish as "Taurepán." The actual pronunciation is between these two.

29. The same thing is true of flapped "r" in a number of Spanish colloquial dialects. For instance Venezuelan peones commonly say "reflán" for "refrán." This makes r for the Kamarakoto phoneme a still better symbol for Spanish readers.

30. But, as already mentioned, this sound, never occurring except before a vowel, could be considered as merely an element in a whole series of ascending diphthongs, wa, wo, etc. These sounds are written as diphthongs in Spanish, ua, uo, etc., and Spanish transcriptions of Indian words are usually so

194 written. To use n in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from n and n: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of n. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

194 171 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . . which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like putasta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mele (= mure) as Ingariko and unle (= -nre) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

1 [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because supeneded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawõra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word
115 ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes near-
194 er than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been
194 called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or
114 whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the
[104] Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.
[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai?, which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "uoiuo = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigonazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katsupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retorata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[192] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
103 marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("xipōlaːli") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
228 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

23/ 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
17/ Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ing) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 824 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
114 innumerable doubtful points.

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

114 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor
286 three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region,
177 but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized"
286 technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use <u>ocapa</u> for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74. 1/1

1/1 [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 756 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 534 755 [171] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[198] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai'. "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichar.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kõsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepũi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
~~288~~ pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.
P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

P
M
114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekumas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

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/For a comprehensive listing of Kamarakoto vocabulary, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 38-52, 70-77, 92-100./

5: Simpson

SS16 Pemon SS16

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/For an analysis of Kamarakoto grammar, see category 116, pp. 72-91./

265

/For information on the intricacies of Kamarakoto basketry, (e.g., plaiting and weaving methods, designs, types of products and their uses, etc.), see category 116, pp. 176-200, 324-326./

5: Simpson

SS16 Pemon SS16

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/Information on the use of beads as an integral part of a woven fabric will be found in category 286./

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

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/For information on the similarities and differences between the vocabularies of the Kamarakoto, Taulipang (Taurepan), Arecuna and other Carib-speaking groups, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 36-52, 54-71, 86-90, 92-97, and 100-105./

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DR. GEORGE GAYLORD SIMPSON.

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ADVERTENCIA

La "Revista de Fomento" no se hace solidaria de las ideas expuestas en los artículos publicados con la firma de sus autores.

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Editorial

La Revista de Fomento se complace en publicar el notable trabajo del Doctor George Gaylord Simpson, que lleva el título "Los Indios Kamarakotos" (Tribu Caribe de la Guayana Venezolana), con el cual espera ofrecer una importante contribución científica a la etnología de las tribus indígenas venezolanas en general y, muy especialmente, a la de las tribus caribes de Venezuela.

El Doctor George Gaylord Simpson, distinguido paleontólogo especialista en vertebrados del Museo Americano de Historia Natural de New York, se graduó en la Universidad de Yale (Ph. B. 1923, Ph. D. 1926), donde efectuó investigaciones sobre geología y paleontología de vertebrados. Trabajó además como investigador científico en el Museo Peabody, en el Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones (National Research Council), en el Comité Internacional de Educación (International Education Board), en el Museo Británico de Historia Natural de Londres y finalmente en el Museo Americano de Historia Natural de Nueva York, donde desempeña el cargo de Conservador Asociado desde 1929. Pertenece a las sociedades científicas siguientes: Fi Beta Kapa, Sigma Xi, Sociedad Americana de Mamalogistas, Sociedad Americana de Naturalistas, Sociedad Filosófica Americana, Sociedad Paleontológica de América, Sociedad Geológica de América. Es miembro correspondiente de la Sociedad Geológica de Londres, de la Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geográficos "Gaea", y miembro ac-

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tivo del Club de Exploradores de los Estados Unidos. Ha participado en numerosas expediciones paleontológicas en los Estados Unidos y Sur América, como miembro del Museo Americano de Historia Natural, y ha publicado unos 185 trabajos científicos y libros.

El Dr. Simpson vino a Venezuela en setiembre de 1938, junto con su señora la Doctora Anne Roe Simpson, por invitación especial que le hizo el Ejecutivo por órgano del Ministerio de Fomento y como representante del Museo Americano de Historia Natural de Nueva York, para organizar la recolección, preparación y estudio científico de mamíferos fósiles en las cercanías de Barquisimeto y en otros puntos de Venezuela, de acuerdo con los trabajos iniciados por el Hermano Nectario María, del Instituto La Salle de Barquisimeto.

El Dr. Simpson se trasladó a la región de San Miguel, próxima a la carretera de Barquisimeto a Quíbor, donde organizó y realizó los trabajos de recolección de huesos fósiles de mamíferos, en las exploraciones que había preparado el Hermano Nectario María. La Doctora Simpson lo acompañó en ese estudio ocupándose en investigaciones científicas sobre los mamíferos actuales de la región. Varios centenares de huesos fósiles, vestigios de gigantescos mamíferos, fueron recogidos durante los trabajos llevados a cabo y enviados para su estudio y clasificación metódica al Museo Americano de Historia Natural de Nueva York, donde serán catalogados y preparados debidamente por el Dr. Simpson y luego repartidos por mitad para enriquecimiento de las colecciones de los Museos de Historia Natural de Caracas y Nueva York. Las primeras preparaciones, resultado de los constantes e intensos estudios que realiza el Dr. Simpson, llegarán a Venezuela a principios del año entrante.

El Dr. Simpson estudió algunas otras localidades favorables a la búsqueda de fósiles de mamíferos en los Estados Lara y Trujillo. También se dirigió al Oriente de la República en las cercanías de Zaraza donde hizo

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hallazgos interesantes y practicó estudios sobre las localizaciones fosilíferas visitadas.

Posteriormente, en mayo del año 1939, el Dr. y la Dra. Simpson fueron invitados a formar parte de la expedición exploradora de la Gran Sabana que organizó el Ministerio de Fomento y fué allí donde el Dr. Simpson se dedicó con gran interés al estudio científico y metódico de los datos antropológicos y etnográficos sobre los Indios Kamarakotos, mientras la Dra. Simpson se dedicaba con empeño al estudio sistemático de la actual fauna de mamíferos de las regiones de Kamarata y Santa Elena, ambas valiosas contribuciones que complementaron el estudio general de la región de la Gran Sabana.

El presente trabajo es el resultado de las minuciosas investigaciones sobre la materia realizadas por el Dr. Simpson con admirable capacidad científica. Al publicar esta monografía sobre los Indios Kamarakotos, la Revista de Fomento considera dicho trabajo como una de las más valiosas contribuciones al estudio de nuestros aborígenes, en especial, de las tribus Caribes de la Guayana Venezolana, y desea significar muy especialmente su agradecimiento a los Dres. Simpson y al Museo Americano de Historia Natural de Nueva York por su importante colaboración científica.

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Los Indios Kamarakotos

(Tribu Caribe de la Guayana Venezolana)

por el doctor
George Gaylord Simpson

Traducción de J. Villanueva-Urralde

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PROLOGO

Orientación.

Aproximadamente para la época del descubrimiento de Colón, el extenso y variado territorio actualmente unido bajo la Bandera Venezolana estaba ocupado por gran número de tribus indígenas muy diversas. Pertenecían en su mayoría a dos grandes troncos o divisiones lingüísticas y culturales: los Caribes y los Aruacos. Se sabe hoy que cada uno de estos dos grupos principales tenía un solo origen (lingüística y culturalmente al menos, habiendo podido absorber cada uno de ellos un elevado porcentaje de sangre de origen extraño), aunque ambos incluían tribus tan separadas geográficamente y en otros respectos, que no tenían noción de esta unidad básica. Varias tribus Caribes, dispersas o no federadas en absoluto, ocupaban casi toda la región de la Costa, desde cerca de Valencia, hacia el Este, hasta Cumaná, y otros Caribes ocupaban las márgenes del Lago de Maracaibo, exceptuando el extremo Norte, y la mayor parte de las montañas yacentes al Oeste del Lago, hasta Colombia, desde luego que los Motilones pertenecen a este grupo. Estaba ocupada la Costa, desde cerca del Río Yaracuy, en dirección Oeste, hasta Colombia, incluyendo el extremo Norte del Lago de Maracaibo y el lugar donde se alza actualmente la ciudad de Maracaibo, por Tribus Aruacas; e indígenas íntimamente relacionados con estas tribus cubrían una vasta zona del Interior, la cual incluía casi todos los Llanos Occidentales. Los Andes estaban habitados por un grupo aislado, los Timotes, sin afinidad con los Caribes ni con los Aruacos; y un

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grupo aislado igualmente, los Betoys, vivían en la región del extremo Norte de la Cordillera, extendiéndose en dirección septentrional hasta el Interior del actual Estado Falcón.

Diseminados por las demás regiones habitaban grupos análogamente aislados, como los Warraus (o Guaraúnos) en la región del Delta del Orinoco y sus alrededores; los Yaruros, los Wahibos (o Guahibos) y otros en el Orinoco medio y superior; los Waikas (a quienes no debe confundirse con los Caribes Akawais, también llamados Waikas o Guaicas) en las cabeceras del gran río, y algunos otros. No obstante la supervivencia, aún hoy, de varios de estos grupos aislados y mermados, así como de algunas tribus Aruacas casi tan aisladas igualmente, casi todo el territorio salvaje y enorme que constituye actualmente la Guayana Venezolana estaba ocupado por indios del tronco Caribe, no muy disímiles de los que habitaban la región costeña de Caracas o Cumaná.

En el Norte de Venezuela, aunque la sangre indígena sobrevive todavía visiblemente en muchos lugares, la cultura aborigen y la organización tribual han sido ya absorbidas casi completamente por la moderna cultura venezolana, de origen principalmente europeo. Cierta influencia europea ha penetrado en todas partes, hasta en las tribus más remotas que todavía no han visto blancos, pero, en general, la gran masa de tribus Caribes del Sur del Orinoco ha resistido a este avance, apoyada por la dificultad del acceso a su región. Muchas de estas tribus conservan aún su organización tribual y una cultura casi puramente aborigen. Aquí puede estudiarse todavía la civilización Americana pre-Colombina. y particularmente la de los Caribes, que, por muchos respectos, constituyen el tronco aborigen más importante de Venezuela.

La importancia del estudio de estos indios es bastante grande y no menos su urgencia. Desde el punto de vista histórico, tales estudios muestran la base indígena de la historia y la cultura venezolanas. Desde un punto de vista social, la comprensión de estos indios puede permitir una facilitación del inevitable proceso de europeización y un aminoramiento de la involuntaria brutalidad que usualmente lo acompaña. Tal estudio acaso pueda demostrar también que la supervivencia de estas culturas Indias es un recurso económico positivo. De todos modos, estos Indios

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pertenecen a Venezuela, aunque no tengan apenas o en absoluto noción de este hecho; y el conocimiento de estos venezolanos por los otros, los venezolanos más civilizados, es una obligación que puede convertirse en gran placer. Estos estudios son urgentes, porque la renaciente Venezuela de estos últimos años está progresando impetuosamente, adentrándose en las soledades más remotas, y mucho de lo más pintoresco e importante de sus culturas Indias está desapareciendo de un año para el otro.

Muchos de los Indios del Sureste de Venezuela, especialmente entre el Caroní y la frontera de la Guayana Inglesa y el Brasil, por el Este y el Sur, pertenecen a una rama particular de los Caribes, la cual debe denominarse perfectamente Arekuna. La división Arekuna de los Caribes, que constituyen un importante núcleo superviviente de tales Indios, es divisible a su vez en varias tribus íntimamente aliadas, aunque separadas deliberadamente, estando incluídos los Taurepanes, cerca del Roraima, y los Kamarakotos, en los aldedores del Auyán-tepui, montaña igualmente grandiosa. Estos últimos indios, los Kamarakotos, son objeto de la presente monografía.

Desde un punto de vista más amplio, todas las culturas aborígenes de Venezuela al Este y al Sur de los Andes, con todas las de las Guayanas Inglesa, Holandesa y Francesa y las del extremo Norte del Brasil, tienen rasgos comunes y pueden considerarse como pertenecientes a un área o sub-área cultural de Sur América. Se denomina propiamente ésta Area Nordeste o Area de Guayana (o Guiana), porque se centra en torno a la Guayana Venezolana y está también desarrollada típicamente en las otras Guayanas. Esta área tiene a su vez más o menos algunos rasgos comunes con otras de Sur América, por el Norte con toda el área al Este de los Andes y por el Sur con el área al Este del Chaco y Uruguay. Toda esta gran región del Este de Sudamérica es así una división cultural mayor de Sur América, siendo su parte norteña el Area de Guayana.

Ninguna de estas áreas culturales tiene característica importante alguna que se extienda por todas las regiones sin variación en absoluto, pero cada una de ellas puede definirse de manera general por ciertos elementos culturales comunes. En

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efecto, la división mayor, la Zona Amazónica, incluye indios que se sustentan principalmente con casabe y ají, usan tabaco, emplean cerbatanas y flechas emponzoñadas, envenenan los ríos para conseguir pescado, construyen casas semipermanentes y duermen en hamaca; primitivamente no usaban vestido o solamente un simple taparrabo, practicaban antiguamente el empollamiento ("couvade") y tienen un sistema religioso puramente exorcista, animístico, y no sacerdotal o teístico; fabrican objetos de alfarería, viajan en canoa, tocan maracas, entierran los cadáveres en posición de feto, etcétera, etcétera. Los Kamarakotos poseen todas estas características, en alguna de sus numerosas variantes, como oportunamente veremos, pero lo mismo sucede con todas las tribus indígenas que viven hasta en el Sur del Brasil, de modo que tales características son patrimonio de toda la Zona Amazónica.

En el Area de Guayana, a más de estas características o las formas típicas locales de ellas, la mayoría o todos los Indios cultivan e hilan algodón y hacen tejidos complicados con esta fibra, exprimen la yuca en una prensa de labor de cestería de dibujo característico, fabrican numerosos objetos más de cestería típica y fina, fuman tabaco en forma de puro y no usan coca, viven en grupos individuales como familia y no en casas grandes como comunidad, son polígamos, entierran los cadáveres en fosas más que en urnas, etc. También se demostrará que los Kamarakotos son en todos estos respectos Indios típicos de Guayana.

Dentro del Area de Guayana, los grupos culturales locales se caracterizan menos por estos rasgos generales que por las variaciones particulares de ellos. Ciertamente, todos fabrican cestas, pero cierto tipo de cestas le da carácter a un grupo de tribus dentro de una posición nuclear en el Sureste de Venezuela y en el Oeste de Guayana Inglesa; y dentro de estas tribus ciertos tipos son Arekunas en contraposición a Makuchis, etc., y dentro de los Arekunas determinados son Kamarakotos en contraposición a Taurepanes. Estos detalles múltiples han de ser mencionados la mayoría de ellos en el curso de las páginas siguientes. También es característico que las áreas culturales más extensas, como el Area Amazónica y su subdivisión, el Area Guayanesa, comunmente resultan definibles sin necesidad de buscar afinida-

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des raciales y lingüísticas. Pero dentro de un área menor, una sub-área, las culturas locales siguen por lo general líneas raciales y lingüísticas claras. En efecto, los Caribes de Venezuela tienen usualmente algunas diferencias, no sólo desde el punto de vista físico y lingüístico, sino también cultural, con los Aruacos venezolanos, no obstante se encuentren ambos íntimamente asociados, lo cual no impide que una tribu Caribe esté "Aruaquizada" o una Aruaca "Caribizda". Los Kamarakotos son típicamente Caribes, tanto por la cultura como por la lengua.

Otro de los factores de esta subdivisión local requiere mención especial para la orientación sobre los Kamarakotos dentro de los Indios de su región y de Sur América: el ambiente. La característica más importante del ambiente en esta región particular es que algunas tribus viven habitualmente en los bosques, en tanto que otras habitan por lo general las sabanas o llanuras fértiles enclavadas en la selva. Esta distinción puede acompañar o inducir a diferencias culturales definidas hasta entre tribus íntimamente emparentadas racial y lingüísticamente. Los Kamarakotos, lo mismo que los Taurepanes, son Indios sabaneros (1). Viven en sabanas, en medio de los bosques circundantes, en una serie de hondonadas de valles cuya altura oscila aproximadamente entre 400 y 500 metros. De hecho, siempre habitan cerca de la selva, pero nunca en ella; tienen preferencia marcada por el fondo relativamente llano de los valles y rara vez penetran en las montañas, así sea temporalmente. Hasta que fueron llevados por exploradores blancos, no hay memoria ni leyenda de que ninguno de ellos hubiese escalado jamás el Auyán-tepui ni ninguna de las montañas realmente altas que rodean sus valles. En estos valles, naturalmente, el frío se desconoce por completo y los días son siempre lo bastante calurosos para que el abrigo sea innecesario, aunque raras veces resulten en extremo desagradables por el calor. Las noches son por lo regular frescas y hacen preferible dormir en casa, entre paredes. Las estaciones traen escaso cambio de temperatura, aunque suelen estar bien definidas las temporadas lluviosas y secas propias del Trópico. Como en

(1) Koch-Grünberg escribió que son Indios selváticos, pero no los conoció y basó su creencia lógica, pero errada, en la opinión igualmente errónea de que no había sabanas apropiadas para tales Indios al Oeste de la Gran Sabana.

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la mayor parte de Venezuela, la temporada lluviosa es "invierno", cuando hay poca actividad de viaje, cacería o agricultura, siendo después activa la temporada seca.

Sujetos desde hace poco, como todos los Indios, a la creciente influencia venezolana (2), los Kamarakotos conservan de hecho todavía toda la cultura pre-colombina de esta área en forma fácilmente reconocible y relativamente inalterada. Esto hace de ellos un grupo casi ideal para el estudio desde este punto de vista y también hace este estudio de valor muy superior al que pudiera suponerse por el tamaño pequeño de esta tribu. Como estudio típico, éste es un ejemplo concreto, unificado, pero ampliamente característico del género de cultura que prevaleció anteriormente en la mayor parte de Venezuela y que prevalece todavía en un área enorme de este país. La influencia "civilizada", o "europea", tal como aparece en esta tribu, aumenta, lejos de aminorar, su importancia e interés. Esta influencia conduce de por sí a la claridad del análisis y tipifica también un proceso extendido y de máxima importancia social y económica.

Estudios de este género son relativamente tan raros en Venezuela, que el observador puede estar seguro de que casi todo lo que observa es importante y digno de publicidad, siempre que la reseña sea escrupulosa e inteligentemente interpretada. Háse publicado, es cierto, una larga serie de informes sobre los Indios venezolanos y ciertamente no hay aquí ni asomo de menosprecio hacia esos estudios. Algunos de los primeros colonizadores y misioneros dejaron relaciones bastantes valiosas, irreemplazables en verdad, ya que son testimonios directos de cosas hoy desaparecidas. Ni que decir tiene, snembargo, que aquellos no eran observadores imparciales ni facultados y que sus informes no es-

(2) En este orden de ideas no veo modo de diferenciar a los Indios de tribu y a los Venezolanos civilizados, si no es llamando a estos últimos y no a los primeros "venezolanos", ahorrando así largos y enrevesados circunloquios. Por supuesto, los Indios también son venezolanos, y yo no quiero ni remotamente indicar que no lo sean. Denominar a los venezolanos norteños, a los civilizados, "blancos", sería una injusticia para la gran masa de ellos que no son blancos, aunque están altamente civilizados en sentido europeo. Hablar de ellos, de acuerdo con una vieja costumbre venezolana, como "racionales" en contraposición a los Indios, es injusticia mayor que a éstos se hace, desde luego que los Indios son en todo sentido tan racionales como quienes más. Por lo tanto, en el presente estudio, cuando se diga Venezolanos habrá de entenderse aquellos no pertenecientes a tribus de Indios.

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taban enrumbados en sentido científico o integrados con criterio antropológico, pues ésta es disciplina no existente, o punto menos, para aquella época. Otros viajeros de más preparación etnológica y más avisados en todo sentido, como Humboldt y Schomburgk, recogieron después mayor número y mejores datos sobre el asunto. Basta mencionar los nombres de Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-Acosta, Requena y Jahn para saber que no faltan más recientes y más técnicos estudios sobre los Indios venezolanos. No es menospreciar el trabajo de estos y muchos otros entusiastas y hábiles investigadores, sino solamente asentar un hecho en el que convendrán todos, decir que, pese a sus esfuerzos, Venezuela es una de las regiones donde relativamente está la mayor parte por hacer en los diversos campos de la antropología técnica.

Respecto a los Kamarakotos, nada fidedigno e importante se ha publicado hasta ahora. Como lo demostraré más tarde, la literatura sobre ellos incluye solamente una referencia añeja, dudosa en el sentido y de contenido trivial, algunas menciones del nombre o conjeturas, la mayoría incorrectas, de escritores o cartógrafos que nada supieron directamente de los Kamarakotos, y una simple y breve mención reciente, aunque bebida en el propio manantial, (de Tate) que no tiene ni pretendió tener valor científico alguno. Por consiguiente, en lo que se refiere a esta tribu, la presente monografía es necesariamente nueva por completo.

Algunas tribus afines han sido estudiadas cuidadosamente y hácense frecuentes comparaciones con ellas, principalmente sobre la base de esta literatura. Algunos de los mejores estudios, y precisamente los más importantes para las presentes comparaciones, se refieren a los Taurepanes. El gran explorador y etnógrafo alemán Koch-Grünberg publicó una obra completa de cinco volúmenes consagrada en gran parte a esta tribu, la cual, sinembargo, conocía más íntimamente a través de sus representantes más meridionales (brasileños) que por los norteños (venezolanos). Los Taurepanes son Arekunas, lo mismo que los Kamarakotos, (3)

(3) Koch-Grünberg y algunos otros después de él han establecido diferencias entre los Taurepanes y los Arekunas, pero yo demostraré que es más conveniente y más correcto considerarlos como una tribu de los Arekunas.

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y se parecen a éstos en casi todos los respectos. No se intenta aquí substituir ni repetir la obra de Koch-Grünberg, en lo aplicado a los Arekunas en general, sino solamente mostrar en la extensión que debe aplicarse a todo el grupo, poner de relieve las peculiaridades de los Kamarakotos dentro del grupo y suplementar el trabajo anterior, dedicando atención especial a varios temas importantes, como las técnicas textiles, que no fueron tratados detalladamente por Koch-Grünberg, no obstante la extensión de su obra. Desdichadamente, las publicaciones de Koch-Grünberg son raras y costosas, habiendo aparecido únicamente en alemán. Los misioneros de Santa Elena tienen un conocimiento de esta tribu superado solamente por Koch-Grünberg, si no superior a éste. Desgraciadamente, todavía no han publicado casi nada nuevo sobre este tema (Véanse las notas del Padre Baltasar de Matallana citadas en las referencias al final de esta monografía).

Entre las tribus afines más distantes, las de la Guayana Inglesa son las más importantes para hacer comparaciones. Sobre estas tribus hay riqueza de material publicado, pues pocos Indios de parte alguna han sido estudiados más cuidadosamente o con mayor amplitud. La obra de Roth es particularmente importante en este respecto, desde luego que es plenamente fidedigna; recapitula los trabajos anteriores y los del propio Roth y llega hasta el más pequeño detalle. (Una sola de sus varias publicaciones, llamada "estudio preliminar" ("An introductory Study"), con ironía acaso inconsciente, ocupa alrededor de 720 páginas en cuarto y letra menuda, incluyendo 183 láminas y 341 (4) figuras ilustrativas del texto). En la especialidad lingüística, la excelente gramática de Williams y su vocabulario de la lengua Makuchi son particularmente valiosos entre los estudios referentes a la Guayana Inglesa. Acaso deba ser mencionado también el trabajo de Farabee como fuente de material comparativo, pero ha sido censurado severamente en muchos puntos y no contiene en rea-

(4) Naturalmente, el estudio en cuestión incluye gran variedad de razas y tribus diferentes, no todas comparables particularmente con los Kamarakotos y ninguna completamente análoga. Acaso sea antipático criticar un aspecto cualquiera del espléndido trabajo de Roth, pero en el uso práctico tiene el pequeño defecto de que a veces se le hace difícil al lector cerciorarse de que un dato determinado se refiere exactamente a cierto grupo local, resultando más difícil todavía distinguir entre los elementos que concurren actualmente a la formación del complejo cultural de un solo grupo.

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lidad nada aparte una serie de medidas físicas que no se encuentran en forma más detallada ni más exacta en otros investigadores.

Tal es, pues, el cuadro general, racial, lingüístico y cultural en el que están enmarcados los Kamarakotos, y tales son las premisas generales de los estudios antropológicos que han servido para la integración de esta monografía.

Notas históricas.

Los Kamarakotos aparecen en las relaciones escritas en fecha relativamente tardía. El examen de los mapas que pretenden incluir el área donde viven, desde el mapa de Bry, trazado el año 1599, hasta los de la época actual, no revelan el nombre de la tribu en ninguna carta anterior a 1840, cuando apareció en la "Carta del Cantón de Upata", de Codazzi. Desde esa fecha, la palabra Kamarakoto, escrita de diferentes modos, consta en la mayoría de los mapas que incluyen los nombres de las tribus de esta región. Las posiciones exactas que se adjudican al nombre en varios mapas difieren hasta una extensión de quinientos kilómetros; pero a nada conduce insistir sobre este punto. Todos los cambios de posición parecen ser accidentales o basados en datos escasos, y no reflejan ciertamente ninguna migración conocida de la tribu ni el conocimiento exacto de su localización en ninguno de los tiempos citados.

Probablemente, la relación más antigua de los Indios llamados Kamarakotos, por más que no se haya publicado sino recientemente, es la de Fray Ramón Bueno, misionero franciscano que laboró en las Misiones del Orinoco desde 1785 hasta 1804 y dejó una descripción manuscrita de Guayana, hecha entre los años 1800 y 1804 y publicada en Caracas para 1933. Esta obra curiosa y valiosa incluye el siguiente pasaje (página 85 de la edición impresa):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienen, les dan bastante en que pensar:

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los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustán terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada año una".

Esta información, por muy interesante que sea, resulta en extremo vaga y no da ni mucho menos certeza de que los Camaracotos de ese relato sean efectivamente los precursores de los Kamarakotos objeto del presente estudio. El pasaje trascrito no da informe exacto sobre la radicación de los "Camaracotos" para aquel tiempo, pero de su asociación con los Akawais y su reducción por los Capuchinos Catalanes se infiere que vivían a gran distancia, probablemente hacia el Nordeste, del hogar actual de los Kamarakotos. Los Guaicas de esa relación eran sin duda alguna Akawais (5).

Existe, como lo mencionaré más tarde, cierta leve evidencia de que los Kamarakotos vinieron del Nordeste en tiempos posteriores al Descubrimiento; pero si efectivamente fueron reducidos a poblados de Misión y obligados a vestirse para 1800 aproximadamente, lo cierto es que en el curso del pasado siglo perdióse completamente tanto el recuerdo como los efectos de tal reducción. Y es más: sus afinidades lingüísticas, físicas y culturales en la actualidad son bastante definidas con tribus que ahora moran al Este y al Sur de ellos, dentro de la Guayana Inglesa y el Brasil, y en las cuales no es probable una migración desde el Norte. También es improbable que nuestros Kamarakotos sean parientes tan cercanos de los Akawais, con quienes los asocia Fray Ramón Bueno en su relato, como lo son de los Makuchis, y ciertamente su parentesco es bastante menos íntimo que con los Taurepanes. Teniendo en cuenta todo esto, es dudoso que la relación se refiera efectivamente a los antepasados de los Kamarakotos de hoy en día. Puede referirse más bien a alguna otra rama de los Arekunas, no mencionados con este nombre, que no específicamente a la entidad tribual particular a la que ahora le ha sido limitado o transferido el nombre. La aparición del nombre es ciertamente interesante, pero no claramente signicativa. El otro informe que

(5) Fueron y son llamados todavía Guaicas en algunas relaciones y evidentemente nada tienen que ver con los Guaicas no-Caribes o Waikas de los manantiales del Orinoco.

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se nos da no tiene verdadero interés etnográfico en ningún caso, circunstancia triste, puesto que algunas observaciones sobre otras tribus en el mismo trabajo son del máximo valor etnográfico.

El examen de numerosas descripciones de viajes no me ha revelado ninguna relación original de los Kamarakotos entre 1804 (siempre que los informes de Fray Bueno sean prístinos y se refieran a ellos) y 1938. Nadie parece haber hecho con anterioridad a 1938 un relato circunstancial de una visita a los Kamarakotos, y la información digna de fe se limita al puro nombre y al hecho de que viven en cierta parte del Caroní o sus cercanías. Los mapas dan efectivamente asomos de razón para creer que en el año 1850, poco más o menos, moraban en la misma región general que hoy ocupan, vivieran o no en ellas antes. El infatigable investigador Koch-Grünberg agregó que son Arekunas y suministró tres palabras de su dialecto, pero también algunos otros detalles tradicionales que no son exactos y, en suma, hizo poco por darlos a conocer tales como son (6).

Por lo que se refiere al mundo científico, el actual descubrimiento o redescubrimiento de los Kamarakotos acaso deba datarse solamente desde la fecha de la expedición Phelps-American Museum—año de 1938,—toda vez que los miembros de esta excursión fueron definitivamente los primeros en dar constancia permanente de todo informe de contacto directo con la tribu. Ello fué obra de Tate (1938) quien aportó algunas fotografías de estos indios, llamados por él, simplemente, "Arekunas". Su breve nota popular no suministró datos de particular valor antropológico, aunque a la postre dejó constancia definitiva de la tribu. La citada expedición tuvo entre sus antecedentes el descubrimiento del Auyán-tepui (y asimismo de los Kamarakotos) por James Angel pocos años antes, y las subsecuentes visitas de los exploradores venezolanos Cardona y Heny, pero ninguno de ellos ha publicado (que yo sepa), un recuento del descubrimiento (7).

(6) El vocabulario "Arekuna" de Koch-Grünberg, de origen no especificado, no es Kamarakoto, como podía esperarse de su creencia de que los Kamarakotos eran Arekunas, al par que los Taurepanes no lo eran.

(7) No trato con esto de schicar el elevadísimo crédito concedido a sus trabajos. Es positivo que todas las recientes conquistas científicas en esta región se deben directamente a que Angel abrió el camino para ellas. Se ha suscitado alguna controver-

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Es indudable que algunos venezolanos iletrados visitaron esta región aún antes, pero las correrías de tales individuos no redundaron en descubrimiento en ningún sentido verdadero. También Kamarakotos viajeros descubrirían a Venezuela para aquel tiempo, pero ello no determinó que Venezuela los descubriese. La expedición a que fuí agregado para 1939, según explico después, fué la primera en consagrar una atención específica a los Indios, y puede afirmarse que virtualmente nada de cualquier valor particular se ha publicado acerca de ellos antes de la presente monografía.

Los propios Indios tienen cortos anales, un sentido del tiempo prácticamente nulo y leyendas históricas escasas en extremo. Sinembargo, algunos fragmentos de información histórica, nada fidedigna evidentemente, se han recogido de ellos. En la última parte del mito de Maichak, publicado en página posterior, se representan ellos mismos como descendientes o sucesores de un hombre llamado Kamarakoto, quien vivía en Kamarata, su actual hogar, y cuyos gigantescos "restos petrificados" existen todavía. Este mito es la respuesta corriente a cualquier pregunta sobre su procedencia y no incluye traza alguna de que residiesen anteriormente en otra parte. Se nos suministra, sinembargo, una segunda y menos milagrosa leyenda, menos conocida entre los miembros de la tribu y que posee mayor asomo de posibilidad histórica, por más que yo no le conceda pleno crédito. Según esta leyenda, los primeros Kamarakotos eran descendientes de un Indio (presumiblemente con su familia), quien huyó de la región de Tumeremo en tiempo de los conquistadores. Como quiera que son vagas las ideas geográficas de los Kamarakotos, "la región de Tumeremo", puede significar un punto cualquiera del área, bastante al Norte y al Este de Kamarata, entre el Caroní, el Cuyuní y la Sierra de Imataca. En esta región hubo Misiones de Capuchinos Catalanes y en este respecto la leyenda coincide curiosamente con la declaración de Fray Ramón Bueno. "En tiempo de los conquistadores" también puede indicar un tiempo cualquiera que se remonte a más de dos generaciones. Fué antes de que viviese

sia sobre otros detalles y antecedentes, pero no es pertinente al presente tema y no me propongo discutir, aparte las declaraciones ya hechas, las cuales se ciñen rigurosamente al asunto.

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el padre de ninguno de los hoy vivos; y fecha más añeja no tiene valor. A estos "primitivos Kamarakotos" se juntó, según la misma leyenda, un hombre de Luepa. Por "hombre" puede entenderse una familia entera o hasta todo un pueblo incorporado como sucede hoy; y "de Luepa", como se ha revelado también en otras conexiones, no significa específicamente de este poblado, el cual no tenía importancia hasta que una Misión se estableció recientemente en él, sino simplemente de la Gran Sabana o bien más lejos, hacia el Este, más allá de la Gran Sabana. Los descendientes de este hombre se cruzaron maritalmente, dicen, con los del "hombre de Tumeremo", y los actuales Kamarakotos son, según la misma versión, el núcleo mezclado resultante. Los "primeros" o "verdaderos" Kamarakotos, vale decir, aquellos que vinieron de Tumeremo, tenían también, según dicen, una lengua diferente, y hasta se recuerdan algunas palabras, las cuales insertamos más adelante.

Una interpretación cualquiera de esta leyenda debe ser rotulada de conjetura, mereciendo difícilmente el nombre de deducción científica, por lo cual vale más registrar el hecho escueto. No obstante, pudiera significar, poco más o menos, esto: Existió una tribu llamada Kamarakota que vivía en una parte indeterminada al Norte del Cuyuní y al Este del Caroní, cuando la Colonia. Algunos miembros de esta tribu huyeron ante los ataques de otros Indios (testimonio de Fray Ramón Bueno) o de los misioneros o de invasores blancos (actual creencia Kamarakota. La antipatía de los Indios por los misioneros puede también leerse entre líneas en la relación de Fray Ramón Bueno) y se radicaron en Kamarata o cerca de allí, donde fueron absorbidos por una población Arekuna ya instalada o que inmigró después desde el Este; y la tribu mezclada resultante se hizo eventualmente Arekuna por completo, en lengua, cultura y físico. Afirmación endeble es la de que los "antiguos Kamarakotos" tuvieron que ser físicamente idénticos a los Arekunas, porque los Kamarakotos de hoy lo son y difícilmente lo fueran de haber estado mezclados con otra tribu de distinto carácter físico.

Acontecimientos más recientes suelen ser tratados con igual vaguedad. El más definido es el recuerdo de una gran guerra de tribus, hace más de dos generaciones, entre los Kamarakotos

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y las tribus circundantes, particularmente los *Mwerwan*, nación que, dicen, vivió en el Caroní y está ya extinta. Una querella sobre derechos de pesquería entre tribus normalmente amigas degeneró en guerra general y sangrienta. Estos Indios no han peleado durante las dos generaciones últimas.

El cacique, Alejo Calcaño, me dijo que un "obispo" (un sacerdote o misionero de cierta categoría) visitó esta región hará cosa de treinta años, viviendo el propio Alejo, y repartió regalos, aunque no predicó ni enseñó, desapareciendo después sin que de él nada más se sepa. Yo no he podido hallar relación alguna de tal visita apostólica. Otros indios mencionan breves visitas de misioneros (los mismos u otros?), visitas que ocurrieron en el intervalo de una generación y los últimos cinco años. Las Misiones establecidas recientemente en el Alto Caroní todavía no han entrado en contacto con los Kamarakotos.

Bases del presente estudio.

Los materiales para el presente estudio fueron acopiados durante varias semanas de residencia en Kamarata, valle al Sur de Auyán-tepui, a principios del año 1939, con la Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana, del Ministerio de Fomento del Gobierno de Venezuela. No podré agradecer con demasiada cordialidad a todos los funcionarios relacionados con la Expedición su generosidad y su cooperación espléndida para hacerme posible este trabajo; y deseo mencionar particularmente al Ministro de Fomento, Doctor Manuel R. Egaña; a mis compañeros y a los Directores de la Expedición, miembros del Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, doctores Santiago Aguerrevere, Víctor M. López, Carlos Delgado y Carlos Freeman. Gracias a ellos y al excelente equipo y organización de la Expedición, no tuve que hacer ninguna de las tareas administrativas usuales ni tampoco ninguna faena de campo ni vigilancia, de manera que pude consagrar todas mis horas hábiles y vacantes al estudio de los Indios. Ello tuvo como consecuencia ahorrarme la mitad del trabajo que hubiese tenido en las condiciones corrientes en tales expediciones, permitiéndome rendir bastante más de lo que había calculado en las pocas semanas disponibles.

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Este estudio se vió también favorecido excepcionalmente con el empleo de Antonio Montesdeoca y su designación como intérprete y asesor general mío. Es Montesdeoca un miembro de pura casta de la tribu, por lo que está perfectamente al corriente de su lengua y de todas sus costumbres. Es también hombre de importancia en la tribu; y sus instrucciones y deseos fueron cumplidos siempre plenamente por los demás Indios. Al propio tiempo, recibió cierta instrucción en una población venezolana, permitiéndole esto darme todos los informes deseados en un español comprensible. Fué conmigo bastante servicial, inteligente y diligente. Las declaraciones que parecían más o menos dudosas no se registraron bajo su responsabilidad solamente, sino que yo aproveché cuantas ocásiones se me brindaron para comprobarlas en todo sentido, sin encontrar jamás que él me desorientase deliberadamente. Antes bien, repito, Montesdeoca fué mi principal informante y pasó muchas horas y días enseñándome y explicándome pacientemente todo lo posible. Fué la suya una ayuda ideal y ella contribuyó también poderosamente a que yo pudiese recoger informes más numerosos y mejores de los que esperaba.

También fué posible recoger una colección bastante considerable de todos los objetos portables que usa la tribu, colección que fué donada generosamente por el Ministerio de Fomento de Venezuela al American Museum of Natural History, donde he podido estudiarla a placer.

Desde Kamarata volamos a Santa Elena, con el piloto James Angel, a quien también quedo agradecido, así como a la Línea Aeropostal que nos facilitó un avión para el viaje hasta Kamarata y para el regreso desde Santa Elena. En este último lugar permanecimos unos diez días, siendo el motivo un estudio de aquellos Indios, los Taurepanes, no por ellos mismos, sino para establecer comparaciones. Como ya he dicho, los Taurepanes son relativamente bien conocidos científicamente y mis breves observaciones tenían el mero propósito de efectuar una comprobación directa con los Kamarakotos, subrayando para mí la realidad de la literatura y suministrándome algunos datos de que carecía aún, por no haberlos hallado en los escritos. Allí me fueron del máximo valor la hospitalidad y ayuda del Doctor Fernández Peña, y también deseo dar testimonio de gratitud a los Padres de la Misión Capuchina por su amable interés y cooperación cordial.

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Los materiales así recogidos fueron ordenados y elaborados después en el American Museum of Natural History de Nueva York, y le estoy reconocido a este Instituto por la suma considerable de tiempo que me permitió dedicar al asunto y las muchas facilidades que me diera para este trabajo, debiendo hacer constar que esta esfera de actividad queda algo fuera de aquella a que me dedico regularmente.

También contraje deuda de gratitud con varias personas que me proporcionaron detalles diversos. J. Martínez Mendoza A., de Caracas y Charles R. Hitchcock, de Nueva York, examinaron muchos mapas y determinaron la primera aparición del nombre de esta tribu en una carta geográfica. Gene Weltfish, de Nueva York, me suministró consejo y referencias concernientes a la fonética. E. W. Berry, de Baltimore, me dió informes sobre la antigüedad de la *Musa* y la *Discorea* en América. A. Jahn, de Caracas, me hizo varias indicaciones acerca del nombre e historia de la tribu. Naturalmente, ninguna de estas autoridades es responsable del uso que yo haya hecho de sus informes y en uno o dos casos mis opiniones difieren de las suyas, por más que las mías no hubiesen podido formarse sin su ayuda.

El Dr. Clark Wissler, jefe del Departamento de Antropología del American Museum of Natural History tuvo la amabilidad de leer mi manuscrito, y, sin hacerse responsable de los posibles errores de observación, proporcionó el beneficio de su alta autoridad en la materia.

H. S. Scarritt, de Nueva York, hizo posible mi visita a Venezuela y en este sentido me dió la oportunidad de hacer este estudio.

Deseo también expresar mis gracias al Sr. F. Villanueva-Uralde por la escrupulosidad y la pericia con que ha hecho la difícil traducción de mi manuscrito inglés al español.

Finalmente he de mencionar que mi esposa, la Doctora Anne Roe, me acompañó en toda la expedición. Las observaciones sobre los vestidos femeninos de la tribu son obra suya y el juicio de las características psicológicas de los Indios se basa en parte en su opinión experta. También colaboró conmigo en otros respectos menos definidos.

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Las observaciones fonéticas representan principalmente la pronunciación de Antonio Montesdeoca, quien habla Kamarakoto, por ser su lengua nativa, no teniendo su acento ninguna diferencia reconocible con el de los demás miembros de la tribu. La mayoría de las palabras fueron también oídas de boca de uno o de muchos Indios que no hablan español y las escasísimas anomalías en la pronunciación fueron anotadas o enmendadas.

Las descripciones de la cultura material son bastante completas y difícilmente pueden suscitar aprensión seria, desde luego que me fué permitido ver, traficar, dibujar o fotografiar y muchas veces captar prácticamente cuanto hacían o usaban los Indios.

En lo referente a los problemas harto más dificultosos de cultura social, mis observaciones son forzosamente menos completas. El mejor trabajo en esta especialidad requiere años de residencia, un dominio absoluto del dialecto local y la confianza plena de los Indios. Disponía solamente de pocas semanas y, naturalmente, los demás requisitos no pudieron llenarse en este tiempo. Sinembargo, antes de marchar, y cuando podía servirme de ayuda material, conocía suficientes palabras Indias para estar siquiera seguro de que mi intéprete me daba realmente el sentido de lo que se decía, como también para adquirir algunos informes por cuenta propia. Hubo naturalmente cierta reticencia en determinados puntos, pero en casi todos los casos ello se aclaró ampliamente antes de mi partida. Aunque muchos de los detalles más esotéricos no pudieron obtenerse en el tiempo disponible, la exposición general y bastantes detalles de cultura social se consiguieron, siendo compulsados tan escrupulosamente que puedo responder de su exactitud esencial, excepto cuando explícitamente manifiesto dudas.

En este respecto debo hacer constar una omisión deliberada. Cuanto atañe a la salud, las enfermedades y la medicina le fué asignado para su estudio al doctor-médico que formaba parte de la Expedición, razón por la cual se omite en esta monografía. Al tratar algunos temas no esencialmente médicos ha sido necesario invadir esporádicamente este terreno. Por ejemplo, presentóse la incidencia de una estadística demográfica aproximada al hacer el censo y los registros somáticos, y había que mencionar el exor-

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cismo como procedimiento médico en relación con la magia y la religión. Cuanto sea estricta o primariamente médico se omite, sinembargo, a posta. No hay aquí, por ejemplo, discusiones sobre el parto, la pubertad, la menstruación, la "couvade", los remedios herborísticos o de otro género o la ocurrencia de enfermedades específicas.

También ha de advertirse que las palabras en *cursiva* (aparte los términos claramente taxonómicos u otros que tienen manifiestamente diferentes acepciones) son palabras Indias escritas de acuerdo con el sistema fonético explicado aquí y que existen en el dialecto Kamarakoto, a menos que se declare lo contrario. Los vocablos Indios que se han españolizado o anglicado están impresos en tipo corriente.

Un manantial frecuente de confusión en la literatura es la palabra "Caribe", aplicada algunas veces a toda la masa diversa de Indios que hablan lenguas o dialectos de ese grupo desde Centro América y las Antillas hasta el Sur del Brasil, y a veces a alguna tribu particular o más pequeño grupo de tribus, especialmente los Galibis o Kaliñas. De no estar citando a un autor cuya opinión sea dudosa, yo empleo la palabra no modificada de "Caribe" solamente en su sentido más amplio y no aplico específicamente ese nombre a ninguna unidad menor.

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LENGUA

Los Kamarakotos hablan un dialecto Caribe peculiar, suyo propio, pero referible, como lo demostraré, a la lengua Arekuna, otro de cuyos dialectos, el Taurepán, es adecuadamente conocido. El Kamarakoto es en verdad una lengua viva, siendo la única que hablan todos los miembros de la tribu, excepto tres o cuatro. Es relativamente pura, con escasos injertos de otras lenguas Indias, habiendo adoptado, cuando más, veinte o veinticinco vocablos españoles, aplican estos últimos, casi sin excepción, a artículos importados del mundo civilizado (8), y la mayoría de ellos parecen haber sido introducidos a través de otros indios y no directamente por gente de habla española.

En hecho de verdad, nada se ha publicado hasta ahora del dialecto Kamarakoto, pues todo el conocimiento previo de él se reduce a tres palabras especificadas como Kamarakotas en el vocabulario Arekuna de Koch-Grünberg. Dos de ellas: *waila* (*waira*), "membrum virile", y (*u*)*sa: yi*, "membrum muliebre", no han sido registradas por mí. La tercera, *maikuli* (*-maikuri*), "tapir", puedo confirmarla como correcta y típicamente Kamarakota. Contrariamente a la deducción de los comentarios de Koch-Grünberg, su "Arekuna" no tiene intimidad específica con el dialecto hablado por los Kamarakotos, sino que difiere del verdadero Kamarakoto siquiera tanto como el Taurepán.

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(8) Sinembargo, muchos de esos objetos tienen nombre indígena, el cual no ha sido reemplazado en el caso de que el artículo importado no haya hecho sino substituir otro indígena: por ejemplo, "abalorio", "cuchillo", etc.

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FONETICA:

Introducción

Carácter general.—Como en todas las lenguas Indias, los fonemas Kamarakotos con frecuencia difieren radicalmente de los de cualquier idioma europeo. Sus elementos principales acostumbran ser siquiera levemente distintos de los, por ejemplo, españoles; y los varios elementos subsidiarios de un fonema frecuentemente se sobreponen a los que en Español son fonemas distintos. En efecto, el elemento principal del fonema *b*-Kamarakoto es ligeramente abierto, en tanto este elemento del fonema *b*-Español es completamente cerrado. Los elementos subsidiarios del fonema *r*-Kamarakoto traducen tanto el fonema *r* como el fonema *l* del Español. De manera similar, sólo un fonema Español puede estar representado por dos fonemas en Kamarakoto; por ejemplo, el fonema *o-Español* traduce los fonemas e y ɛ del Kamarakoto. Algunos fonemas Kamarakotos, como ɔ, se desconocen por completo en Español y algunos fonemas Españoles, como *f*, se ignoran totalmente en Kamarakoto.

La lengua Kamarakota se caracteriza fonéticamente por su índole relativamente vocálica. Es rica en vocales, incluyendo una serie entera de vocales centrales que son particularmente extrañas al oído Español; y la mayoría de las vocales producen matices e intergraduaciones innumerables en la práctica. Ocurren largas sucesiones de vocales y semivocales, como en la palabra *woiwo*, la cual carece de verdaderas consonantes y es una sucesión de cinco vocales y semivocales distintas juntas con varios sonidos intermedios de vocales deslizantes no escritas en la transcripción amplia. Hay relativamente pocos fonemas consonantes verdaderamente distintos y las consonantes sucesivas son raras, limitándose a muy escasos grupos simples; por ejemplo, las combinaciones como *st*, *pr*, *bl*, etc., tan corrientes en Español y en la mayoría de las lenguas europeas, no ocurren absolutamente en Kamarakoto. Como muchas otras lenguas Indias, el Kamarakoto es especialmente pobre en fricativas puras. Algunos fonemas tienen elementos fricativos o que son una transición al fricativo, pero no

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hay fonema que sea pura e invariablemente fricativo. Contrariamente a lo que sucede en muchas, acaso la mayoría, de las lenguas Indias, el Kamarakoto no tiene un sistema pulidamente subdividido de guturales, sino posee solamente dos definidos fonemas, post-alveorales de suspensión, uno plosivo (*k-g*) y otro no plosivo. La entonación es peculiar y chocante, debido a que se recortan y acentúan fuertemente de hecho todas las sílabas finales.

Transcripción.—Para los presentes propósitos ha resultado lo más práctico usar una transcripción amplia, vale decir una transcripción en la que cada signo represente un sonido o un grupo de sonidos que son para los propios Indios elementos de una sola unidad fonética, o sea, pertenecientes a un fonema. Las únicas excepciones son los signos *g*, *ts* y *l*, que son respectivamente elementos de los fonemas *k*, *s* y *r*, aunque aquí se distinguen por razones que luego expondremos. Los signos usados aquí son esencialmente los del sistema amplio (o "simple") de la American Anthropological Association (9), tienen las ventajas del amplio uso previo para lenguas Indias y el no requerir sino escasos signos de los que no se encuentran en las colecciones corrientes de tipos de imprenta (ɛ y ɔ). Naturalmente que la mayoría de estos signos requieren una definición especial para su adaptación a esta lengua particular. Las únicas desviaciones definidas del sistema amplio A.A.A. son el empleo de un punto (.) para separar combinaciones de vocales no diptongales, como en el sistema estrecho A.A.A.; el uso de (') para representar una suspensión no plosiva, que el sistema citado prevé; y el empleo de *ch* para representar un sonido esencialmente parecido a *ch* en Español. Este sistema tiene la importante ventaja de que las palabras Indias así escritas son generalmente reconocibles si se pronuncian a la manera española (10).

Aunque el hecho sea bastante conocido, debe añadirse que personas distintas o la misma persona en diferentes veces, frecuentemente suelen pronunciar la misma palabra de maneras mani-

(9) Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, Nº 6, 1916.

(10) Recuérdese que todas las palabras han de pronunciarse con un acento terminal no escrito aquí, y que *w* debe pronunciarse como *u* empleada como semivocal y no como *v*.

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fiestamente diversas. Sería posible escribir muchos o todos estos vocablos Indios de algún otro modo y considerarlos no obstante tan aproximadamente "correctos" como son aquí. Lo único que puedo decir, después de haber dado las definiciones de mis signos, es que he oído cada una de las palabras pronunciadas por un indígena aproximada o exactamente como las escribo, creyendo que reflejo fielmente las pronunciaciones "standard" o "captadas" del Kamarakoto, tal como se habla en aquella región o en la inmediata Kamarata. Como prueba práctica, tuve oportunidad de leer mis transcripciones de expresiones Indias cuando ya mi recuerdo auditivo de ellas era vago o habíase esfumado del todo; y los Indios invariablemente me entendían con facilidad, aunque oportunamente me corrigiesen ligeros matices de sonido.

Vocales

Vocales simples.—Los nueve fonemas vocales que se distinguen claramente en Kamarakoto pueden representarse de la manera siguiente:

	Anterior	Central	Posterior
Cerrado.	i	ü	u
Semi-cerrado.	e	a	
Semi-abierto.	ɔ	ö	o
Abierto.		a	

i, u, o y *a* son esencialmente como en español.

e es aproximadamente como en Español, sólo que en Español incluye elementos que se aproximan a *ɛ*, que es un fonema separado en Kamarakoto. *ɛ* es un sonido más abierto y ligeramente más posterior que *e*, similar a la *e* Inglesa, como en "pen" ("pluma" en Español). El grado intermedio de *e* y *ɛ* en Kamarakoto se expresa separando ambos con un guión (11) pero sus elementos principales son completamente distintos.

(11) De hecho, todas las vocales del Kamarakoto tienen más o menos graduaciones intermedias con sus vecinas de grupo: *i* con *e*, *ü* con *a*, *a* con *e* y *ö*, etc., pero las transiciones marcadas con guión en el grupo son las más comunes y notables.

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a es similar a la *a* Española, pero es vocal abierta intermedia, que recuerda a la *ö* no Española, pero más abierta. Difiere a veces de *o* (o también de ö), más por una posición más abierta y menos redonda de los labios que por una diferencia franca en la posición de la lengua.

La peculiaridad máxima del sistema vocálico Kamarakoto, especialmente en comparación con el Español, en su posesión de una serie de vocales centrales distintas, mientras que, de hecho, todas las vocales Españolas están cerca o en los lados anterior y posterior del triángulo vocal. He podido distinguir claramente tres fonemas centro-vocales francamente distintos en Kamarakoto y los representante con *ü*, *ə* y *ö*.

ü, que se parece a *ü* Alemana, sin ser idéntica, es en casi todos los respectos un sonido intermedio de *i* y *u* y puede reproducirse adecuadamente moviendo los labios, la mandíbula y la lengua en medida media entre *i* y *u* y haciendo vibrar luego las cuerdas vocales. Elementos subsidiarios del grado fonémico dentro de la *i* y dentro de la *u* y sonidos de hecho ininteligibles de éstos pueden aparecer en el diáfono a *ü*. Así, la palabra corrientemente pronunciada *o.ina*, también se pronuncia *o.üna*, y la palabra corrientemente pronunciada *təpüi* también se pronuncia aproximadamente *təpui*. *ə* es la llamada vocal neutra, parecida a la *e* Francesa en palabras como "de" o "le". También se asemeja al sonido neutro a que tienden a degenerar las vocales Inglesas cortas y no acentuadas, como, por ejemplo, *a* como en "along" ("a lo largo de"), *e* como en "pavement" ("pavimento"), *i* en ("horrible"), *o* en "method" ("método") o *u* en "chorus" ("coro"), pero en Kamarakoto es más definido y distinto y está frecuentemente acentuado (12). Es radicalmente diversa de la *e* Española y no hay en este sonido graduación notable.

ö deriva hacia *a* y ambas son frecuentemente difíciles de distinguir, aunque yo creo que son fonemas separados. *ö* es similar, pero no lo mismo que la *ö* Alemana o *eu* Francesa y tiene una po-

(12) En Inglés europeo, pero no en *Standard American*, puede producirse un sonido acentuado similar por degeneración de una *r* siguiente, por ejemplo, en la pronunciación británica de "sir" ("señor"), pero esta vocal corrientemente es más larga que su análoga Kamarakoto.

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sición intermedia de *e* y *a*, algunas veces haciendo sobresalir los labios más que en ninguno de estos dos fonemas.

El hecho de que ü, ɔ̈ y ö no existan en Español y no haya deletreo específico para ɔ̈ en Inglés ha determinado que la trascripción de las palabras Indias y nombres que las contengan sea bastante dificultosa y variable. ü ha sido escrita usualmente como *u* y *e*. Por ejemplo, el corriente vocablo geográfico *tɔ̈pü̈i* ("montaña" - mountain") suele aparecer escrito "tepui" o "tepuy". Por lo que se refiere a ü es una aproximación bastante acertada; pero *e* es una aproximación remota de ɔ̈. En realidad, una *u* muy corta, aunque igualmente sea incorrecta, se acerca más acústicamente a ɔ̈ (según mi oído), por lo cual es *e*; y la pronunciación de "tupuy", como en Español, es una aproximación tan aceptable al menos como "tepui" o "tepuy". Las variantes del sonido aquí escrito *ö* han sido registradas usualmente como *o*, aunque algunas veces como *e* y otras como *a*. Si han de emplearse solamente vocales Españolas, *o* por lo general es la más próxima acústicamente, pero no siempre. Por ejemplo, el diptongo *öi* se parece muy poco al Español *ai* y se representa mejor como *oi* o *ui*. Más adelante propondré el deletreo Español para algunos de los nombres geográficos del territorio de esta tribu.

Diptongos.—Los siguientes diptongos han sido registrados definitivamente:

au	*ai*
	ei
	oi
eu	*öi*
	üi

De los demás diptongos posibles en - *i* o - *u*, de aproximación vecina a *ou*, *öu*, *ɔ̈u* o *uu* no se ha tenido noticia, y es probable que en estas combinaciones las dos vocales se parezcan demasiado para ser pronunciadas tan distintamente como separadas, aunque puedan parecerlo vagamente como un resultado de transiciones sonoras que no son fonemas verdaderos. Como en la mayoría de las lenguas, *iu* no forma un diptongo descendente, convirtiéndose más bien en diptongo ascendente o semi-vocal, *yu*. Se oye con frecuencia algo muy cercano a *u*, pero corrientemente se aproxi-

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ma más a *eu* y probablemente no es fonema separado. Acaso la *u* tienda a aproximar más *e* de *e* y en todo caso aproximar ambas, si están efectivamente presentes. En la práctica son indistinguibles acústicamente y no parece que sean distinguidas por los Indios. Esto se refiere también a *ei* frente a *ei*. *ui* no fué registrado como fonema separado, aunque aparecen aproximaciones de él dentro del diáfono *üi*. Si bien puede decirse con propiedad que *ui* se presenta en absoluto, en este caso la-*i* ha empujado probablemente la *u*- hacia adelante, de manera que prácticamente no puede distinguirse de la *ü* (13). Es bastante probable que se presente *ɔi*, pero *ɔ* y *ö* son por lo general difíciles de distinguir y en esta combinación he visto imposible hacerlo con alguna consistencia. La serie entera de sonidos alrededor de *ɔi* y *öi* está registrado como *öi*. No he podido determinar si los propios Indios diferencian ambos conscientemente.

Los diptongos en -*u* y -*i* son todos descendentes. Si existen o no diptongos ascendentes es tan solo asunto de definición. Los sonidos aquí escritos *wa*, *ya*, etc., pudieran considerarse como diptongos ascendentes y escribirse *ua*, *ia*, etc. No obstante, la que yo propongo es práctica fonética más usual y es auto-explicación más aproximada considerar estas combinaciones como semi-vocal + vocal o seguida de vocal y así las he escrito (14).

Aparte escasas sílabas, como *wai*, consideradas como tales no hay triptongos.

Vocales sucesivas.—En Kamarakoto, son raras las vocales sucesivas que tienden a unirse en diptongos o a separarse por semivocales, pero suelen presentarse. Así, la palabra *o.ina* es claramente trisílaba, no bisílaba, pues se pronuncia *o-i-na*, que no *oi-na*, y esta separación se indica aquí con un punto entre las vocales no diptongadas. El diáfono *o.üna* también tiene vocales sucesivas y no se ha oído una variante diptongada de esta palabra entre los Kamarakotos (15).

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(13) *oi* está registrado por separado, pero también tiende, aunque en menor medida, a ser empujado hacia delante, aproximadamente a *ɔi*.

(14) En ortografía Española *ua* es preferible a *wa*, y *ia* puede aceptarse como *ya*, pero en este caso me ha parecido menos confuso seguir un uso más internacional.

(15) No obstante, los diáfonos Taurepanos de la misma palabra tienden a hacerse bisílabos. Entre ellos se ha registrado también *o.üna*, pero *ɔ́ina* y *ɔ́ina* fue-

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Análogamente, la palabra que suele pronunciarse *ita.i* se convierte en ciertas ocasiones en *itai*. La dificultad de pronunciar tal palabra sin diptongarla se ve ilustrada interesantemente con el hecho de que un niño que intentaba decir *ita-i*, insistentemente pronunciaba *itayi*, dándose al parecer cuenta de que *a. i* no es lo mismo que *ai*, pero incapaz de pronunciar sucesivamente *a* e *i*. La tendencia mostrada aquí hacia la separación de las vocales sucesivas con una semivocal, es completamente general en la lengua Kamarakota y acaso explique esto por qué son tan raras las vocales sucesivas. Así, *po. inga* se pronuncia también *poyinga* y en tal posición se presenta con frecuencia una semivocal *y* borrosa.

Esta dificultad parece ser menor cuando la segunda vocal no es *i*. Por ejemplo, combinaciones como *o:apa* o *ko.atai* muestran menos tendencia a la inserción de una semivocal, aunque también en este caso un sonido muy fugitivo parecido a *w* puede presentarse entre *o* y *a*.

A veces, la distinción entre vocales sucesivas y diptongos o semivocales es tan leve que se hace realmente subjetiva. Por ejemplo, en la palabra *lue*, la *u* es más larga y más vocálica que la *w* corriente, pero más corta y menos vocálica que la *u* corriente. El sonido que se ha percibido ahora pudiera ser representado igualmente bien con *lu.e*, *lue* o *lwe* (y también casi igualmente con *ru.e*, *rue* y *rwe*). Del mismo modo hay varias palabras como *mausa* que difícilmente puede ser diferente de *ma-usa* porque la *u* es más larga de lo corriente en un diptongo, pero más corta que usualmente siendo vocal simple. Esto suele ocurrir solamente cuando la *u* es penúltima vocal.

Las vocales dobles, vale decir, distintas de las vocales meramente largas parecen ser bastante raras, pero yo he registrado un ejemplo en la palabra *o. olori*, que no se pronuncia *olori* (ni *oulori*, *wolori*, etc.) (16).

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ron escuchados igualmente y un Indio empleó la notable variante *iña* en la que el diptongo desaparece en favor de una simple vocal y la *n* es palatizada.

(16) Es interesante observar que este caso de una vocal doble no se presenta en Taurepán, en el que he oído la palabra correspondiente pronunciada *wurilwori* y *wilrowori*.

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Cantidad de vocales.—Ya se ha indicado algo sobre la cantidad de las vocales en Kamarakoto al hablar de los diptongos y las vocales sucesivas. Todas las vocales varían grandemente en cantidad, pero la mayoría de las variaciones no son funcionales, estando determinadas por la vecindad fonética, la rapidez del discurso y factores similares, más que por acercamiento al estado de fonemas. En la mayoría de las palabras, la última vocal es relativamente corta; la penúltima, larga; y las precedentes de extensión intermedia de estas dos. Así, en la palabra *kumasa*, tomada como tipo, las cantidades relativas de las vocales son:

1. *u* — media.
2. *a* — moderadamente larga.
3. *a* — corta, acentuada.

A menudo, una palabra pronunciada de modo que no deje lugar a dudas, tendrá todas sus vocales un tanto alargadas para que se distingan bien y la penúltima será desproporcionadamente larga.

Tratándose de palabras que sigan esta regla, la cual incluye la mayoría de las recogidas, no se da indicación especial de la extensión de las vocales. En algunas palabras, no obstante, la penúltima vocal es aún más larga, manteniéndose esta amplitud relativa sea cual fuere el estilo del discurso, y aunque el efecto acústico del acento del vocablo se altere definitivamente, y la palabra puede resultar irreconocible o sonar debidamente falsa si a la penúltima sílaba se le da solamente la extensión normal. En tales casos, pues, las vocales largas alcanzan categoría de verdaderos fonemas y (de acuerdo con los sistemas A.A.A. e Internacional) las indico colocando dos puntos después de la vocal, por ejemplo, *ama:tu*, cuyas cantidades relativas son:

1. *a* — media.
2. *a:* — muy larga.
3. *u* — corta, acentuada.

Tales vocales largas son muy raras, excepto en la penúltima sílaba, pero pueden presentarse en otras sílabas en palabras excepcionales, por ejemplo, en *o:apa*, cuyas cantidades son:

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1. o: — larga.
2. a — muy corta.
3. a — corta.

Esto es tan excepcional fonéticamente, que la penúltima a acaso deba considerarse como incidental para el enlace entre o: y -pa, más bien que como funcionalmente silábica, pero la palabra es irreconocible para los Indios si se pronuncia o:pa.

Casi huelga decir que las vocales supercortas (y las consonantes contínuas) aparecen corrientemente en deslizamientos con otros muchos sonidos. Desde luego que éstas son de hecho necesidades fisiológicas del acto de hablar seguido y no tienen función lingüística; no se escriben en transcripciones amplias, como ésta, a menos que (como en el caso excepcional de o:apa) se hagan tan pronunciadas que adquieran cierto valor lingüístico.

La palabra *woiwo*, ya mencionada como peculiar, es interesante en relación con las cantidades y enlaces vocálicos. Puede describirse como un sonido vocal contínuo durante el cual la parte levantada de la lengua describe un movimiento cerrado, redondeado y triangular, como éste:

Contínua, pero retardadamente, desplazándose hacia los diferentes puntos marcados con x. El resultado pudiera expresarse así:

u — muy corta (retardando muy brevemente).
o — moderadamente larga (pronunciada retardando).
ɔ — supercorta (movimiento contínuo, sin retardar).
i — corta (retardando brevemente).
ü — supercorta (movimiento contínuo, sin retardar).
u — muy corta (retardando muy brevemente).
o — corta, acentuada (el movimiento se retarda brevemente y luego cesa abruptamente).

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Cómo debe dividirse la secuencia en sílabas y qué categoría debe darse a sus sonidos, son cosas ampliamente subjetivas. El género de transcripción usada nos ha mostrado los cinco puntos en que se presenta el retardo *w*, *o*, *i*, *w* y *o*; nos ha mostrado también que es definitivamente más corto en los movimientos primero y cuarto, *w* y *w*, que en los demás, y que es más corto en el tercero que en el segundo. Estas son indicaciones suficientes para la pronunciación correcta de la palabra, sin intentar representar sus transiciones más sutiles, etc.

Consonantes.

Muchos de los fonemas consonantes Kamarakotos no entran categóricamente en las clasificaciones fonéticas corrientes. Así, el fonema *b-* incluye al mismo tiempo una suspensa plosiva y una fricativa casi cerrada; *s* incluye al mismo tiempo una fricativa y una africativa; *k* elementos sordos y sonoros, es una suspensa, pero no plosiva ("suspensa" y "plosiva" se emplean frecuentemente cómo sinónimas), etc.

En la medida que estas peculiaridades permiten una clasificación formal, las consonantes son las siguientes:

	Suspensas y semisuspensas:			Fricativas Africativas	Nasales:		Deslizantes:	Semivocales (17)
	Fricativa-plosiva	Plosiva	No Plosiva		Corta:	Largas:		
Bilabiales	b	p	—	(b)	m	—	—	w
Dentoalveolares	d	t	—	s-ts	n	n:	—	(y)
Palatales	—	—	—	ch	ñ	ñ:	r-l	y
Palatovelares	—	k-g	'	—	(n)	—	—	—

(17) Empleo esta categoría no ortodoxa porque el fonema r-l no es típicamente un fricativo verdadero, ni tampoco un lateral, sino algo mixto y también una plosiva y hasta una semivocal. Me ha parecido lo más sencillo llamarlo deslizante, por ser

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Parece no haber en Kamarakoto ningún fonema constante que se distinga única o principalmente por ser sonoro o sordo. *s-ts* y *ch* son siempre sordos; *p*, *t* y *k-g* tienen sus principales elementos sordos, aunque incluyen también elementos semisonoros o sonoros. Los demás fonemas son prácticamente sonoros siempre.

Si contamos las nasales largas como fonemas distintos y si contamos *b*, *k-g*, *n*, *r*, e *y* como fonemas simples (lo cual creo yo correcto, aunque algunas de estas letras pueden incluir dos fonemas), tenemos en Kamarakoto quince consonantes. Definimos exactamente a continuación cada una de ellas:

b En Kamarakoto hay una serie casi contínua de sonidos entre *u* y *p*, y resulta difícil trazar fronteras definidas entre los fonemas de esta serie. La *w* es una *u* bastante recortada y un tanto laxa. Cuando el redondeo del labio está completamente flojo, la *w* se hace una especie de *v* bilabiál, que no es un fonema distinto en Kamarakoto, aunque se aproxima a una *b* relativamente abierta. En la pronunciación típica de la *b* los labios se juntan, pero sin presión muscular alguna, de modo que se escapa algo de aliento, produciendo un sonido intermedio de fricativo y plosivo. Si no hay en absoluto escape de aliento, prodúcese una *b* levemente plosiva. Como quiera que tanto la presión muscular del labio como la presión del aliento aumentan, el sonido se hace algo más fuerte, convirtiéndose en un *fortis* sonoro, bilabial y plosivo (sonido no claramente desarrollado ni en Español ni en Inglés y que en Kamarakoto es solamente una variante rara). Ahora bien, cuando la tensión de las cuerdas vocales se afloja, este sonido se hace semisonoro y luego sordo, siendo en el último caso una *p* típica. Como en Inglés y en Español, la distensión de las cuerdas vocales acompaña usualmente la tensión de los otros órganos orales, pero la transición es más extensa y diferente, de manera que se presenta un sonido variante que puede describirse como de *b* apagada, parecida a *p*.

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término bastante descriptivo y que lo distingue de la fricativa *r*, completamente distinta.

Los signos entre paréntesis representan elementos subsidiarios de fonemas cuyos elementos principales están clasificados en otras partes. Los signos unidos con guión pertenecen a los diferentes elementos del mismo fonema.

Dentro de esta serie, el principal elemento del fonema *b* junta los labios, aunque los deja completamente laxos, de manera que usualmente hay algún escape de aliento y el sonido es en parte fricativo y en parte plosivo *lenis*. Otros elementos del fonema, oído con menos frecuencia, se aproximan íntimamente al verdadero bilabial *v* y al verdadero plosivo *b*. En este último punto, no estoy seguro de haber trazado siempre correctamente la frontera entre este fonema y el fonema *p* (18), pero en la mayoría de los casos son distintos.

p. El principal elemento del fonema *p*- es un *fortis* sordo, bilabial y plosivo, esencialmente como en Español o en Inglés. Unicamente cuando se hace algo sonoro o algo *lenis*, cosa que ocurre en ocasiones, puede haber confusión con *b*.

d. El parentesco entre *d* y *t* en Kamarakoto es exactamente análogo al de *b* y *p*. En el elemento principal del fonema *d*-, la suspensión hecha aquí entre el borde de la lengua y las partes dentales y alveolares del frente de la boca es flojo y usualmente se escapa algo de aire que le da al sonido un elemento fricativo. Se parece bastante a la *d* Española en palabras como "merced", pero en Kamarakoto puede ser inicial y no es terminal nunca. Los elementos variantes menos comunes del fonema son más abiertos, produciendo una aproximación a la *th* sonora Inglesa, como en "this", o completamente cerrados, produciendo la *d* típicamente plosiva (19).

t. El principal elemento del fonema *t*- es casi como en Español, pero parece que hay elementos variantes semisonoros y hasta posiblemente sonoros por completo. La suspensión es completa, de modo que el sonido es no-fricativo, plosivo y generalmente *fortis*.

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(18) Las nasales en Kamarakoto tienen tendencia a producir sonidos en las consonantes; y ahora sospecho que algunos de los sonidos que escribí como *b*, especialmente después de nasales, son efectivamente elementos del fonema *p*, pero ya no puedo corregir mis anotaciones. En todo caso, la pronunciación no está falsificada notablemente y hasta puede que sea mejor, para personas de habla Española o Inglesa, que si se emplease el fonema-signo corregido.

(19) También en este caso sospecho que algunos sonidos registrados como *d*, especialmente después de nasales, pertenecen verdaderamente al fonema *t*, pero si ello es así, mi manera de deletrear da idea más exacta del sonido para el oído adaptado al Español o al Inglés.

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k-g. No se ha oído un palatal no suspenso del todo o velar plosivo (20). El elemento principal del fonema es una *k* verdaderamente plosiva con varias variantes de posición acondicionada por las vocales vecinas y, cosa que no sucede en muchas lenguas Indias, no distinguidas como fonemas separados. Las diferencias de efecto acústico son insignificantes. Se presenta sinembargo en el lenguaje un sonido *g*- plosivo, el cual suena completamente distinto de la *k* para los oídos adaptados al Español o al Inglés. Los indios no lo distinguen de *k* y se presenta casi invariablemente en las condiciones fonéticas especiales en que *k* no se usa, vale decir, después de nasales y delante de *w* (21). Ha de considerarse, por lo tanto, como un elemento del fonema *k*-. Sinembargo, yo he partido de una transcripción amplia para el hecho de emplear *g* cuando el sonido sea normal y distintamente emitido. Los lectores de habla Española e Inglesa conseguirán así mejor pronunciación de las palabras y no habrá lugar a confusiones si recuerdan que esta *g* es meramente una *k* sonora.

'. Una de las características más típicas del lenguaje Kamarakoto es la existencia de un sonido producido al poner la lengua en contacto con la parte más próxima del paladar, aflojando después las cuerdas vocales y soltando la presión del aliento, de manera que la subsecuente apertura de la suspensión es prácticamente inaudible. Así pues. difiere esencialmente de *k*, donde el sonido es producido principalmente por la apertura de la suspensión y, por tanto, es plosiva. ' es una suspensa que no es plosiva. La posición exacta en que se produce la suspensión varía entre el velar y el palatal anterior, pero está determinada por la posición de la vocal precedente y no hay diferencia de fonemas. Después de una vocal posterior, como *a*, la ' produce un efecto acústico algo parecido al de una *k* completamente inaspirada; y después de una vocal anterior, la *i* notablemente, el efecto es el de una *t* igualmente no aspirada o, dicho más exac-

(20) Excepto como "notas gratuitas" puramente no funcionales, al derivar hacia o desde las suspensiones palato-velares. Un sonido de este grupo análogo a las formas incompletamente suspensas de *b* y *d* se parecería a la *j* Española.

(21) Se ha registrado una excepción ocasional, como en la palabra *taigerenda*, pero no es una *g* lenis completamente sonora, sino un sonido fortis semisonoro, producto de la cesación incompleta de la voz entre la *i* y la *e*, y pertenece al fonema *k*. El fenómeno que esto implica se ilustró bastante bien con el hecho de que cuando un informante hubo de repetir a ruego nuestro la palabra *gwai* despacio, dijo *kwai* — pues al verse libre de la influencia de la *w* siguiente perdió su sonoridad el gutural.

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tamente, son más bien como *g* y *d* completamente mudas, respectivamente (22).

Este sonido sólo se presenta después de vocales y rara vez se oye, no siendo al final de una palabra. Algunas veces se mantiene en fonemas compuestos, pero frecuentemente se debilita o pierde, dependiendo esto del grado de fusión que el compuesto alcance. Así, en *enwarapaima*, la ' de *enwara'* se pierde, pero en *maicha'ya*, la ' de *maicha'* se mantiene. Puede aparecer en forma débil después de cualquier vocal terminal (excepto en las nasalizadas o en las que pueden nasalizarse (véase más abajo), pero yo la he escrito solamente cuando es normalmente fuerte y distinta y aparece como elemento esencial en la palabra.

He considerado este sonido como un fonema, y ciertamente muchas palabras no pueden ser pronunciadas correctamente sin su indicación, pero sospecho que es un fenómeno fonético secundario no del todo análogo a las otras suspensiones. Probablemente se deriva de la naturaleza fuertemente acentuada, pero al propio tiempo breve, de las vocales finales en Kamarakoto, como medio de interceptar una vocal corta y acentuada. Claro está que el sonido puede conseguirse fácilmente intentando pronunciar una vocal de la manera más forzada posible, suspendiéndola al propio tiempo con la lengua con toda la posible celeridad. (23).

El signo ' se emplea corrientemente para la suspensión glótica, pero es conveniente usarlo también para esta suspensión palatovelar análoga y un tanto similar acústicamente.

s-ts. La *s* Kamarakota se parece a la Española, pero es todavía más fuerte. Es siempre sorda y constituye un silbido fuerte y decisivo. La enunciación es tan forzada que la lengua se pone casi en contacto con el cielo de la boca, volviendo a abrirse

(22) Esto se ilustra bien viendo cómo trata Koch-Grünberg el sonido Taurepán íntimamente parecido. Lo escribe corrientemente como *g* pero después de *i* frecuentemente lo escribe *d*. A esto puede argüirse que, es meramente una agrupación artificial de elementos de los fonemas *d* o *t* y *k-g*, especialmente porque es casi invariablemente terminal y *d*, *t*, *k* y *g* nunca lo son. No obstante, si se observa con cuidado es completamente distinto en carácter y su categoría de fonema separado me parece definitivamente establecida por el hecho de que cuando la construcción de palabras y frases lo coloca en una posición fonética donde pueden presentarse *d*, *t*, *k* y *g*, lo que ocurre con frecuencia, nunca se convierte en uno de esos sonidos, sino que mantiene su propio carácter o desaparece por completo.

(23) En muchos lenguajes se produce un efecto análogo con una suspensión glótica que puede oirse hasta en palabras Inglesas como "no" cuando se pronuncian muy rápida y decisivamente. El efecto es el mismo, pero los medios son diferentes.

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cuando resbala hacia la siguiente vocal. Ello establece naturalmente una graduación hasta un sonido en el que la lengua toca por el instante más breve, produciendo un *ts* (24) africativo. Este africativo o fricativo-africativo transitorio *ts* no es un fonema separado en Kamarakoto, sino simplemente una *s* todavía más fuerte que la corriente, conociéndose bien por el hecho de que *s* y *ts* son a menudo intercambiables, aun en este dialecto, y los Indios no las distinguen. Así, la palabra pronunciada corrientemente *motsa* también se pronuncia a veces *mosa* y en algunos dialectos de la familia es siempre *mosa*. He escrito *ts* cuando está claramente presente y relativamente constante, lo cual es una desviación de la transcripción amplia, pero permite mejor pronunciación de las palabras Kamarakotas sin la complejidad indebida de signos.

ch. El sonido así representado es un africativo fuerte, prácticamente el mismo que el de la *ch* Española o el de la *ch* en la palabra inglesa "church" ("iglesia"). En su variación se aproxima a veces a *ts*, pero por regla general es completamente distinto (25).

ch es un signo deficiente para este sonido desde un punto de vista internacional, pero se presta inmediatamente para los lectores de habla Española o Inglesa. El signo A.A.A. *tc* le da una idea incorrecta a cualquiera que no esté en contacto constante con ese sistema, y el signo de la Fonética Internacional requiere un tipo especial.

Como quiera que la *ch* tiene el mismo parentesco con la *sh* Inglesa, como en "english", que la *ts* con la *s*, puede esperarse que *sh* sea el elemento principal de este fonema como *s* lo es del fonema *s-ts*. En realidad, *sh* es un diáfono común en lenguas afines. Compárese, por ejemplo, el Kamarakoto *chayu* con el Taurepán *shu:yu; panachika* con *pana:shika* (26), etc., pero yo no he

(24) Lo más conveniente es escribirlo así, pero no se pronuncia como la combinación de un plosivo *t* + *s*, que no ocurre en Kamarakoto.

(25) Sospecho que algunos viajeros, familiarizados con la *ch* y no con la africativa *ts*, han confundido la segunda con la primera, pero para quien tenga conciencia de la distinción son usualmente separables con facilidad.

(26) En la palabra Kamarakota, contrariamente a la regla, la penúltima vocal es corta, de manera que sus cantidades vocales relativas son: 1, *a*—corta; 2, *a*—ligeramente más larga; 3, *i*—corta; 4, *a*—corta. Ello es similar a la *a*: anormalmente larga del vocablo Taurepán. La brevedad normal (o vaguedad) de las vocales *i* — produce tales anomalías en Kamarakoto y lenguas afines, aunque suele ocurrir una *i*, *i*: larga.

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oído pronunciar a ningún Kamarakoto *ch* sin una oclusión inicial, aunque breve.

m. Esta es una consonante ordinaria, sonora, bilabial y nasal, que no presenta peculiaridades notables aparte la tendencia a que la emisión de voz cause similitud progresiva, o sea, que una *p* o *t* siguiente tienda a emitirse parcial o casi plenamente y a parecerse o hasta no distinguirse de la *b* o la *d* respectivamente.

n. La *n* corriente es similar a la emisión alveolar-nasal usual en lenguas europeas, variando algo en posición bajo la influencia de sonidos circundantes. La emisión es por lo general muy plena y, como la *m* tiende a ser progresiva, de manera que la *p* o la *t* son completamente raras después de *n*.

En ciertas posiciones fijas, la *n* se hace parcial o plenamente velar, casi como la *ng* Inglesa en "sing" ("cantar"). Como en Kamarakoto, este sonido no es un fonema separado en Español, pero ocurre, hallándose presente, no siempre plenamente desarrollado, en palabras como "brinca", "banco", "tengo", etc. La *n* en Kamarakoto se encuentra siempre algo velarizada delante de *k-g* (que se acerca usualmente a *g* en esta combinación) y de *w* y también cuando es final. Como quiera que el sonido es esencialmente invariable en estas posiciones y pertenece claramente al fonema *n*, no está escrito con signo especial.

La *-n* terminal es siempre velada, pero la graduación varía. En algunos casos el sonido se aproxima el de la *n* alveolar, con una velarización muy ligera, y en otros casos la velarización es completa. El sonido también puede reducirse, de modo que llegue solamente a una breve nasalización del final de la vocal precedente o hasta puede ser casi inaudible. Las variaciones son individuales o desarrolladas por el contexto, y, hablando con propiedad, no representan miembros distintos del fonema *n-*, y menos aún fonemas separados, sino que pertenecen a un diáfono con el elemento velar del fonema *n*. Se producirá una pronunciación reconocible y válida si la *n* terminal se pronuncia siempre como velar.

n: Hay en Kamarakoto un pequeño número de palabras, como *ben*:ɛ (completamente distinta de la palabra *bene*) que contienen una nasal funcional reconocida por los propios Indios como diferente del sonido breve. Esta *n*: puede considerarse por

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tanto probablemente como un fonema separado, aunque sea meramente una prolongación de *n*.

ñ. Esta es una *n* palatal distinta, o *n*- mojada, acústicamente indistinguible de la *ñ* Española. Es menos variable que la *n* y aparentemente nunca es reducida o velarizada distintamente.

ñ: Hay una *n* palatal o *ñ* larga rara, como en *ñ:amor*ə, que acústicamente se distingue bien de la *ñ* y puede ser un fonema separado. Suena muy parecido a *nñ*, pero el análisis demuestra que la primera parte prolongada es realmente palatal, como en *ñ* y no alveolar, como en *n*. Es sinembargo una probable derivación de n + ñ.

r-l. Los sonidos generalmente transcritos como *r* y *l* pertenecen a un fonema simple en Kamarakoto. El elemento principal de este fonema es una *r* deslizante, parecida a la *r* Española tenue, como en "era" y la *r* Inglesa (no Norteamericana) deslizante como en "very" ("muy") (27). Es muy distinta de *r* doble canina o fricativa, como en Español la *rr* o *r* inicial o como en Inglés la *r* de "ready" ("dispuesto"), y todavía menos parecida de las formas uvulares o guturales propias del Francés y el Alemán (28). No obstante esta diferencia decisiva con sonidos varios escritos comunmente *r* en lenguas europeas, el parecido íntimo con la *r* Española, la corriente y deslizante, hace de esta un buen signo para el elemento principal de este fonema.

Es sinembargo típico del fonema que los lados medio y posterior de la lengua estén por lo general menos tensos que en la *r* Española, con el resultado de que puede haber cierta apertura lateral, convirtiéndose entonces el sonido en una *l* deslizante (no continua). Esto ocurre especialmente cuando el sonido siguiente es posterior (29). Por ejemplo, la consonante inicial del nom-

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(27) Este sonido no se presenta en el habla de Estados Unidos y no es invariable en el Inglés europeo. Los norteamericanos siempre y los británicos frecuentemente usan la *r* fricativa hasta en palabras como "very". Para el oído norteamericano la *r* deslizante suena parecido a una *d* apagada.

(28) A tal extremo que difícilmente se le ocurriría a un Alemán representar este sonido Indio con *r*, y, por ejemplo, Koch-Grünberg le escribe casi invariablemente con *l*. Escribe *verbi gratia*, "Taulipang" el nombre de la Tribu actualmente estandardizado en Español como "Taurepan". La pronunciación actual es un intermedio de ambas.

(29) Este caso de la *r* deslizante ocurre verdaderamente también en cierto número de dialectos Españoles coloquiales. Por ejemplo, los peones Venezolanos comunmente dicen "reflán" por "refrán". Esto hace de la *r* para el fonema Kamarakoto un signo mejor todavía tratándose de lectores de habla Española.

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bre geográfico *Luepa* pertenece al fonema *r*- (algunos misioneros por ejemplo, lo escriben *Ruepa*, que técnicamente es una transcripción amplia correcta), pero los Kamarakotos, cuando menos, siempre lo pronuncian con cierta apertura lateral, de manera que el efecto acústico se acerca más a *l* que a *r*. En verdad, es casi imposible para un Kamarakoto pronunciar *r* sin apertura lateral antes de una *u* o una *w* muy corta. Ello puede hacerse delante de una *u* más larga, como, por ejemplo, en *Karume*, pero aun aquí aparece frecuentemente un deslizamiento audible después de la *r*.

Delante de una *e* distinta, no deslizante, el sonido es por lo general *r* completamente puro, por ejemplo, en *aka:re*.

Es sinembargo dificultoso compendiar todas estas variantes de posición en una regla simple y existen otros casos para los cuales yo no hallo regla alguna. Por esta razón, y porque el efecto acústico de las dos consonantes puede ser tan diferente, siquiera para el oído no-Indio, he partido de una transcripción amplia para escribir *l* cuando la apertura lateral fuese esencialmente constante e hiciese un fuerte efecto acústico, empleando la *r* al no presentarse la apertura lateral, en extremo variable, o ser tan leve que produzca escaso efecto acústico.

w. Esta es una semivocal bilabial, no-fricativa, esencialmente como en Inglés, y disímil de la pronunciación Española usual de la letra extranjera *w*, la cual es corrientemente fricativa, como en Alemán. El sonido ocurre en Español; por ejemplo, es casi el mismo que la semivocal inicial en "huevo". En Kamarakoto, sonidos similares, pero fricativos, parecen pertenecer invariablemente al fonema *b*, no al *w*. El sonido difiere de *u*, principalmente en extensión, siendo más corto que el vocálico independiente *u*, el más corto de todos, pero también difiere en tensión, siendo por lo general más laxo. Especialmente, después de consonantes, pudiera ser considerado como una *u* supercorta, pero la transcripción se simplifica considerablemente si se representa siempre con *w*. El fonema es claramente diferente del de la *u vocálica* (30).

(30) Pero, como ya he dicho, este sonido, no ocurriendo nunca, excepto ante una vocal, pudiera considerarse como un mero elemento en una serie entera de diptongos ascendentes, *ua*, *ue*, etc., y las transcripciones Españolas de palabras Indias están escritas así por lo general. No obstante, usar aquí la *u* de este modo hubiese sido dificultoso o inadecuado, desde luego que hubiese requerido un signo diacrítico diferente para distinguir el sonido de *w* y *u*, siendo mala transcripción, porque el fonema es

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y. El fonema aquí representado con *y* es uno de los más variables en Kamarakoto, llegando en su graduación hasta un deslizamiento *i*- supercorto por un extremo y hasta un africativo no lejano del Inglés j, como en "judge" ("juez") por el otro. El elemento principal del fonema se pronuncia aproximadamente en la posición de la *y* Inglesa, como en "yield" ("consentir"), o de la *y* Española, como en "yegua", pero la posición de la lengua es más junta y la exhalación del aliento mayor, de manera que el sonido tiene una calidad levemente fricativa, aproximándose a la *j* Francesa de "je" o a la z Inglesa de "azure" ("azur"). Este sonido no ocurre en Español castizo, pero es una pronunciación coloquial frecuente de *y* y *ll*. En el Español coloquial de Venezuela, la *ll* tiene casi exactamente el sonido de la *y* Kamarakota típica (31).

Especialmente cuando puede considerarse como intrusiva, *y* es deslizante, como en *poyinga* (32). La *y* puede ser una semivocal no fricativa, pero es imposible apartarla como fonema separado. Una vez que la *y* aparece, aunque sea como una intrusión, tiende a hacerse fricativa y hasta la consonante semi-fricativa *y* varía grandemente en la fuerza del elemento fricativo.

Puede ilustrarse en cierto modo la variación dentro de este fonema protéico con la palabra *yɑ'*, "*árbol*". Pronunciada aisladamente, la palabra comienza con una *y* más o menos clara, casi no-fricativa. En conposiciones, que son muy numerosas, es por lo general fuertemente fricativa, convirtiéndose casi en *-zɑ'* (*z* como en Inglés "azure" "azur"). De aquí que la pronunciación nor-

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diferente de *w*. El uso común en transcripciones españolas de *gw-* para *w-* inicial es peor todavía, ya que no se presenta realmente una suspensión análoga a la de la *g*. Además, *gw-* ocurre en Kamarakoto y es completamente distinto de *w*.

(31) No veo cómo puede ser este un caso de asimilación. Es muy posible que la fonética Caribe haya influído sobre el Español-Venezolano en este sentido, pero un sonido similar de la *ll* puede oírse en otros pueblos de habla española, por ejemplo, el Argentino, cuyos antepasados jamás vieran un sólo Caribe. Lo mismo en cierto respecto al especial parecido entre el Kamarakoto y el Español coloquial *b* y *v*. Por otro lado, es más increíble todavía que el Español haya afectado la fonética Kamarakota de manera significante. Hace una generación, ningún Kamarakoto conocía nada de Español y actualmente lo conocerán bastante dos o tres de ellos.

Sea como fuere, los Venezolanos tienen una tendencia comprensible a transcribir este sonido Indio como *ll*, transcripción casi perfecta para sus oídos, pero muy desconcertante para otro cualquiera, por no decir casi para todos. El sonido no tiene prácticamente nada de común con la *ll* Castellana — *l* mojada.

(32) Esta es meramente una variante de *poɨnga* en Kamarakoto; y la comparación con otros dialectos muestra de manera clara y concluyente que la *y* es intrusiva y no vestigial.

mal en compuestos haga surgir un africativo (más bien imperfecto) y la pronunciación se aproxime a *-dz* (*dz* como *j* y *g* en el Inglés "judge" "juez"), por ejemplo, *tsimara-dzɛ'* también pronunciada *simara-zɛ'*. Finalmente, en un pequeño número de casos, la clausura aproximada de la forma final predomina sobre el sonido fricativo silbante y la impresión acústica es de una *d* algo húmeda, palatal vaga y no enteramente suspensa, por ejemplo, *paunɛ-dɛ'* (la *d* como acaba de explicarse). Una transcripción ajustada requeriría seis signos para este fonema. Como es propio en transcripción amplia, solamente he usado uno y siempre lo escribo *y*. Si se pronuncia siempre como su elemento principal, según arriba describimos, será entendido siempre y rara vez le sonará definidamente falso a un Indio.

Consonantes sucesivas.—Es típico del Kamarakoto que las consonantes sucesivas sean raras, y pertenecen a solamente tres grupos simples:

1. Nasal + suspensa:
   saunampa.
   mömbɔ̃.
   nungɔ̃.
   pendɔ̃.
   yentsi (33).
2. r + nasal o suspensa:
   karmaiba.
   parpari.
3. Nasal, *r* o suspensa + *w* (la cual en tales casos puede considerarse una vocal supercorta y, de consiguiente, no una consonante sucesiva):
   sanwoto (*n* velarizada).
   kan.wa (*n no velarizada*) (34).
   yurwa.
   kwai = *gwai.*

Las combinaciones de los tipos 1 y 3 engendran los muy raros casos de tres consonantes sucesivas, por ejemplo, *kambwõ.*

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(33) No pronunciando *yenzi*. Hasta en Taurepán, en el que *z* es africativa con menos frecuencia, esta palabra tiene una suspensión definida.

(34) Esta es una palabra excepcional, el único ejemplo de que dispongo de una forma completamente no-velarizada de *n* ante *w*. Hay una pausa corta distinta entre *n* y *w*, como lo indica con un ., el cual puede considerarse también como una vocal muy corta y corta o solamente semiconsonante. A veces ella es audible como aliento y la

La ausencia de combinaciones como *pr*, *tr*, *st*, *su*, *bl*, *skr*, *spl*, etc., tan comunes en las lenguas Europeas, es asombrosa y completa (35).

En ciertas ocasiones, la construcción de palabras o frases pone una ' delante de una consonante. En este caso es por lo general debilitada y puede desaparecer completamente, aunque a veces se conserva, por ejemplo, *maicha'-ya*. Ninguna de las otras suspensiones ocurre en tal posición, ni siquiera en palabras sucesivas.

Acento y entonación.

Las numerosas peculiaridades de sonidos individuales y de vocales y consonantes sucesivas, ya mencionadas, producen en los mismos un tipo fonético claramente disímil de cualquier lengua Europea y diferente también de la mayoría de lenguas Indias.

Igualmente chocante, especialmente cuando se oye la lengua hablada en frases consecutivas, es el efecto de su peculiar acento y entonación. Sin excepción importante, las palabras Kamarakotas tienen un solo y fuerte acento que cae en la última sílaba. Esta sílaba es siempre corta, pero enunciada con claridad y énfasis. Las últimas vocales de las palabras habladas sueltas, de palabras importantes dentro de una oración cohesiva, y de palabras que rematan grupos de sentido, se pronuncian casi invariablemente con tono ascendente, causando un efecto muy peculiar en el oído no-Indio, como si casi todo lo que se dice fuese interrogado. El acento terminal no está marcado en mi transcripción, porque puede darse por sentado que está presente en todos los casos. Al escribir nombres, etc., en un texto de idioma Europeo, es bueno sinembargo poner un acento en la última vocal de la mayoría de las palabras Kamarakotas. Por ejemplo, *Karoní* debe escribirse "Caroní" para uso general (36).

palabra suena *kankara*. No hay fonema aspirado en Kamarakoto y esto es de cuanto he oído lo que se acerca a una aspirada independiente.

(35) Excepción aparente es una palabra registrada como *trapichi*, pero, en primer lugar no es palabra Kamarakota, excepto por adopción (se trata de la palabra Española *trapiche*) y, en segundo lugar, hay realmente una vocal neutra entre la t y la r. Haciendo caso omiso de la etimología de la palabra pudiera escribirse también *terapichi* (o *terabichi*—la p está emitida hasta cierto punto como ocurre frecuentemente entre dos vocales resonantes) siendo de notar que la e es excepcionalmente corta.

(36) Las palabras *Kamaraota* = "Camarata" y "*Kamarahoto*" = "Camarazoto", pueden escribirse sin acento, desde luego que sus penúltimas vocales, aunque menos acentuadas, son casi tan prominentes como las últimas.

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Una excepción aparente, aunque no real, se presenta en los casos de palabras como *ama:tu*, cuyas penúltimas vocales son muy largas. Porque la prominencia de esta vocal es, para nuestros oídos, casi tan grande como la de la vocal terminal, por más que la prominencia tenga una causa diferente. La penúltima vocal es en tales casos larga, pero no acentuada, y la última es corta, pero acentuada. Como quiera que el acento en Español y en Inglés se basa por lo general en extensión y acentuación coincidentes, en estas palabras el oído se ve desconcertado con frecuencia, no sabiendo cuál de las vocales lleva efectivamente el acento.

Cuando las palabras son compuestas, el acento original puede conservarse debilitado, o perderse, y yo no he hallado para esto regla fija, excepto la de que parece encontrarse "grosso modo" en razón inversa con el grado de fusión del sentido envuelto. Cuando el acento se retiene fuertemente, o la fusión es claramente incompleta, yo escribo la palabra con un guión. Así, en *tuna-waipai*, ("viniendo del agua"), se mantiene la *a* acentuada de *tuna*, "agua". La postposición *wapai* es una unidad separada de la oración (análoga a una preposición) y pudiera escribirse como palabra separada. Pero "*yatka*" ("el") "se está muriendo, se muere", pierde su acento en *yatkasa'*, "(él) ha muerto, está muerto". Aquí la sílaba añadida se funde y el conjunto es esencialmente una palabra nueva con un nuevo acento único.

Puede agregarse aquí que las palabras Kamarakotas pueden terminar solamente en vocales, en ' o en -n (velar). (37). Cualquiera de las vocales y cualquiera de los diptongos en -i puede ser terminal, pero los diptongos terminales en -u son en extremo raros (por más que no falten en absoluto). Cualquiera de las vocales puede ir seguida de ' en posición terminal, o -n y la terminal -' es común después de diptongos en -i, pero -n no ha sido registrado después de estos (38).

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(37) Una excepción aparente es el nombre de lugar (montaña) *Sertɔ̃pui*, pero aquí el *ser* no es realmente palabra separada y -rtɔ̃) es una de las sucesiones consonantes regulares, r -i- suspensión. Los intentos de decir *ser* fuera del contexto producen generalmente *er*. No sé cómo ha podido nacer la forma Sertɔ̃) pui. Otro nombre de lugar, *Atabar*, termina en -r, pero en este caso sospecho influencia Española.

(38) No hay razón obvia para ésto y puede bien ocurrir rara vez. La *i* terminal, no diptongal, frecuentemente va seguida de *n*.

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VOCABULARIO

Los cálculos de vocabulario total son necesariamente muy vagos, pero la naturaleza de su vocabulario conocido y el número de palabras registradas en los dialectos afines más conocidos indican que el Kamarakoto tiene probablemente alrededor de dos mil vocablos distintos, excluyendo los compuestos simples, las formas gramaticales, las variantes fonéticas y los sufijos (39). El vocabulario que aquí ofrecemos tendrá escasamente la tercera parte de las palabras de la lengua, pero incluye la mayoría de los vocablos más comunes y útiles y es lo suficientemente completo para una demostración plenamente adecuada del carácter y afinidades del dialecto.

Muchas de las palabras del siguiente vocabulario están comparadas con las de otros dialectos Caribes, especialmente con el

(39) Una lista completa que incluya todas las formas y variantes de cualquier dialecto Caribe puede tener, más o menos, cinco mil voces. Tal lista jamás ha sido publicada. El excelente Vocabulario Makuchi de Williams, (que omite tales variantes) tiene 1.224 voces confirmadas y otras 458 representando variantes o palabras adicionales de anteriores vocabularios. Adam compara 329 palabras-raíces Caribes de uso extendido; y De Goeje, 559, la mayoría diferentes de las de Adam. El Vocabulario Taurepán de Koch-Grünberg, notablemente completo, contiene alrededor de 1.500 palabras raíces y siquiera tantas compuestas de formas flexivas, etc. El Padre Cesárco calcula (comunicación personal) que su diccionario manuscrito de este dialecto tiene más o menos 4.000 voces, presumiendo yo que incluirá compuestas, etc.

Es bien conocido el hecho de que los observadores casuales invariablemente subestiman el número de vocablos en una lengua extranjera, y aun en la propia. Un compañero de viaje en Kamarata, quien había hecho una pequeña colección de palabras Kamarakotas, me aseguró que esta lengua no tenía en total más de 1501 Puede darse por sentado que los Kamarakotos poseen una palabra para cada objeto y cada actividad de su vida diaria. Su lengua es más pobre que los idiomas Indo-Europeos, pero sólo en la medida de que su medio ambiente y sus actividades son menos variados.

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

Taurepán y el Makuchi, porque ambos están íntimamente emparentados con el Kamarakoto y son bien conocidos. Para ahorrar espacio, no todas las palabras están comparadas así, pero sí lo bastante para demostrar plenamente los parentescos. Las citas de otros investigadores llevan los nombres de éstos entre paréntesis, y cuando no consta nombre alguno (en todas las palabras Kamarakotas y en muchas del Taurepán), la palabra ha sido registrada por mí. Todas las palabras Indias transcritas sin el nombre de otra tribu son Kamarakotas, y en toda serie de voces el primer vocablo escrito es Kamarakoto.

Las autoridades más citadas son: Koch-Grünberg (Taurepán, Ingarikó e incidentalmente otros dialectos), Williams (Makuchi) y Adam y De Goeje (todos los demás dialectos). Las palabras de Adam, casi siempre, y las de De Goeje, usualmente, fueron recogidas en primera instancia por otros autores, pero es más conveniente para los presentes propósitos citar estas compilaciones y no las publicaciones originales en extremo dispersas. Koch-Grünberg presentó sus vocabularios en transcripción compleja, casi cerrada completamente. Para facilitar la comparación y simplificar la impresión, yo los he trasladado a mi propia transcripción amplia, y en ciertas ocasiones me he tomado parecidas, aunque menores, libertades con palabras citadas de otros autores. Esto acaso adultere levemente a veces el sonido exacto que se quiso dar a las voces, pero parece no sólo necesario, sino también justificado. Los lectores interesados en esos otros dialectos por su propia esencia y no simplemente para comparación con el Kamarakoto, consultarán, naturalmente, las publicaciones originales.

No publico comparaciones con los exiguos vocabularios Arekunas de los dos Schomburgk y de Appun, ni tampoco con el mejor vocabulario Arekuna de Koch-Grünberg. Tratándose de comparaciones dialectales dentro de la lengua Arekuna, sólo es posible o necesaria una comparación exacta con el Taurepán. Las palabras no-Taurepanas en estos vocabularios Arekunas (ninguno de ellos específicamente Kamarakoto, excepto las tres palabras registradas por Koch-Grünberg y mencionadas anteriormente) son harto inciertas por lo que se refiere al origen exacto y a su categoría dentro de los variados dialectos Arekunas, para hacer una comparación provechosa.

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1.—NUMEROS

Viajeros han afirmado con frecuencia que los Indios Caribes no pueden contar más allá de cuatro (40). Cuando yo, por vez primera, interrogué sobre estó a un Kamarakoto que hablaba Español, me aseguró que los Indios, en efecto, no pueden contar más allá de cuatro (acaso se lo dijera así un visitante previo). Naturalmente, esto es incierto, y los Caribes, incluso los Kamarakotos, pueden contar cualquier número razonablemente pequeño, siquiera hasta veinte, tanto de hecho como con palabras. Es cierto que no tienen palabras raíces para números superiores a cuatro (o efectivamente superiores a tres, pero no se dan cuenta de que su "cuatro" no es una palabra raíz); y acaso tuvieran esto en mente al hacer tales declaraciones. También es cierto que prefieren contar con los dedos (los de las manos, primero, y después los de los pies), empezando siempre por el meñique, para contar verbalmente, y que las palabras numéricas arriba de cinco se usan rara vez. Durante nuestra estancia, algunos Indios, quienes no sabían más Español, aprendieron y aparentemente preferían las palabras numéricas Españolas, los cuales pueden eventualmente reemplazar los vocablos Indios para números superiores, cuando menos. Para establecer afinidades lingüísticas como principio, cada uno de los numerales inferiores se transcribe en otros siete dialectos progresivamente distantes del Kamarakoto.

1. Uno.—*taukin*. Taurepán, *taukin*, también (Koch-Grünberg) *teukinan*, *tiwin* (probablemente Makuchi, no Taurepán?). Makuchi (Williams) *ti-win*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *te* (*u*)*kin*. Akawai (De Goeje) *tegina*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *tehuin* (por *tewin?*) Kaliña (De Goeje) *awin* (redondeando la *a* más o menos como en Inglés "all"-(todo). Todos estos vocablos variados, pero afines, parecen proceder de una irreductible raíz Caribe. Motilón (Jahn) *Kumarko*.

2. Dos.—*tsagane'* Taurepán, *tsagəne*, *sa:kəne*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-sa-gə-ne*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*a*)*tsa:lonkon*

(40) Parabes llega al extremo de asertar que sus Urukuseas, y también sus Kamayuras, no tienen vocablos numéricos en absoluto, excepto un vocablo que significa un número cualquiera.

(= *atsar-(on)* + sufijo plural). Akawai (De Goeje) *azare*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *azake*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *aka* (*aes* redondeadas). Motilón (Jahn) *kosarko*. Varias derivaciones de este vocablo han sido indicadas (Véase De Goeje), pero todas parecen improbables y son quizás una raíz básica.

3. Tres.—*etseurau*. Taurepán, *tseuruwane*, (Koch-Grünberg) *seuluane* (= *seuru* (*w*)*ane*). Makuchi (Williams) *e-se-re-wa*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*e*)*tse*(*u*)*luainkon* (= *etseurua* (*on*) + sufijo plural. Akawai (De Goeje) *osorowa*. Cumanagoto. (De Goeje) *azorao*. Kalina (De Goeje) *arua* (la primera *a* redondeada). Motilón (Jahn) *kosera*. Esta palabra parece ser y es generalmente aceptada como una raíz Caribe básica.

4. Cuatro.—*atsak*ɔ*-leülа' -nɛ'*. Taurepán, *tsakurölanɛ*, (Koch-Grünberg) *sa:kele:le*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-sa-ku-r*ɔ*-ba-na*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *atsakelenankon* (= *atsakelenan* + sufijo plural). Akawai (De Goeje) *asagoro-ne*, *asagore-nan*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *yuspe*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *aka-bane* (las primeras dos *aes* redondeadas). Motilón (Jahn) *kosaka*, (Isaacs, citado por Jahn) *kosa*(*k*)*taka*. Con excepción del Cumanagoto y, acaso, del Motilón, todas estas palabras consisten de la raíz correspondiente a "dos" más un sufijo, como si se dijera "dos pares", "dos doble" o algo parecido. El sufijo no es el mismo en todos los casos. La raíz de "dos" en esta palabra, aunque reconocible, es rara vez completamente la misma que en la palabra correspondiente a "dos". Nótese especialmente el Ingarikó y el Akawai en los que el gutural, que era indudablemente parte de la raíz Caribe original, se ha mantenido en esta palabra, pero perdióse en la palabra correspondiente a "dos".

5. Cinco.—*pɛeñato-pɛ*. Taurepán, *mia:toikin*, *aoikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *moi-ya e-tai-kin*, *mi-ya toi-kin*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *miatamunaulonkon* (= *mia-ta-munau* + *lonkon*). Akawai (De Goeje) *mia-raroe-pukin*. Motilón (Jahn) *omapo*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *emia-tone*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *oiña-toni*. Todas estas palabras contienen la raíz de "mano" seguida de "uno", o como en Kamarakoto, partida por afijos numerativos, siendo el sentido en todo caso que "cinco" es una mano (o sea, adelantar todos los dedos). En Kamarakoto, la palabra usada por "mano"

para este efecto es la misma que la palabra ordinaria separada, pero en otros dialectos es diferente con frecuencia. Así en Taurepán "mano" es (*it*)*ena*, pero *mia* en *mia*:*toikin* es una raíz Caribe para "mano", de otra manera ausente en Taurepán. Parecidamente *toikin* en este dialecto es la misma palabra que *taukin*, "uno" pero se pronuncia diferente, de modo que, hasta omitiendo *mia*, *toikin* se entiende por "cinco", en vez de lo que significa la raíz verdadera. En Makuchi, *toikin* y *etaikin* son más bien formas arcaicas de esta misma raíz que su palabra para "uno", *tiwin*.

6. Seis.—*eñato-pona taukin*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *teuki*:*n-le mia-pona tumo tanesi*. Makuchi (Williams) *ti-win mi-ya po-na tɔ' -mo-tai*. Akawai (De Goeje) *tegina-mia-raroe*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *tchu-y-pona* (probablemente por *tewi-pona*). Kaliña (De Goeje) *awin tyaima* (*aes* redondeadas). Motilón (Jahn) *onkora*. (La palabra Ingarikó no está registrada). Excepto la dudosa palabra Motilona, todas estas tienen el sentido de "uno añadido a una mano". En Taurepán y Makuchi esto se halla expresado plenamente. En Cumanagoto, con elípsis decisiva (literalmente "uno-a" o "uno-más"), y en Kamarakoto con cierta elípsis (literalmente "mano-a uno", es decir, "uno (añadido) a una mano"). Casi todos los dialectos Caribes forman "siete", "ocho" y "nueve" substituyendo "dos", "tres" y "cuatro", respectivamente, por "uno" en su expresión de 'seis". Nótese que el Kamarakoto es distintivo de la mayoría de los dialectos afines más próximos por su manera de expresar todos los numerales desde "cinco" hasta "diecinueve" inclusive.

7. Siete.—*eñato-pona-tsagan*ɛ.

8. Ocho.—*eñato etseurau*.

9. Nueve.—*eñato-pona-atsa*: *kɔleüla' -nɛ'*.

10. Diez.—*eñato - iratoymarɔ*. Taurepán, (Koch - Grünberg) *mia tame nauale*. Makuchi (Williams) *mi-ya tamɔ-wɔ'rɔ*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *tekuankon* (= *tekuan* + sufijo plural). Akawai (De Goeje) *mia-raro-mara*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *emia-temere*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *aña batala* (las dos últimas *aes* redondeadas). Motilón (Jahn) *omase*. Todas estas palabras son modos varios de expresar la idea de ambas manos juntas (vale

decir, todos los diez dedos), con la probable excepción de la enigmática palabra Ingarikó.

11. Once.—*añato-iratoimarə- pona taukin.*

12. Doce.—*taukin pemon.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *teuki:n- le pemon.* Makuchi (Williams) *ti-win pe-mon-gon* (o *pu ta-mə-na-wə'-rə*). (El Ingarikó no está registrado). Akawai (De Goeje) *tegina kapon.* Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *tehui choto.* Kaliña (De Goeje) *ovin kariña.* Motilón (Isaacs citado por Jahn) *omase-pisa.* La palabra Motilona significa "manos y piés". Las demás significan "una persona" vale decir, todos los dedos de las manos y de los pies de una persona.

2.—PARTES DEL CUERPO

Cuando se habla disyuntivamente o en ciertos contextos no posesivos, las palabras correspondientes a partes del cuerpo van seguidas de la postposición *-to.* Se elimina ésta cuando, como ocurre en discurso cohesivo, se emplea un sufijo posesivo, y en algunas otras combinaciones. Así, "cabeza" = *pupai-to*, pero "mi cabeza" = *upupai*, "tu cabeza" = *apupai*", "su cabeza" = *ipupai*, etc., "nariz" = *euna-to;* pero "tu nariz" = *ayeuna*, "su nariz" = *iteuna*, etc., En Taurepán esta postposición no se presenta, y esto cuenta para la mayoría de los dialectos afines. No es, sinembargo, única en el Kamarakoto entre las lenguas Caribes. Así, en Ingarikó, el sufijo *-le* se emplea del mismo modo, y existen en Yauarana trazas claras de una postposición asimilada más plenamente, incorporada a tales formas, como *-lu*, *-li* o *-te*. Los mismos sufijos, así como *-re*, *-ri* y *ru* aparecen entre numerosos de los otros dialectos afines distantes.

13. Cabeza.—*pupai-to.* Taurepán (i)*pai.* Makuchi (Williams) *pu-bai.* Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg (u)*pai-le.* En Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) "su cabeza" (de ellos) = *to-pu:pai.* Este caso es probablemente análogo al de *meta* = *-nta.* véase "boca".

14. Cabellera.—*mutse-to.*

15. Pelo.—(uno, generalmente)—*chipoi.*

16. Ojo.—*enu-to*. Taurepán (*k*)*einu*. Makuchi (Williams) *e-nu*. Con leves cambios en sonidos vocales, esto es casi invariable en lenguas caribes, pero rara vez se pierde la nasal, por ejemplo, (Adam) Opone (*i*)-*eu*.

17. Nariz.—*euna-to*. Taurepán (*t*)*euna*. Makuchi (Williams) *euna*, Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*uy*)*euna-le*.

18. Labios.—*epi-to*.

19. Boca.—*meta-to*. Taurepán (*e*)*nta*. Makuchi (Williams) "mi boca" = *u-nda*, "nuestras bocas" (dual) = *ana mɔ̃-ta*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)*nta-le*. Wayumará (Koch-Grunberg) *mɔ̃tale* (*-le* es probablemente una postposición como en Ingarikó e = Kamarakoto *-to*).

Esta palabra sirve para anotar una de las peculiaridades salientes de las lenguas Caribes en general y del Kamarakoto en particular. Es característico de muchas lenguas Caribes el que muchos substantivos tengan formas combinadas más largas y más complejas que sus formas absolutas o disyuntivas. Así, las formas más comunes de la palabra correspondiente a "boca", como en Taurepán, es una variante reconocible de una raíz *-nta-*, pero en algunas combinaciones ésta se convierte en una variante de una raíz aparentemente distinta *-meta-* como en Taurepán *tomɔ̃ta*—"sus bocas". Por comparación con muchos dialectos puede postularse una transformación teórica del tipo *u-meta* ("mi boca", en Kamarakoto) *-umɔ̃ta -umta -unta* ("mi boca' 'en Taurepán) pareciendo una explicación probable. Según esta teoría, *-meta-* es la raíz original, y *-nta-* una forma reducida. En éste, como en otros varios casos, el Kamarakoto conserva la forma no reducida, en tanto que los dialectos emparentados tienen la forma reducida (41). Las raíces *-puta-*, Kamarakoto, y *-ta-*, Taurepán, (= "pie", véase más adelante) dan otro ejemplo, y varios más ocurren en estas lenguas.

20. Oído.—*pana-to*. Taurepán, *pana*. Makuchi (Williams) *pana*. La raíz *pana*, con leve cambio, está presente en la mayo-

(41) Pero la forma reducida ocurre probablemente en Kamarakoto, por ejemplo, en "*endonu*", "*oemer*", donde *-nda-* es probablemente esta raíz. Esto puede proyectar alguna duda sobre mi criterio en lo referente al proceso aquí envuelto, pero no lo creo definitivamente opuesto.

ría de los dialectos, pero anotamos los siguientes: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-*han-na-ri*. Bakari (Adams) *uana-ta*. Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) *yana:li* (aquí *-li* es probablemente una postposición como en Kamarakoto *-to*).

21. Cuello (delantero).—*pülimöi-to*.

22. Cuello (posterior - nuca).—*Pülimöi-yepa-to*.

23. Pecho.—*puleupu-to*.

24. Brazo.—*emekun-to*. Taurepán (*t*)*eumukun*. Makuchi (Williams) *eme-kun*.

25. Mano.—*enya-to*. Taurepán ("su mano") (*it*)*ena*, (*it*)*e:-nya*. En estas palabras la *y* es distinta y semi-fricativa; *ny* no equivalente a *ñ*. En otros dialectos (véase Adams) se convierte a veces en una suspensa, *d*, y también a veces en una africativa, por ejemplo, *tz*. En otras más, por ejemplo, en Maquiritare, se pierde, convirtiéndose la nasal en bilabial, *amo*, *amu*, etc.

Dedos.—Los informantes, aparentemente, no conocían ninguna palabra para "dedo" en general (42), pero suministraron las siguientes palabras para dedos individuales:

26. Pulgar.—*yun*.

27. Indice.—*imboron*.

28. Medio.—*imboron-mareö-imboron*.

29. Anular.—*yami-nawarɔn*.

30. Meñique.—*yami'*.

31. Vientre.—*rota-to*.

32. Nalga.—*aure:pun-to*.

Pierna.—parece no haber palabra para pierna como un todo.

33. Muslo.—*emata-to*. Taurepán (*t*)*eumɔta*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*uy*)*emata-le*.

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(42) Es probable que no exista en realidad tal palabra, ejemplo interesante de la falta relativa de categorías generales en la lengua. El vocabulario Makuchi de Williams, excelente y completo, no incluye tal palabra, y el vocablo Taurepán suministrado por Koch-Grünberg tiene sabor de improvisación, pues significa simplemente "hueso de la mano".

34. Canilla.—*pietsi-to*. Taurepán (i)*ichi*. Makuchi (Williams) (u) *ji* (la j como en Inglés en "judge" - juez), "nuestras piernas" *-ana pi-chi-kon* (43).

35. Pie.—*puta-to*. Taurepán (i)*ta*. Makuchi (Williams) *bu*. *bu* (o más generalmente, *pu*) y *puta* son raíces diferentes, siendo *ta* una forma reducida de la última. Así, Adam presenta formas de ambas en una sola lengua, Makuchi, (u)*pu* (= *bu* de Williams) y *-ta-*. Según Williams, la última significa "talón". Por regla general no ocurren en un dialecto, y *puta*, afin de *ta*, significa ciertamente todo el pie y no "talón" solamente en Kamarakoto. Aparentemente este es un ejemplo de dos raíces diferentes en origen que han venido a tener esencialmente el mismo sentido, con la resultante pérdida de una u otra en la mayoría de los dialectos. Una forma más plena de la raíz *puta* sobrevive en algunas palabras compuestas Taurepanas, por ejemplo, (Koch-Grünberg) "pezuña de venado" = *waikin-pə̂ta-pipə̂*, donde *pə̂ta* = *puta* del Kamarakoto y *ta* disyuntiva en Taurepán. Adam suministra también formas dialectales intermedias como *pta* y *htah* que muestran la reducción y la pérdida de la primera sílaba.

36. Dedos de los pies.—Las mismas palabras que para los dedos de las manos, anteponiendo el prefijo *putato* para distinguir unos de otros en caso de necesidad.

37. Huesos.—*yeupu*, *yeupə*.

3.—PERSONAS Y PARENTESCOS

38. Hombre, macho.—*waratto*. Taurepán *kuray*. Makuchi (Williams) *waratho* (*th* como en Inglés "thin"—delgado). Yaua-

(43) Este es un caso un tanto enigmático que yo no puedo dilucidar completamente. La raíz *chi* (o *che*, etc.) está extendida, como también lo está la raíz *pietí* (o *piti*, *pet*, *pe*, etc.) con idénticos o análogos sentidos. No está claro que haya dos raíces que en formas parecidas a *pietsi* se hayan confundido y amalgamado, ni que *pi-* sea un prefijo a veces eliminado y *ti*, etc., una mera variante de *chi*, etc., o bien que la plena forma original fuese algo parecida a *pietsi*, *pichí*, y luego se condensase en *chi*, etc., en algunas combinaciones y en algunas lenguas. En analogía con casos como *puta* = *ta* (próxima palabra en esta lista), me inclino al último parecer.

rana (Koch-Grünberg) *ware* (*ch*)*tokuma* (*ch* como el Alemán "nicht"—no). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *ura:uo*. Purokotó (Koch-Grünberg) *walaito*. Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) *toto*. Chaima (Adam) *guadayto* (44). Cumanagoto (Adam) *huarazo*. Akawai (Adam) *waraio*. Bakairi (Adam) *uguroto*.

Excepto para el Taurepán y el Wayumará, todas estas son evidentes variaciones de la raíz, la cual, como ocurre frecuentemente, se encuentra en forma relativamente pura o fuerte en Kamarakoto. La marcada diferencia entre la palabra Taurepana y todas las de las tribus circundantes, es peculiar, siendo significante que el Kamarakoto no comparta esta peculiaridad. Como lo muestra Adam, hay otras series de palabras para "hombre", variantes de la forma raíz más o menos representadas por *o-kiri*, presentándose cuando menos en Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, Caribe ("verdadero"), Trío y Cariniaco, lenguas menos íntimamente afines del Taurepán que la mayoría de las arriba citadas entre las que emplean variantes de *warato*. Es muy posible que el vocablo Taurepán pertenezca a esta serie, aunque no es probable (45).

39. Mujer, hembra.—*wari*. Taurepán *wori*.

40. Persona (Indio).— *pemon*. Taurepán *pemon*.

41. Indio malo o salvaje.—*arbaton pemon*.

42. Raza, tribu, pueblo.—*koto*. Aunque sea digno de figurar como forma verbal separada, se ha encontrado solamente como sufijo aplicado a un nombre de tribu o región, por ejemplo, *Kamarakoto*, que significa "el pueblo Kamara" o "pueblo de Kamarata", desde luego que *-ta* significa "lugar".

43. Niño, pichón, cachorro.—*mure*.

44. Persona de edad.—*uyadetə*.

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(44) Estas son evidentemente transcripciones Españolas vernaculares, y *gu-* Au- han de leerse *w* y *s* probablemente como en Castellano.

(45) Adam supone que *o-kiri* es una variante de la raíz que significa "membrum virile", usualmente representada por palabras más o menos próximas a *ouba*. Este cambio de parecer es plausible (Véase el Ingarikó, donde "yua" (que significa padre en la mayoría de los demás dialectos), significa "membrum virile"), pero sería de desear una evidencia algo más clara de la que realmente ocurre.

45. Persona joven.—*yamipə*.

46. Jefe, Cacique.—*teburu, tepuru*.

47. Subjefe.—*tepure- -si -yakon*.

48. Cabeza de hogar o jefe.—*to' -esa'*. Esta palabra es peculiar en que la silbante se emite parcialmente, casi como *z*, sonido raro en Kamarakoto y que posiblemente indica un elemento anormal del fonema *y-* más bien que del fonema *s-*.

Las siguientes palabras de parentescos se incluyen en esta lista meramente a fin de completarla, siendo necesario definirlas detalladamente más tarde.

Hermano, hermana:
49. *pasi*.
50. *akon*.
51. *upi uyadetə*.
52. *pirika*.
53. *paruchi uyadetə*.
54. *paruchi*
55. *rüiko* (véase más adelante).
56. *yakon*.

Hijo:
57. *Manon* (véase más adelante).
58. *urmu* (véase más adelante).
59. *yentsi*.
60. *mumun, (u)mo*.

Hijo Adoptivo:
61. *narimanga*.

Padre:
62. *paiköi* (véase más adelante).
63. *papai*.
64. *san*.
65. *yun*.

Esposa:
66. *tamupüi* (véase más adelante).
67. *nopüi* (véase más adelante).

Abuelo:
68. *noi'* (véase más adelante en *nopui*).
69. *tamo* (véase más adelante en *nopui*).

Nieto:
70. *pa'*.

Sobrino, sobrina:
71. *poitoru*.
72. *patsɛ*.

Parientes por matrimonio:
73. *payunu*.
74. *payun*.
75. *nopuyun*.
76. *yawoi' pɔ*.
77. *tamöipuyun*.
78. *yetsɛ*.
79. *yerui'*.
80. *parɔtsi*.
81. *pipi*.

Tía, tío (también algunos parientes por matrimonio).
82. *awo* (véase más adelante, en *wari*).
83. *wari* (véase más adelante).
84. *mui*.
85. *wani*.

Notas Etimológicas sobre las Palabras de Parentesco.—Las comparaciones de las palabras de parentesco Kamarakotas con las similares Makuchis aparecen más adelante, en el comentario de los conceptos de parentesco en general. La comparación detallada con los conceptos Taurepanes es imposible, debido a que la única fuente fidedigna, Koch-Grünberg, es en este respecto inadecuado, desde luego que casi nunca define plenamente los vocablos Taurepanes. Por lo general, sus raíces son reconocibles lo mismo que las registradas por mí para el Kamarakoto, por ejemplo; Kamarakoto (*u*)*mo* — Taurepán (K. G.) (*u*)*mo;* K. *tamo* — T. (K. G.) *-ta:mo;* K. *awo-* T (K. G.) *a:uo;* K. *poitoru;* T. (K. G.) *poitolü;* etc. *Koch-Grünberg* suministra algunas raíces en Tau-

repán que yo no he recogido en Kamarakoto: *na' nai*, "hermana mayor" *moyi*, "hermana menor", *ukeipone*, "suegro", *wa:'nemulc*, "cuñada". Estos vocablos acaso puedan presentarse en Kamarakoto, pero en su mayoría no son corrientes para expresar esas ideas. Las siguientes son algunas de las diferencias verbales más notables entre los dos dialectos en este terreno.

Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ayike'*, "hermano mayor" y *a:'yeke'*, primo". Estas parecen ser formas de la misma palabra. En Kamarakoto, un hermano mayor es *rüiko* o *pi* (*uyadtɔ*), dependiendo del sexo de la persona en referencia, y al primo se le llama simplemente "hermano", si es que se emplea en absoluto una palabra de parentesco. *rui*, etc., incorporado en el Kamarakoto *rüiko*, es una raíz Caribe común. No consigno *ayike'*.

Kamarakoto *paiköi*, "Madre" (dirigiéndose directamente a ella). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *a:mai*. Formas parecidas a *amai*, *mamai*, *mamá*, etc., están extendidos en lenguas Caribes. *paiköi*, con leves variaciones vocálicas, parece limitarse al Kamarakoto y algunos grupos adyacentes de dudosa clasificación tribual.

Kamarakoto (*u*)*rme*, "hijo de una hembra". Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)*lume*: *Makuchi* (Williams) (*u*)-*n-re*. Cumanagoto (Adam) (*y*)*ena-r*. La evidente equivalencia de las raíces *-rm* y *-nr-* es un caso interesante de metatesis (combinada con la permutación *m* = *n*). No es aparente que sea la forma más vieja; *-nr-* parece ser más común, pero *-rm-* se presenta en dialectos que son por lo general más bien arcaicos. Esta palabra significa primariamente "hijo", de su madre (o con respecto a ella), y en segundo lugar significa "niño", hijo o hija, de una madre, vale decir, es la palabra por o para una mujer, refiriéndose a sus hijos. Así, pues, es completamente distinta de la (siquiera) igualmente extendida raíz *mure* (*mure*, *mule* *mɔle*, etc.), que significa primariamente "niño" (hijo o hija) de un padre, y es usada corrientemente por varones o al hablar del parentesco del padre de la criatura, aunque en Kamarakoto significa "retoño" en general. No es imposible que las dos raíces estén conectadas en origen (en cuyo caso *-nr-*, es probablemente más vieja que *-rm-*), pero se hicieron diferenciadas en un período muy antiguo, desde luego que son distintas en casi todos los dialectos. *mure* es también,

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y más obviamente, afin de *mu*, *mumu*, etc., raíz que significa "hijo" con respecto a su padre (46).

Kamarakoto *manon*, "hija de una hembra". Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ma:'non*, "prima" Makuchi (Williams) (*e*)-*ma-non*, "hembra joven, soltera". Aquí no hay caso de identidad o identificación con la raíz, pero el significado variante que se le adjunta en estos tres dialectos es interesante. Williams propone una comparación con el Makuchi *e-mai-non*, "el primero". Pese al gran parecido fonético, resulta difícil ver una relación probable en el sentido.

Kamarakoto *wari*. Significa primariamente "mujer, hembra", pero mis informantes también lo dieron como vocablo de parentesco con el significado de "tía paterna de la mujer" o "suegra de la mujer". Williams da *-awobu* por "+ tía paterna de la mujer" en Makuchi, y Koch-Grünberg da el cognado (*y*)*auopə* por "suegra", en (47) Taurepán. Esta es evidentemente la palabra especial para este concepto particular de parentesco, perdida en Kamarakoto (o, cuando menos, desconocida para mis informantes, aunque, naturalmente, otros miembros de la tribu pueden conocerla como palabra no común) y reemplazada por la imprecisa *wari*. Obsérvese, no obstante, que el elemento radical básico de *awobu* se presenta en Kamarakoto como *awo*, "tío materno de la mujer" o "suegro de la mujer", y en Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) como *a:uo*, definido simplemente como "tío", aunque en este caso es también sin duda "tío materno de la mujer". La raíz está extendida en Caribe. (Véase Vocabulario De Goeje Nº 26).

Kamarakoto *tamupüi* (también *tamöipu-* en vocablos compuestos), "marido". Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *-ti:yemu* (*n*). Makuchi (Williams) *ni-yo*, *nyo*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)-

(46) Koch-Grünberg, tan cauto de costumbre, ha confundido y definido inadecuadamente estas palabras en Taurepán. De *mure*, con variantes, por "Kind", "Knabe" y "Sohn". (En Alemán, niño, muchacho e hijo), y después de ésto, como radical, ofrece varias formas combinadas de *kume*, (=*w-me*) como si fuesen variantes de *mure*. En un vocabulario posterior presenta (*u*) *mele* (=*mure*) como Ingarikó, y *mik* (= *-mre*) como el sinónimo Arekuna para "Kind" (niño). Aquí, de nuevo, iguala accidentalmente dos raíces distintas con significados especializados y diferentes.

(47) Más bien, seguramente, la suegra de una mujer, tan solo. Koch-Grünberg parece no haber recalcado suficientemente que los hombres y las mujeres usan por lo general diferentes palabras de parentesco.

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tamupə. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)*nyo*. Para el comentario, véase la próxima palabra.

Kamarakoto *nopüi* (también *nopu-* en compuestos) "esposa". Taurepán (Koch-Grünbreg) *nopə*. Makuchi (Williams) *no-bu*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *nopə*. Purukotó (Adam) (*u*)-*peti*. Galibi (Adam) *puiti*. Bakairi (Adam) (*i*)-*witi*.

Además de algunas formas raras y peculiares, en los dialectos Caribes hay dos raíces generales para "marido", *-nyo* y *tamu* + sufijo *-pu* (y variantes), de las cuales la primera es la más extendida, y dos para "esposa", *piti* (y amplias variantes) y *no* + sufijo *-pu* (etc.), de las cuales la segunda es la más extendida. Hasta en las lenguas en que *-nyo* y *piti* se emplean para "marido" y "esposa", las raíces *tamu* y *no* (sin sufijo *-pu*) se presentan por regla general y sus significados usuales son "abuelo viejo" y "abuela, mujer anciana". Por ejemplo, en el propio Kamarakoto, *tamo* (= *tamu*) y *noi'* (= *no*) tienen estos significados. Así, *-nyo* y *piti* (etc.) pueden considerarse como raíces primarias para "marido" y "esposa", y *tamu* + *pu* y *no* + *pu* como palabras secundarias o compuestas con el mismo sentido. En algunas lenguas se usan ambas raíces primarias, por ejemplo en Caribi. Muchos emplean la raíz primaria para "marido", pero la secundaria para "esposa", por ejemplo, los Makuchis, y también algunos, entre estos los Kamarakotos, emplean las palabras secundarias para ambos. El Taurepán *-ti:yemu* (*n*) es decididamente anómalo. Como la mayoría de las otras, esta lengua emplea la raíz *tamu*, en la forma (*u*)*ta:mo* para "abuelo".

4.—PALABRAS ETNOGRAFICAS

a. Instrumentos de cacería y pesquería.

86. Arco.—*ura:pa*. Taurepán, *ura:pa*. Makuchi (Williams), *ura-pa*.

87. Flecha.—*purau*. Taurepán, *pulöu*. Makuchi (Williams) *pə -reu*. Especies de flechas (para las definiciones exactas, véase más adelante).

88. *supalari*. Taurepán, *sɔpalari*.

89. *pana:chika*. Taurepán, *pana:shika* (*sh* como en Inglés "ship"-barco).

90. *waibakasi*.

91. *tarau* (literalmente "simple"). Taurepán, *tara.u*.

92. Cuerda del arco.—*urupa-yeba*.

93. Arma (arco, rifle, etc.)—*rapai*.

94. Cerbatana.—*kurai'*. Taurepán, *.kura'*. Makuchi (Williams) *ku-ra*.

95. Virote de cerbatana.—*kunwa*. Taurepán, *kunwa*. Makuchi (Williams), *kum-wa*, *kun-wa*.

96. Punta desmontable del virote.—*iporosa'*.

97. Torcido de algodón, trapo o lana, en el virote.—*atsari-kuma:sa'*.

98. Carcaj para virotes.—*möi-ya*.

99. Depósito para el algodón de ceiba.—*tsimui'*.

100. Veneno para virote (curare).—*kumawara*.

101. Escopeta.—*alakaputsa*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), *arakebusa*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-ra-ka-bu-sa*. Este es el vocablo Español anticuado "arcabuz" que se trasmitió de tribu en tribu con el arma hoy anticuada y sirve actualmente para designar escopeta en casi todas las tribus de la región, haciendo caso omiso de afinidades. (Véase Nordenskiöld, 1922).

102. Anzuelo.—*kunoi'*.

103. Cordel de pescar (o cualquier cordel).—*yeba*, también *kunoi' yeba*.

104. Trampa o armadijo de pescar.—*muroi'*.

105. Veneno para peces (barbasco).—*ina*, (48).

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(48) Este es el principal veneno para peces, pero hay otros.

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Red de pescar (dos clases, descritas en página posterior):

106. *iru'*. Taurepán, *kari'*, pero Koch-Grünberg pone *hilu*. Williams no señala la palabra en Makuchi, pero Koch-Grünberg cita *cami* (*kami*) de un colono Brasileño. La raíz *kami* probablemente no es afin de *kari'* y significa en Arekuna hamaca.

107. *pendə*. Taurepán, *pendə*. Makuchi (William) *pen-də*

Las palabras de esta clase son relativamente constantes, no sólo en las tres lenguas aquí consideradas principalmente, sino en muchos otros dialectos Caribes, algunos de ellos relacionados sólo remotamente con éstos.

b. Fuego y alimentación.

108. Pedernal (piedra de chispa, para hacer fuego).—*kakon*. Koch-Grünberg da *wato*, la misma palabra que para el aparato entero, por "pedernal" y *kako*: por cristal de roca" en Taurepán.

109. Acero (para hacer fuego, por lo general un pedazo de lima).—*kulü-kulü*. Makuchi (Williams), *kəri- kəri*, "lima" o "raspador". Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kölö-kölö*. Las limas, ni para su uso propio, ni como acero para hacer fuego con pedernal, son, como es obvio, aborígenes, antes bien deben haberse adquirido de Europeos, y mercado de tribu en tribu. Muchas de estas adquisiciones tienen nombres Europeos, más o menos disfrazados (véase *alakaputsa* por "rifle") pero yo no he podido averiguar el origen de *kulü-kulü*. No obstante, como era de esperar es de hecho internacional entre los Indios, presentándose hasta en lenguas tan distintas del Kamarakoto como, por ejemplo, el Guinau (*külü-külü*). Sospecho que sea un vocablo onomatopéyico, un intento de imitar el sonido de una lima al usarse, que se les ocurrió a los primeros Indios que lo observaron y que luego pasó como nombre del objeto mismo a las otras tribus que adquirieron el invento. Nosotros observamos el comienzo de un proceso parecido, cuando los Kamarakotos empezaron a llamar *tsə'* a una cámara fotográfica, por el sonido del disparo.

110. Yesca.—*wato-dapon*.

111. Pedernal, acero y yesca, como conjunto que se carga.—*wato*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *wato*. (Véase el comentario a la palabra siguiente).

112. Fuego, leña.—*apoi'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *apo'*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-po*. Como lo ha observado Koch-Grünberg, *wato* usualmente significa "fuego" en dialectos Caribes. Hay, ciertamente, dos series de palabras Caribes que significan "fuego". Una de ellas tiene formas que son simples variantes de *wato*, y la otra, más variable, formas como *wapoto* ("*uapoto*", Yao, Adam), *apoto* (Cumanagoto, Adam), y *apo*. Formas como *wapto* (Tamanaco, Adam) indican que pueden ser derivadas de la misma palabra primitiva. En Kamarakoto y en Taurepán se conservan ambas, con significados diferentes aunque afines, una para el aparato de prender candela y la otra para el fuego mismo (así como para la leña, etc.). Si esto es cierto, resulta excepcional en mostrar fonética y semánticamente formas avanzadas en Kamarakoto.

113. Carbón, tizón.—*apoi' -tsaupan*.

114. Ceniza.—*beruna*.

115. Cisco (carbón menudo).—*kada:rma- tipwa*.

116. Hogar (hoyo del fuego).—*apoi' -piapo'*.

Platos o maneras de preparar los alimentos.
(Véanse notas en diferentes capítulos).

117. *kumasa*.

118. *putosa*.

119. *pusa*.

120. *kambwö*.

121. *erindasa*.

122. Carne.—*pun*. Carne de ave, *toron-pun*; carne de pescado, *moro-pun*, etc.

123. Escudilla de calabaza o tapara.—*kamo'*.

124. Cuchara de calabaza.—*koireka*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kuira*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuire* (definición para calabaza (tapara) usada cerca del río Ireng.

Koch-Grünberg analoga esta palabra con la Portuguesa *colher* cuchara, pero esto no parece probable. El objeto es aborigen, no una importación del Brasil, y parece en extremo improbable que los Kamarakotos hayan jamás recibido y adoptado un nombre exótico para un objeto indígena tan común. Además, el parecido fonético no es cercano.

125. Botella de calabaza o tapara.—*wai.*

126. Jugo.—*yeuku.* Jugo de caña de azúcar, *kaña-yeuku;* jugo de maíz, anai- *anai-yeuku*, etc.

127. Jugo de yuca.—*kumachi.* .

Bebidas alcohólicas (más exactamente definidas en otros capítulos):

128. *kachiri.*
129. *paiba.*
130. *parakari.*
131. *akcüyeüku.*

132. Ollas y vasijas de tierra para cocinar.—*o.ina.* Taurepán, *o.üna, iña.* Makuchi (Williams), *oi-nə.* Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) *höline.* La mayoría de las demás lenguas coinciden con el Yauarana en tener una *-r-* (*-l-*) entre las dos primeras vocales de esta palabra; por ejemplo (todos de Adam), Galibi *arina-to*, Cumanagoto *erina-k, erine*, Opone *orine*, etc. La separación inusual de *o* e *i* en el vocablo Kamarakoto, *o.i* en vez del diptongo corriente *oi*, queda casi explicada. Las vocales están, por así decirlo, separadas por una *r* muda, la palabra se reduce a dos sílabas en una variante Taurepana y también en Oyana, *ini*, en Trío, *eni*, y en Kaliña, *yene.* (Todas según De Goeje).

133. Casabe (el pan preparado).—*eke.*

134. Piedra para cocer el casabe.—*puitari.* Taurepán, *putari.* Esta raíz Caribe es el origen del vocablo coloquial Venezolano "budare".

135. Rallador para yuca.—*sama:ri.* Taurepán, *suma:ri.*

136. Recipiente para poner la yuca rallada.—*moru.* Taurepán, *muru.*

137. Recipiente para hacer kachiri.—*wate:a*. Taurepán, *kanwa*, *kuriyara*.

La palabra Kamarakoto es probablemente la misma que la Española (Venezolana) *batea*, también aplicada a la gamella para lavar arena de oro (véase más adelante). Las palabras Taurepanas son las mismas aplicadas a una canoa ("curiara" en venezolano), que es su significado primario.

(Para los alimentos vegetales y animales véanse las listas respectivas; y para otros utensilios de cocina véase cestería, etc.).

c. Cestería

Las palabras bajo este rubro se apuntan simplemente, sin dedefinición. Los objetos a los cuales se aplican están descritos detalladamente en el capítulo posterior de cestería. La nomenclatura compleja y algo diferente de los cestos en Taurepán también se inserta en el mismo capítulo.

138. *o:apa*.
139. *pangai'*.
140. *tangöi'*.
141. *matu:tu*.
142. *o.olori*.
143. *waricha*.
144. *warakapi*.
145. *ama:tu*.
146. *akai'*.
147. *koatai'*.
148. *wapa*.
149. *«no-saramba*.
150. *soko'*.
151. *kumara-katsa'*.
152. *wakawa'*.

153. *(t)siya'-potapɔ*. (*muroi'*, Nº 104, *tsimui'* Nº 99, y *möi-yu*, Nº 98, también son objetos de cestería).

La mayoría de estas palabras parecen raíces Caribes completamente típicas y comunes, pero, dada la enorme variedad de

cestos que hacen estas tribus, no es sorprendente que dos de ellas no apliquen todas estas palabaras de la misma manera exactamente y que cada tribu posea algunas palabras no usadas por sus vecinos. Así en Taurepán, *waikarapɔ*, vocablo no empleado en Kamarakoto, incluye una considerable variedad de cestos, la mayoría de los cuales los Kamarakotos separarían como *waricha* o *wapa*, palabras que desconocían mis informantes Taurepanes (49). Los Taurepanes aplican el vocablo similar *waro:kupa* a un tipo de *waikarapɔ*, y los Kamarakotos poseen una tercera similar, *warakapi*, que designa un tipo de cesta desconocido para mis informantes Taurepanes. *wai-kara-bɔ* es la palabra dada por Williams para "cesta" (en general) en Makuchi, pero yo sospecho que ella incluye solamente ciertos tipos de cestas, lo mismo que su afin Taurepán. En última instancia, no parece haber en Kamarakoto ni en Taurepán una palabra para "cesta', sino solamente gran número de palabras para clases particulares de cestas. Y este es el rasgo de especificación y falta de abstracción tan común en lenguas primitivas.

d. Vestido, adorno personal y palabras referentes a ello.

154. (Cristal) abalorio o cuenta.—*kasu:-ru.*

155. Sarta de abalorios (simple).—*kasu:ru pɔ rega:nsa.*

156. Collar con varios objetos ensartados.—*yaichi'.*

157. Semillas (como cascabeles) usadas en collares.—*tsiri-ruka..*

158. Una guirnalda de tales semillas.—*te-pülü.*

159. Modelos de collares de abalorios.—*waroro-yeupə -pe katsa'*, es decir, huesos ensartados o entretejidos de *waroro*, una especie de pescado.

160. *okö̈i-yeupə*, es decir, de espinas de serpiente.

161. Cinturón tejido de abalorios (para hombres), frases descriptivas similares y otras.—*kasu:ru-seke-katsa'.*

(49) Koch-Grünberg da el vocablo Taurepán *wapa*, pero este es pariente del Kamarakoto *o:pa*, no de *wapa*, vocablo completamente distinto.

162. Tatuaje.—*meta:men.*

163. Vestido, traje.—*pondo'*, (*i*)*pon*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)*mbaipon*, (*u*)*pon*.

164. Delantal, excusalí (para hombres).—*wayiku*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kamizha-le*. Makuchi (Williams) *kami-cka*. Cumánagoto (Adam) *huaicu-r*, (50) "delantal de mujer". Chaima (Adam) *guayuco*, "delantal de mujer". Los vocablos Taurepán y Macuchi provienen del Español (o Portugués) "camisa", traslación curiosa, explicable aparentemente por el hecho de que "camisa" fué primeramente transferido por los Indios a la tela comercial, tal como se usa para camisas. Sus delantales están hecho actualmente con esa tela y no con géneros de fabricación indígena. Esto se refiere también a los Kamarakotos, pero ellos han conservado una palabra Caribe. En la mayoría de los dialectos Caribes, aunque no en todos ellos, esta palabra se aplica al delantal femenino y no al excusalí masculino, pero en Kamarakoto se usa solamente para este último. Esta palabra India—"guayuco"—es familiar en Español-Venezolano, interpretándose por regla general en el sentido de delantal femenino.

165. Cinturón, para hombres; generalmente un simple cordel de algodón usado para sostener el *wayiku*.—*tien-akamüi*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *yanegamə'*.

166. Delantal de cuentas (para mujeres).—*motsa*. Taurepán, *mosa*. Makuchi (Williams) *mosa*.

167. Sandalias (indígenas, de corteza de palma y fibra).—*purai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *pəlai* (-*pərai*).

168. Tela de comercio.—*sara:sa* (del Español "zaraza").

Vestimenta europea para hombres.

169. *sombereró*.	Palabras Españolas con pronunciación Kamarakota.
170. *kamisá*.	
171. *pantalón*.	
172. *alpargatá*.	

(50) *ku-* y *pu-* en estas palabras han de pronunciarse indudablemente *u*.

(Un traje de mujer de tipo europeo se llama simplemente *pon*, que también significa vestido en general).

173. Ajorcas de las piernas (para mujeres).—(i)*baipu* (ambas ajorcas). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ajorca superior *waipu*, ajorca inferior *urakumə*.

174. Ajorcas de los brazos (para mujeres).—(it)*abukamüi* (ambas ajorcas). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ajorca superior (*y*)*a:pügamə'*, ajorca inferior (*y*)*e:ndapəgemə'*.

175. Zarcillos.—(i)*panadaino'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *pana:da*. (*pana* "oreja").

176. Tocado (femenino, para la danza).—*inimo-katsa'*. (Literalmente "trenzado de hebras finas").

177. Cintas de cargar (de algodón, usadas por las mujeres para cargar criaturas).—*bene'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *wene'*

178. Bolsa (tejido, hecho con ganchillo, de cuerdas de algodón, en forma de talega, usada generalmente por los hombres).—*pakara'*. Makuchi (Williams) *pa-ka-ra*, definida como una especie de cesta llamada "pegall" o "pack-all" ("llévalotodo") en la Guayana Inglesa. Los Kamarakotos jamás llaman a una cesta *pakara* (o nunca hacen una *pakara* de cestería). Schomburgk sugiere que la palabra India *pegala- pakara* puede haberse derivado de la Inglesa "pack-all". Esta es ciertamente una reversión del proceso, desde luego que "pack-all" viene de "pakara" (51).

e. Pigmentos.

Estos pigmentos se usan como pinturas para la cara y el cuerpo y también para colorear cestas (solamente en negro), textiles (en rojo), etc. La cera de abejas y algunas de las gomas y resinas empleadas para varios objetos también sirven para colorear-

(51) La asimilación de una palabra extranjera a una expresión indígena de similitud próxima es un fenómeno lingüístico común. Compárese, por ejemplo, el Norteamericano "jerked" (como se aplica a la carne seca-tasajo), que no procede de "jerk", sino de "charqui".

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los, pero no se aplican solamente con ese propósito y no pueden, por tanto, considerarse como verdaderos pigmentos.

179. Negro.—*ainatoron*. Se trata de hollín raspado de las ollas de barro. (palabra *aina* puede ser una forma combinada de *o.ina*, "olla"; y si es así, el anómalo *o.i* se fundió en este caso en un diptongo).

180. Negro-azul.—*karöi*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *roku*, *ruku*, *luku*. Sapará, Porokotó y Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) *luku*. Este colorante se extrae de la pulpa que envuelve las semillas de la fruta carnosa de la *Genipa americana*, plantada cerca de las casas con este objeto. El nombre Aruaco es *karuto* (y variantes), de donde viene el Español-Venezolano "caruto". El parecido de la palabra Kamarakota y su diferencia con las de otros dialectos Caribes indica que acaso haya sido tomada de alguna tribu Aruaca, quizás de los Guinaus, con quienes los Kamarakotos tuvieron probablemente algún contacto y quienes llaman a esta planta *galu:tu* (Koch-Grünberg) = *karu* + *tu* en fonética Kamarakota.

181. *rana*. Taurepán *rana*. Makuchi (Williams) *rana*. Variedad menos usada de *Genipa americana*.

Rojo.

182. *anonda*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *anonte*, *anunte*. Makuchi (Williams) *ru-ku*, *a-nun-tɔ*. Galibi (Adam) *anoto*. Cariniaco (Adam) *onoto*. Este es el famoso y ampliamente usado colorante extraído de las semillas del arbusto *Bixa orellana*. Se cultiva con este objeto en todo Venezuela y se le llama "onoto", por la palabra Caribe. En Inglaterra es denominado "arnatto", indicio igualmente de la palabra Caribe. Es curioso que en la Guayana Inglesa se le aplique a esta colorante la palabra *ruku*, la cual significa generalmente el colorante *Genipa*, muy diferente.

183. *karaberö*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kurauili* (quizás *kurawiri*), Makuchi (Appun) (52) *karaweru*. Este es un colorante rojo púrpura extraído del bejuco *Bignonia chica*.

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(52) "Unter den Tropen", Jena, 1871. No muy citado aquí por haber sido reemplazado por Williams, quien, no obstante, no registró personalmente esta palabra.

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184. *kurawöri*. Este colorante no lo hacen los Kamarakotos, quienes lo adquieren, por negocio, de los Maiongones (Maquiritares). No he averiguado como lo hacen éstos. Los Kamarakotos distinguen esta palabra de su *karaberö*, pero parece probable que sea meramente una forma dialectal (presumiblemente Maquiritare) del mismo vocablo Caribe.

185. Blanco.—*tauwa*. Makuchi (Williams) *ta-wa*. Se trata de una arcilla fina y blanca usada como pintura para el cuerpo.

f. Fibras, hilachas, etc.

186. Cordel, sedal (como para pesquería).—*yeba*. Véase el Nº 103.

187. Hilo de algodón, hilado de algodón en general (incluso el comercial o manufacturado).—*asei.a*.

188. Hilo fino de algodón indígena.—*asei.a-inimu'*. Makuchi (Williams) *e-ni-mo*, es decir, "pelota de algodón hilado fino".

189. Tiras de junco o bejuco para cestas (la clase más común, llamada en Español-Venezolano "tirita").—*manare*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *mana:le* (= *mana:re*). *Makuchi* (Williams) *ma-na-ri*, "tamiz para hacer casabe" (llamado *pangai'* en Kamarakoto y *panga'* en Taurepán); *ma-na* "junco usado para trabajos de cestería". En Makuchi (y en muchos otros dialectos Caribes) la forma de *-ri* o *-re* designa una de las muchas clases particulares de cestas de las hechas con esos juncos o bejucos, y la misma palabra ha sido adaptada al Español-Venezolano con el mismo significado: "manare". En Kamarakoto y Taurepán, empero, la palabra en esa forma significa el junco o el bejuco en sí, nunca uno de los objetos hechos con ellos, pues todos estos tienen nombres completamente diferentes. El junco empleado en cestería es una o varias especies de *Ischnosiphon*.

190. Tiras de bejucos para cestas (menos usadas que las tiras de junco. Llamadas en Español-Venezolano "camuare").—*wadapi*. Makuchi (Williams) *wa-tha-be* (la *th* como en "thin"—delgado en Inglés) "liana... empleada para atar rollos de taba-

co". Esto se hace actualmente con la fibra de una palma, *Desmoncus sp.*

191. Una fibra fuerte (en Español-Venezolano "curagua").—*kurawai'*. Makuchi (Williams) *ku-rau-ya*. Estas fibras se sacan de las hojas de una especie de *Bromelia* y se emplean profusamente en Venezuela, donde el nombre Español es un derivado de la palabra Caribe.

192. Bejuco redondo y correoso (en Español-Venezolano "bejuco de alambrito").—*tsimo'*. Compárese con *tsimui'*, Nº 99, cesta hecha con esta fibra.

193. Fibra de palma (de la palma moriche).—*kutsa'-epicha'*. (Las hojas de palma, en contraposición de la fibra, también se emplean para hacer cestas, pero se llaman simplemente "hojas de moriche", etc.) (Véase "Plantas").

g. Muebles, utensilios, etc.

194. Hamaca.—*kami* (aunque ukaimi, "mi hamaca"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kami* (aunque *u-ka:limi*, "mi hamaca").

195. Colgadero para la hamaca.—*tseba*.

196. Banco.—*aponoi'*. Taurepán, *apono, pono'* (53) Makuchi (Williams) *a-po-no*.

197. Cuna colgante.—*paka:ri*.

198. Huso.—*kateuwai-yeupu* (literalmente "hueso del algodón).

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(53) El Padre Baltasar de Matallana cita esta palabra como *p-apón* (*p*)-*apon*, forma derivada de *apono*, que es la principal forma no-posesiva de la palabra en Taurepán, según está registrado tanto por Koch-Grünberg como por mí. El Padre Baltasar cita luego los vocablos *p-apono*, Cumanagoto, e *p-aponota*, Chaima, para ilustrar la brevedad comparativa de la raíz en Taurepán, pero en ambos de estos dos casos la raíz es *apono* (siendo *p-* y *-to* afijos) lo mismo que en Taurepán, y esta es una forma plena, no reducida, de la raíz. Una forma verdaderamente reducida puede verse probablemente en el Galibi *abo* (por *apo*). Convengo plenamente en que el Taurepán, en esta y en muchas otras palabras, es relativamente primitivo, pero por razones diametralmente opuestas, es decir, porque conserva estas raíces en forma relativamente irreducida.

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199. Clavo, encorvado en la punta para tejer.—*peoi-gatsa'*. *gatsa'* probablemente signifique "enganchado", "prendido" o "tejido" y *peoi* es "clavo". En la mayoría de los dialectos Caribes "clavo" se denomina con alguna variante o forma reducida de *putuputuri*, que también se presenta en Aruaco (Véase De Goeje Nº 67), pero es de advertir el Purukotó (De Goeje) *puia* (53 bis).

200. Espejo.—*unamari*. (Esta es aparentemente una palabra Caribe).

201. Tabaco (puro).—*tamöi-konekasa'* (literalmente "tabaco (que ha sido) hecho").

202. Pipa.—*kachimba*. Se trata de la "cachimba" Española-Venezolana, ya que la pipa no es indígena en los Kamarakotos.

203. Trapiche de caña.—*tɔrabichi*, *tɔrapichi*. Es el vocablo Español-Venezolano "trapiche".

204. Batea de lavar oro (madera vaciada).—*watea*. Es el vocablo Español-Venezolano "batea".

205. Hacha (de acero).—*waka*. Taurepán, *waka*. Aunque esta y las dos herramientas siguientes sean, naturalmente, importadas, sus nombres parecen ser indígenas.

206. Cuchillo (de acero).—*mari:a*. Taurepán, *tawöra*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *malia* (= *maria*). Makuchi (Williams) *a-tau-wa-ra*. Galibi y otros seis dialectos Caribes esparcidos (De Goeje) *maria* (54).

207. Machete (de acero).—*kutsupara*. Taurepán, *kasu:para*.

(53 bis) Nota del traductor.—¿No se derivará *puia* del Español *puya*?

(54) Véase la disquisición interesantísima de Nordenskiöld sobre las palabras Indias correspondientes a cuchillos de acero (1922). Cree este autor que *maria* es de origen Aruaco, lo cual me inclino a dudar porque está extendida predominantemente en el Norte del Caribe y se emplea únicamente entre los Aruacos muy influídos por estos Caribes. En todo caso es palabra India. Así mismo, probablemente, *kutsupara*. No es imposible, pero sí eminentemente improbable, que este vocablo esté emparentado con "cuchillo". Adviértanse también los nombres comunes del "hierro" en esta región: *oiripori* y variantes. El Taurepán *tawöra* es palabra muy aislada y de origen dudoso. Difícilmente sea más que una coincidencia que *ta-ra*, con variantes no alejados del vocablo Taurepán, es el nombre Caribe de un pájaro cuya cola tiene forma de cuchillo.

h. Viviendas, etc.

208. Vivienda en general, estructura techada.—*tapüi*. Taurepán, *öuta*, pero de acuerdo con Koch-Grünberg, los Taurepanes llaman a una choza de abrigo (en la selva) *tapüi* (o *tapɔ̃i*). Makuchi (Williams) *u-tɔ̃'*, "casa", *u-y-e-wu*, "mi casa", *ta- pui*. "tingladito". La mayoría de los dialectos Caribes emplean una variación de la raíz *öuta-utɔ̃* para "casa" y aplican la raíz *tapui*, si es que la usan, a un rancho pequeño, véase, como ejemplo, Adam Nº 142; pero los Kamarakotos denominan con *tapüi* estructuras que son *öuta* (etc.) para otros Caribes. También existe una raíz para "casa" del tipo *muna*, *monta*, *motu*, etc. Véase De Goeje Nº 45, que es probablemente la-*mota* de los Kamarakotos (Véase Nº 267).

209. Casa con paredes.—*tapüi-timeakɯn*.

210. Casa cuadrangular.—*wata*. (Para palabras usadas corrientemente en dialectos afines véase *parapan-* más adelante).

211. Casa cuadrangular con paredes.—*wata-timeakɯn*.

212. Casa cuadrangular sin paredes.—*wata-imedapun*.

213 Casa cuadrangular completamente sellada con barro.—*kalabo:so*. Es la palabra española "calabozo", prisión. El *kalabo:so* Kamarakoto se usa para librarse de la plaga y no es lugar de confinamiento. No estoy seguro de si es general el empleo de este vocablo, pero lo oí, cuando menos, a un Indio que no hablaba Español.

214. Casa circular.—*waipa*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tuku:yipan* (con *y* silbante) Makuchi (Roth, citado por Williams) *tukuchpang*. *Akawai* (y otros dialectos, De Goeje) *tukushipan*. Apunta De Goeje que *tukushipan*, etc., significa "parecido a un colibrí" (tucusito en Venezolano).

215.—Casa oblonga con extremos semicirculares (55) *parapan*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *pa:'lapan*, "casa cuadrangular" (la

(55) Lo que la mayoría de los autores denomina "oval" o "elíptica", no siendo de hecho ni lo uno ni lo otro.

cual se llamaría *wata* en Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, citado por Williams) *parakapang*, "casa elíptica", pero Appun da *paracapang* como en "casa cuadrangular". Problemante se emplea para ambas entre esos Indios. Williams insinúa una derivación del Makuchi *paranka*, "tablón", "plancha?", y De Goeje una derivación de *paraka* (etc.) "faisán" (?), pero ambas me parecen sumamente improbables.

216. Pared.—(i)*medan*.

217. Techo.—(i)*murun*.

218. Puerta (el boquete).—*munata*.

219. Puerta (una estera o un tablero para cerrar la entrada).—*tapəra*. Esta palabara viene probablemente de la Española "tabla". Compárese con la Makuchi (Williams) *tapara*, dada como sinónima de la Española "tabla". En la palabra Kamarakota la ə es más breve que lo usual en la penúltima sílaba, una mera deslizante para separar -pr- (= bl-) que los Kamarakotos no pueden pronunciar.

i. Transporte.

220. Sujetador del batiente de la puerta.—*munata-den*.

221. Camino, pica.—*eima*, *yeima*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ema*, *e'ma*. Makuchi (Williams) *e-ma*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)*yema*, (u)*ye'ma*. Purokotó (Koch-Grünberg) *he:-ma*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *echema*. Muchos de los dialectos más remotamente afines tienen la palabra formada así, poco más o menos. No está claro si *ech* es un prefijo o si *ema* se ha reducido. (de una forma parecida a *echema*).

222. Puente.—*muineü*, *tuna-muineü-pu*, "puente sobre agua".

223. Canoa.—*kan.wa*, *kanhwa*. Taurepán, *kan.wa*, *kanoa*. Makuchi (Williams) *ka-na-wa*. Esta es la palabra Caribe existente en, por decirlo así, todos los dialectos (Véase Adan Nº 65), y que ha sido adaptada a la mayoría de los idiomas Europeos: Inglés "canoe", Español "canoa", etc. Formas parecidas a la Ma-

kuchi, con tres sílabas, son sumamente comunes. La pérdida de la sílaba media es definidamente perceptible en Kamarakoto por la falta, de otra manera anómala, de velarización de la *n* antes de la *w* y por la presencia de un leve aliento entre estos dos sonidos.

224. Tronco vaciado (canoa).—*kuriyara*. Esta palabra es igualmente común en la mayoría de los dialectos Caribes y ha sido adoptada por el Español de Sur América "curiara". Ha pasado al Inglés como "corial", palabra que nada tiene que ver con "coracle"—barquilla de cuero. En Caribe, generalmente, *kanawa* (etc.), significa cualquier clase de bote, y *kuriyara* (etc), una clase particular, un tronco o madero vaciado y con extremos puntiagudos. Los Kamarakotos no usan ninguna embarcación que no sea *kuriyara* y corrientemente emplean esta palabra, aunque también conocen la de *kan.wa*, siendo efectivamente para ellos esta última sinónimo de *kuriyara*.

225. Remo, canalete.—*kan.wa-pa:re*.

226. Cuaderna que sirve para llevar carga.—*wayare*.

j. Instrumentos musicales, bailes.

227. Trompeta (tubo recto para soplar, de bambú).—*kamai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kama:yen*.

228. Caramillo, carrizo (sin orificios laterales).—*lue, lwe, rue*. (También designa esta palabra el junco con que se hacen estos silbos).

229. Variedad de *lue* pequeño.—*kaikara*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaikala*, "flauta para soplar lateralmente".

230. Flauta (idem).—*nau-nau*.

231. Cuerno (cuerno de res—vaca—que se sopla por un lado, no por el extremo).—*kacho*. Es la palabra Española-Venezolana "cacho". Las vacas casi se desconocen por completo en tierra de Kamarakotos y este instrumento es una novedad importada recientemente.

232. Crótalo de calabaza o tapara.—*maraka*. Esta palabra, con ligera variación, es general en los dialectos Caribes y existe también en Aruaco. Ha pasado, lo mismo que el instrumento, al Español-Americano, habiendo sido adoptada también por el Inglés-Americano.

233. Tambor.—*sambura*. Taurepán, *sambura*. Makuchi (Williams) *san-bu-ra*, *sambura*. Con formas varias, la palabra es general en Caribe y preséntase vocablos emparentados en muchas lenguas no Caribes, por ejemplo, (Koch-Grünberg) en Guinau *samhola*, Shiriana *sambo:ra* y en Maku *sambula*. Williams insinúa que esta palabra puede ser indígena, pero, por otro lado, es creencia universal que viene del Romance, (Español, Portugués, Francés) "tambor", "tambur", "tambour", y en última instancia del Arabe. La evidencia señala este origen, pero Williams siente ciertos reparos sobre el particular.

234. Ronda de tragos.—*etaripan*. Alguien ha lanzado la hipótesis jocosa de que este es el origen del nombre tribual Taurepán.

235. Danza en general.—*eren*.

Danzas sociales (están definidas más exactamente en otros capítulos).

236. *parichara*.

237. *tukü̈i'*. Literalmente "colibrí"—"tucusito" en Español-Venezolano.

238. *warepan*.

239. *warepan*.—*mü̈irepɔn*.

240. *ware*.

241. *katoi'*.

Danzas religiosas (o del piache):

242. *mari*.

243 - 244. *ɾɾamba*, con algunas variedades de acuerdo con el propósito, por ejemplo, *okö̈yima-ɾɾamba* para mordeduras y úlceras.

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245. Vestido de parichara, el conjunto.—*parichara-pon.*

246. Tocado de paricha.—*aro'.*

247. Falda de parichara (*i*)*maripadai* (Véase *maripa* Nº 442), del nombre de las hojas con que se hace el faldellín.

k. Magia y religión.

248. (Exorcista, -brujo).—*piatsan.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *piasan.* Cumanagoto (Adam) *piache.* Este es evidentemente el origen de la palabra Española-Venezolana "piache".

249. Canaima (una especie de persona o espíritu maléfico, véase el capítulo sobre religión).—*kanaima.* Esta palabra y la idea singular que representa son de hecho universales entre los Caribes. Williams demuestra más allá de mayor duda que la palabra Inglesa "canibal" proviene (a través del Español) de este vocablo y nó, como se había aceptado generalmente, del nombre de los propios Caribes.

250. Espíritu maléfico (nombre personal de un espíritu).—*piaima.* En la Guayana Inglesa los piaches son llamados "piaiman" o "peaiman" y esto hace suponer que se derive de alguna forma de "piatsan" (esto lo acepta aparentemente el mismo Williams, desde luego que lo cita al efecto Im Thurn sin criticarlo). Sinembargo, esta es claramente la palabra *piaima,* y en Kamarakoto y Taurepán, como probablemente en las lenguas Caribes en general, *piaima* es un espíritu maléfico o sér mítico, un familiar de los piaches, acaso una suerte de piache celestial, pero no brujo-médico humano y actual. Además, en estos dos dialectos *piaima* es nombre de un espíritu particular, no término general.

251. Banco usado por el brujo-médico.—*murei.*

(Véase también *kabai,* Nº 413, *kumi,* Nº 415, *mari,* Nº 242 y *ramba,* Nº 243).

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5.—TERMINOS Y NOMBRES GEOGRAFICOS:

Estas palabras están clasificadas general y propiamente bajo el rubro de "Naturaleza", pero las he segregado aquí debido al amplio interés que tienen para viajeros y cartógrafos. Por esta razón también, doy de cada una de estas palabras una transcripción aproximada, que se recomienda para usos cartográficos y similares, usando solamente letras del alfabeto Español. Aparte la imposibilidad de aproximar íntimamente los sonidos ɔ, *ü* y ö de este modo, el problema principal es el de la transcripción de *k* y *w*. El uso de la *k* parece barbarismo en Español, pero las formas necesarias *que*, *qui* serían generalmente mal pronunciadas por personas de habla Inglesa, quienes igualmente deben ser consideradas, y los nombres, después de todo, son también barbarismos, de manera que aquí no hay razón seria para que no aparezcan así, y por ello empleo la *k*. He substituído, empero, la *u* por la *w*, pues usualmente así es que como se pronunciará con aproximada corrección, mientras que poniendo *w* sería mala la pronunciación, excepto tratándose de personas de habla Inglesa.

a. Términos

252. Montaña, colina, cerro, pico, altura rocosa.—*tɔpüi*. Este es propiamente un sufijo usado en nombres de montañas, por ejemplo, *Auyan-tɔpüi*. Transcripción cartográfica: *tepui*. La expresión fonética es muy defectuosa, pues cualquier vocal Española se asemeja a la ɔ tanto como la *e*, pero así está ya establecido para uso general. Además, *-tepui* es preferible *a-tepuy*, ortografía que también se emplea ampliamente. Es de observar que las formas como "Monte Auyantepui" o "Cerro Auyantepui", usadas generalmente, son redundantes. Así pues, debe decirse simplemente "Auyán-tepui" o "monte Auyán" o "cerro Auyán".

253. Montaña.—*wei'* (no es sufijo).

254. Cerros.—*wöyöpüi*, vocablo poético que sólo se oye en canciones.

255. Sabana.—*ita.i*, forma de sufijo *-ta.i*, por ejemplo, *Uruyen-ta.i*. "La sabana de Uruyén" (no se diga ni escriba, pues, "Sabana de Uruyén-tai"). Transcripción cartográfica: *itái*, *tái*. Taurepán, *itöi*. Los Taurepanes parecen usar más comunmente la próxima palabra en nombre de lugares, en tanto que los Kamarakotos se sirven de ésta. Makuchi (Williams) *e-tei*.

256. Fondo abierto de un valle, sabana extensa.—*rƏmon*, (*i*)*rƏmun*. Transcripción cartográfica: *remón*, Taurepán *rƏmon*. En Kamarakoto, un *rƏmon* puede componerse de varios o muchos *ita.i -s* diferentes. Kamarata, como conjunto, es un *rƏmon*, pero los Kamarakotos no parecen tener una palabra "valle" en el sentido nuestro de drenaje unido o de vertientes más curso de agua.

257. Bosques, selva *-churcta*. Transcripción geográfica: churetá. Taurepán *tu'rita*.

258. Roca, peña.—*tö'*. Transcripción cartográfica: *tuk*. (La expresión fonética es muy defectuosa, pero me parece mejor que la forma *tek* adoptada por el Padre Baltasar de Matallana para el vocablo Taurepán). Taurepán, *tö*, *tƏ'* Makuchi (Williams) *tƏ*,

259. Río, corriente de agua.—*tuna*. Esta palabra significa en general "agua", pero también es la que siempre se emplea para río. Transcripción geográfica: *tuná*. Taurepán, *tuna*. Makuchi (Williams) *tu-na*.

260. Río caudaloso.—*tuna-kaipun* (literalmente "agua grande"). Transcripción cartográfica: *tuná-kaipún*.

261. Quebrada, caño.—*paru*. Transcripción cartográfica: *parú*. Taurepán, *paru*, "río". Esta palabra es de uso apenas corriente tanto entre los Kamarakotos como entre los Taurepanes, y estos últimos no parecen usarla nunca sino como sufijo. Para ellos es un sinónimo arcaico u obsoleto de "río", conservado en los nombres de muchos de éstos, como *Uriman-paru*, etc., pero el vocablo vernáculo actual para "río" es *tuna*, como en Kamarakoto. En Kamarakoto *paru* no se usa de costumbre como sufijo en nombres de ríos; por ejemplo, el Río Aicha es llamado simplemente *Aicha*, nunca *Aicha-paru*, aunque el aditamento aparezca en algunos nombres de lugares antiguos. Pero aun en su acepción secundaria "caño" o "quebrada", *paru* parece término arrumbado en Kamarakoto.

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262. Lago, laguna.—*ikupə*. Transcripción cartográfica: *ikupá* (acaso mejor, pronunciando algo más aproximado al sonido verdadero, que *ikupé*) Taurepán, *kupə*. (La i de la palabra Kamarakoto no es probablemente el pronombre posesivo, o, al menos, parece no ser omitido ni cuando encierra el concepto de no-posesión).

263. Salto, catarata, *-bena, tuna-bena*. Transcripción cartográfica *bená, tuná-bená*. Esta palabra se usa como sufijo en nombres de cataratas, por ejemplo, *Aicha-bena*. "Las cataratas del *Aichá*". En Taurepán no se presenta esta palabra, usándose allí la próxima tanto para cataratas como para raudales.

264. Raudal, cascada.—*meru*. Transcripción cartográfica *merú*. Los Kamarakotos no aplican esta palabra a una catarata, o sea, a una caída notable de agua. Taurepán, *meru*. Los Taurepanes emplean estas palabras indistintamente para raudales y cataratas. La mayoría de los aspectos fluviales con nombre terminados en *-meru* en tierra de Taurepanes, serían llamados *bena* y no *meru* por un Kamarakoto.

265. Desembocadura, confluencia.—*ken*. Transcripción geográfica: *-ken*. Este vocablo ha sido registrado solamente como sufijo en nombres de lugar, por ejemplo, *kurun-ken*. "lugar en la desembocadura de un río llamado *kurun*" (zamuro, gallinazo, especie de buitre). Taurepán, *-ken*, usado de la misma manera.

266. Lugar, paraje, región.—*ta*. Transcripción geográfica: *-ta*. Este vocablo también ha sido registrado solamente como sufijo, por ejemplo, *kamara-ta* (esta es la transcripción estrictamente correcta de este vocablo que se da generalmente como "Camarata" o Kamarata". El elemento *kamara* conserva cierta acentuación en la *a final*, de manera que *Kamarata* es casi tan exacto en transcripción geográfica como sería *Kamaratá*). Taurepán, *-ta*, empleado del mismo modo.

267. Localidad, lugar habitado.—*mota*. Transcripción cartográfica: *motá*. Puede usarse como vocablo separado, pero se encuentra más frecuentemente como sufijo en nombres de lugares, por ejemplo, *atapa-mota* (el lugar habitado por el cacique de los Kamarakotos). Taurepán, *mota*, observado solamente como sufijo, aunque acaso se use también separadamente.

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b. Algunos nombres geográficos.

Los siguientes nombres se exponen aquí en forma de tabla por conveniencia, para mostrar la pronunciación (por el sistema aquí usado) y para sugerir transcripciones cartográficas. Por supuesto, son únicamente una simple muestra de los innumerables nombres de lugares usados por Kamarakotos. Como no son, hablando con propiedad, palabras de la lengua, no se les da número en el vocabulario. Para facilitar comparaciones, los términos empleados por Tate en su mapa (1938) aparecen en columna paralela.

Nombres de lugares	Transcripciones cartográficas propuestas	Nombres estampados en el Mapa de Tate
1. Montañas:		
Aparaman-tɔ́ püi . .	*Aparamán-tepúi*. . .	*Cerro Paramán.*
Ser-tɔ́ püi	*Ser-tepúi*.	*Cerro Setepui.*
Murosipan-tɔ́ püi . .	*Murosipán-tepúi*. . .	*Cerro Murosipán.*
Tuküi-wokö-küyen -tɔ́ püi.	*Tukúi-wokó-kuyén tepúi*.	.. ..
Tuküi-po-kuyen-tɔ́ - püi.	*Tukúi-po-kuyén-te-púi*.	.. ..
Kamarkai-barai-tɔ́ - püi.	*Kamarkái-barái-te-púi*.	*Cerro Manacawaia.*
karüi-yeuku-tɔ́ püi .	*Karúi-yeukú-tepúi*. .	*Cerro Caraieucu.*
Enwarapaima-tepüi.	*Enuarapaimá-tepúi* .	*Cerro Awarapaima*
Aicha-tɔ́ püi.	*Aichá-tepúi*.	.. ..
Wayaraka-tepüi. . .	*Uayaraká-tepúi*. . .	*Cerro Wairaka.*
Auyan-tɔ́ püi. . . .	*Auyán-tepúi*.	*Cerro Auyantepui.*
Wapi: nau-tɔ́ püi . .	*Uapináu-tepúi*. . . .	.. ..
2. Lugares habitados.		
Uruyen.	*Uruyén*.	*Urullén* (56).

(56) Esto supone que la ü ha de ser pronunciada a la manera del Venezolano coloquial, vale decir, como una y un tanto silbante.

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Nombres de lugares	Transcripciones cartográficas propuestas	Nombres estampados en el Mapa de Tate
Santa Marta o Tuaiba (57)	*Santa Marta o Tuaiba*	*Santamarta.*
Abasakapan	*Kurún-ken*	.. ..
Kurun-ken	*Aleuiba*	.. ..
Alewi: ba	*Asakapán* o	
Asakapan o	*Abasakapán*	*Aaguasacapán* (58)
Atapa-mota	*Atapá-motá*	.. ..
Kuwepiripan o	*Ku-uepiripán* o	
Wepiripa	*Uepiripá*	.. ..
Ibanamaru	*Ibanamarú*	*Guanamarú.*
Kwai-paru o	*Kuai-parú* o	
Gwai-paru	*Guai-parú*	.. ..
Maiba-mota o	*Maibá-motá* o	
Maiba-pan	*Maibá-pan*	.. ..
Peipa	*Peipá*	.. ..
Ipupaipun	*Ipupaipún*	.. ..
Ayukupai	*Ayukupái*	*Mayucupai.*
Waikimba	*Uaikimbá*	*Guarimba* (59)

(57) Tuaiba es el nombre Kamarakoto del lugar. Le fué puesto *Santa Marta* por el cacique de habla Española, evidentemente en un esfuerzo para impresionar a sus visitantes blancos, pero es dudoso que los demás indios estén dispuestos a seguir usándolo.

Nota del traductor.—Séanos permitido manifestar la opinión de que la denominación justa sería Santa Marta de Tuaiba. El "bautiso" fué iniciativa de un Indio, no imposición de un Misionero, y tiene un noble y emocionante significado bolivariano. (El Libertador murió en Santa Marta (Colombia).

Del autor al traductor: Convengo en su denominación, y me agrada. No sabía de dónde pudo sacar Alejo Calcaño el nombre, pero ahora veo que acaso supuso que el Libertador murió en Santa Marta (Colombia), ya que le dió el nombre de "Simón Bolívar" a uno de sus Indios.

(58) Esto hace suponer que la *gu* ha de ser pronunciada como en venezolano coloquial, parecida a la *w* Inglesa, pero, para mi oído, esta es una *b* abierta o una *v* bilabial.

(59) Esta puede ser mi Waikimba, pero la anterior, según dicen, está en el Bajo Akanán. Tate señala su Guarimba del Carreo en la orilla del Akanán. Advierto que no he visitado el lugar y que mi informe puede resultar errado.

Nombres de lugares	Transcripciones cartográficas propuestas	Nombres estampados en el Mapa de Tate
Ura-kupai	*Ure-kupái*	.. ..
Ben:e	*Benné*	.. ..
Amidan	*Amidán*	.. ..
Abara-paru	*Abará-parú*	.. ..
Wadekupai	*Wadekupái*	.. ..
Itöikupai	*Itoikupái*	.. ..
Oyuwopatöi	*Oyu-uopatói*	.. ..
Püleükepa	*Puleukepá*	.. ..
Atabar (60)	*Atabár*	.. ..
Kapin	*Kapín*	.. ..
Araubai	*Araubái*	.. ..
3. Corrientes y ríos.		
Aicha	*Aichá*	*Haicha* (61)
Yuruan	*Yuruán*	*Urullén* (62)
Akanan	*Akanán*	*Acanán*
Karoni	*Karoní* o *Caroní* (63)	*Caroní.*

(60) Probablemente no es nombre Kamarakoto, porque ningún (otro) vocablo Kamarakoto termina en r y porque la persona que vive allá y me suministró el nombre es quien mejor habla Español de toda la tribu. El acento, es innecesario en Español, pero yo creo conveniente ponerlo en transcripción cartográfica.

(61) La h se supone muda, como en Español. Este río ha sido llamado también Hacha, por confusión con la palabra Española, la cual realmente nada tiene que ver con este nombre.

(62) No sé si Tate confundió *Yuriún* con *Uruyén* o si intencionalmente le dió un nuevo nombre a la corriente, tomándolo del nombre del lugar habitado —Uruyén— frente a su desembocadura. Los indios jamás lo llaman Uruyén.

(63) Este gran río es tan conocido ya y figura en tantos mapas como Caroní, que sería quijotesco insistir en Karoní a estas alturas.

El Padre Baltasar de Matallana dice de este nombre: "los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montaña dominante en su margen izquierda". En otra parte, presenta dos sugestiones alternativas: a saber, que el nombre puede venir de "*Karó*", o sea, el padre de los animales y los

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Nombres de lugares	Transcripciones cartográficas propuestas	Nombres estampados en el Mapa de Tate
Kara:o	*Karáo*	*Carrao* (64)
Kuana	*Kuaná*	*Uuana.*
Kapin	*Kapín*	.....
4. Regiones, sabanas.		
Kamara-ta	*Kamarata*	*Camarata* (65)
Akanamüin-ta	*Akanamuín-ta*	.....

peces de la mitología Kamarakota, o bien de *"Karói"*; especie de pescado muy escamoso.

Puesto que vale la pena, debo añadir que varios Kamarakotos con quienes discutí este punto, confesaron no conocer ningún *Karó* mitológico ni ningún pez *Karói*. Advierto que *Karói* se aplica al temblador o anguila eléctrica en dialectos afines y que la palabra puede existir perfectamente en Kamarakoto, aunque la desconocieran mis informantes. Ningún Kamarakoto conoce los nombres de todos los peces, como nos ocurre a nosotros mismos en nuestros idiomas propios. Sea como fuere, mis informantes convinieron en que Karoní viene de Karó, "agarrar", llamándosele así porque las curiaras, al bogar por ese río, se ven agarradas y volteadas (por el agua o por presuntos espíritus maléficos). Naturalmente ésta puede ser etimología popular, desde luego que el nombre es tan viejo que resulta improbable la supervivencia de ninguna leyenda auténtica de su origen. Además, es realmente improbable que el nombre se lo pusieran los Kamarakotos.

Aquellos Indios agregaron la declaración peculiar de que *Karoní* no es el nombre verdadero del río, sino una suerte de apodo, y que debe llamársele *Yuruaní*. Ese o(*Yuruaní*) es el nombre de uno de los dos afluentes principales del Karoní, siendo el otro el Kukenán, y, si no interpreto mal la correlación ideológica de los Kamarakotos, el Alto Karoní es simplemente la continuación del Yuruaní, y el Kukenán, un tributario. No parecían tener un concepto verdaderamente claro de la hidrografía, pero insistían en que el "nombre verdadero" del Karoní es Yuruaní.

(64) Esta ortografía, como la de Caroní, está ya más o menos fijada por el uso en Español y acaso deba conservarse.

(65) Tate la adjudica a este nombre un área demasiado grande, y la mayoría de los cartógrafos han hecho lo mismo, en medida mayor todavía. En el uso de los Kamarakotos, que yo considero el único criterio válido para una palabra de su propia lengua y que designa el terruño propio, Kamarata se aplica tan solo al valle inmediatamente al Sur de Auyán-tepui, al Este del alto banco desde el cual se precipita el Aichá, al Norte de Ewarapaimá-tepui y al Oeste de una línea trazada aproximadamente desde el extremo Nordeste de esta última montaña hasta el Sureste de Auyán-tepui.

En el mapa de Tate la palabra de "Valle" de "Valle de Kamarata" no se encuentra en Kamarata sino en Akanamüin-ta, que yace bastante al Este de Kamarata.

Nombres de lugares	Transcripciones cartográficas propuestas	Nombres estampados en el Mapa de Tate
Uruyen-ta.i.	*Uruyén-tai.*	. . . . .
Yuruan-ta.i.	*Yuruán-tai.*	. . . . .
Chikoroka-ta.i.	*Chikoroká-tai.*	. . . . .
Kumba-ta.i.	*Kumbá-tai.*	. . . . .
Taba-munen-ta.i (66)	*Tabá-munén-tai.* . .	. . . . .

6.—ANIMALES

a. Mamíferos.

268. Animal en general, refiriéndose usualmente a los mamíferos.—*woto*. Esta palabra se emplea también para la carne de un mamífero, hablando con propiedad *woto-pun*.

269. Zarigüeya, Rabipelao, en Venezolano, especies de *Didelphis* y *Metachirus* (posiblemente también *Philander* y *Marmosa*) *-abare* (*b* abierta, casi *w*). Taurepán, *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburg) *jawarri-cusinai* (= *yabari-kusinai*) "D. philander" (es decir *Philander* sp.). Kaliña (De Goeje) *awari*, Oyana (De Goeje) *awalemö*. Arawako (De Goeje) *yawali*.

270-271. Perrito de agua, Zarigüeya de agua, especie *Chironectes minimus* (?) *-abarepoka, maparwa*. Se ha dicho que estos dos nombres designan el mismo animal, el cual no hemos visto per-

(66) Estos últimos cinco nombres son de pequeños sembrados de sabana adyacentes junto al centro de Kamarata, estampándose aquí como muestra de la subdivisión minuciosa y la riqueza de la nomenclatura India, la cual debe tener centenares de nombres locales en esta región inmediata. Uruyéntai es la sabana en que se construyen las casas de Uruyén. Yuruán-tai es la sabana adyacente, al otro lado del Aichá y entre este y el Yuruán. En esta sabana fué donde alzamos nuestro campamento. Chikoroká-tai se encuentra justo en la parte alta del valle y no está realmente separada de Yuruán-tai. Aquí se encuentra el campo de aterrizaje. Kumbá-tai era el viejo aerodromo (el indicado en el mapa de Tate) directamente al Norte de Uruyén y en la margen opuesta del Aichá, Tabá-munén-tai es el pedacito de sabana justo al Oeste del nuevo aerodromo.

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sonalmente, pero su descripción concuerda con el *Chironectes*. La definición es, no obstante, incierta y estas palabras pueden referirse más bien a una nutria. En Makuchi, Schomburgk define *maparua* (= *maparwa*) como la especie mayor de la nutria pescadora, pero Williams lo da como un tipo de rana. El Taurepán *aparöwa* parece ser el mismo vocablo, pero también nos vemos en la incertidumbre de si se trata de una zarigüeya de agua o de una nutria. Koch-Grünberg también transcribe *awa:lipoka* del Taurepán y lo llama nutria pescadora.

272. Murciélago, todos los géneros y especies. Se ha perdido la ficha en Kamarakoto (67). Taurepán, *maribɔ'*, transcrito por Koch-Grünberg como *mali:pa'*. También transcribe *kuldnau mali:pa'* como "vampiro", pero advierte que se trata de "un murciélago grande" y que esta es su descripción, no su nomenclatura. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *ma:lupa'*. Makuchi (Williams) *marapa*.

273. Mono, principalmente las especies de *Cebus*, incluyendo probablemente otras.—*ibarga*. Taurepán, *ibarga*, (Koch-Grünberg) *iwa:leka*. Mis informantes distinguían solamente dos clases de monos, ésta y la siguiente, siendo probable que incluyesen en este nombre una variedad de monos más chiquitos. Otras tribus, como enseñan especialmente Williams y De Goeje, distinguen cinco o diez clases de monos, siendo posible que haya Kamarakotos que conozcan otros nombres para tipos particulares de monos pequeños.

274. Araguato, *Alouatta*.—*arauta*. Taurepán arauta. Makuchi (Williams) *a-rau-ta*. Cumanagoto (De Goeje) *arahuata* (= *araucata*). Kaliña y otros dialectos (De Goeje) *aluata*. La misma raíz aparece en varias lenguas no-Caribes, pero tomada aparentemente del Caribe. Esta palabra, en forma parecida al Cumanagoto, es el origen del nombre Español-Venezolano, y, en forma parecida al Kaliña, el origen del nombre científico.

275. Pereza de tres dedos, *Bradypus tridactylus* - *kwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *ku-wa-ran*, con la definición de *Choloepus*,

(67) Recuerdo la palabra como *maripai*, que es probable, pero no encuentro el apunte y así no certifico la exactitud del vocablo.

pero advirtiendo que Schomburgk lo define como *Bradypus*. Ha habido bastante confusión en el uso Europeo de estos nombres indígenas, pero está fuera de discusión que los Kamarakotos emplean los nombres como aquí se transcriben, siendo probable que estos sean los usos correctos en Caribe en general.

276. Pereza de dos dedos, *Choloepus didactylus* -*nupi*. Taurepán *nupi*, Makuchi (Williams) *te-nu-pi*.

277. Oso palmero, oso hormiguero grande, *Myrmecophaga tridactyla* -*warem*. Taurepán *warem*. Makuchi (Williams) *ta-ma-no-wa*. Variantes de esta última raíz se presentan en varios dialectos Caribes, pero probablemente están tomadas del Tupi o "lingoa geral" — lengua general en Portugués — *tamandua* (68). Hay en literatura lingüística cierta confusión entre esta y la próxima especie, pero los Kamarakotos y los Taurepanes indablemente aplican *warem*. al *Myrmecophaga* tan solo (69).

278. Oso hormiguero, *Tamandua tetradactyla* — *woiwo*. repán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woi-wa* (70). Este nombre puede aplicarse también al *Cyclopes*, el cual no ví, ni los indios reconocieron por descripciones, aunque debe vivir en esta región.

279. Armadillo, en Venezuela "cachicamo", *Dasypus novecinctus-atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kaikan*, Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. *Kaikan*, etc., es obviamente el nombre central Caribe y el Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo* está emparentado con el Español coloquial "cachicamo". Lejos de suponer que los Kamarakotos la tomaron del Español - Venezolano, es preciso concluir que la palabra cachicamo vino de algún dialecto Indio, probablemente extinto ya, y que *atsi:gamo* se adoptó independientemente del mismo o de un dialecto afin sin haber pasado a través de una forma Española. Su *i* antepenúltima, larga, es fonéticamente particular.

(68) Este es evidentemente el origen del nombre científico del oso hormiguero más pequeño, pero los Indios parecen aplicarlo principalmente o exclusivamente al *Myrmecophaga*.

(69) Como nombre Taurepán, el Padre Baltasar de Matallana da "uaremé-Tamandua" y "uoiuo-Myrmecophaga", pero se trata probablemente de un "lapsus calami".

(70) Williams consigna también un *woi-wa* para una pereza distinta de *hueweua* *fenagé*, pero debido a la similitud y debido también a que, de hecho, no hay tercera clase alguna de pereza, sospecho que es la misma que su *woi-wa*.

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280. Armadillo de una banda o cinta, nombre Español-Venezolano no registrado. *Cabassous*, probablemente Cunicintus merun. Taurepán *mu' ru'*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *kapasi*. Aparte este grupo inmediato de dialectos, parecen usarse generalmente en Caribe variantes de *kapasi* (*kapachi*, *kapahi* (etc.). El nombre científico se deriva probablemente de una variante de este vocablo (71).

281. Armadillo gigante, en Venezuela "cuspa", *Priodontes gigas* (72).—*mauraima*. Taurepán, *mauraime*. *Kaliña* (De Goeje) *manulena*.

282. Ardilla, en Venezuela "ardita", *Sciurus* spp. (Las vistas eran *S.aestuans*) *-kari*. Taurepán, *kari*. Esta puede ser palabra Aruaca, porque esta lengua tiene (De Goeje) *kalio*, en tanto que las lenguas Caribes Tio y Oyana usan una raíz diferente (De Goeje) *meri*, *meli*, y la Kaliña una tercera raíz (De Goeje) *ksi:pulu*, pero el dato es precario, porque la palabra consta en pocos vocabularios.

283. Capibara, en Venezuela "chigüire", *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*, *-kapi:ba*, Taurepán, *paruena*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *paulina*. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) *kapi:wa*. Makuchi (Williams) *pa-ra-wi*. Estas dos raíces completamente distintas están repartidas caprichosamente entre las citadas lenguas afines. Así, la palabra Kamarakota, aunque extendida entre las tribus Caribes, se deriva probablemente del (o a través del) Tupi *kapivara*, de donde viene la palabra Europea.

284. Paca, en Venezuela "lapa", *Coelogenys paca*, *-urana*, Taurepán, *ura:na*. Makuchi (Williams) *u-ra-na*.

285. Agutí, en Venezuela "acure", *Dasyprocta* spp., *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *a-ku-ri*. Esta palabra es de hecho internacional entre los Indios de Sur América y se presenta en varias formas en Aruaco, Tupi y otros grupos, así como en la mayoría de los dialectos Caribes. El nombre Español-Ve-

(71) Es al menos más probable que la suposición de Anara de que es una corrupción del Guarani "ouaipoumou", "gran mamífero de la selva".

(72) Pittier y Tate omiten esta especie en su Lista Venezolana de comprobación. Yo no he visto el animal, pero los Indios lo describen de manera inconfundible y seguramente se encuentra en Venezuela.

nezolano probablemente vino a través del Caribe y el nombre Inglés "agouti" a través de alguna lengua Brasileña, acaso el Tupi (*akuti*).

286. Cobayo, en Venezuela "acurite", *Cavia* sp. — no registrado en Kamarakoto y acaso ausente de esta área. Taurepán, *atu* (Koch-Grünberg lo define como "rata", pero es cobayo).

287. Casiragua (73) *Echimys* y *Proechimys* spp. *-urare*. Taurepán, *urar'*. Hübner (citado por Koch-Grünberg) dió *urare* como palabra Makuchi para el "*Hesperomys*". Este es probablemente un error por parte de Hübner o de Koch-Grünberg, ya que los Taurepanes, tan vecinos geográfica y lingüísticamente de los Makuchis, circunscriben ciertamente este nombre a especies del grupo *Echimys*, muy diferente del grupo "*Hesperomys*".

288. Rata no identificada— *simuru*. Se me dijo que era una rata grande de rabo largo, pero no me presentaron ningún espécimen. Mis informantes Taurepanes no reconocieron la palabra.

289. Ratas y ratones, en general, de muchos géneros y especies diferentes,— *mömbɔ̃*. Taurepán, *mömbɔ̃*. Los Kamarakotos usan esta palabra para la mayoría de los roedores que tienen aspecto de rata en sentido muy general. Mis informantes Taurepanes parecen emplearla algo más definidamente, circunscribiéndola a los cricétidos de tamaño regular y pequeños pero esto no es indiscutible .

290. Jaguar, en Venezuela "tigre", *Felis onca*, *-kaigutsa*. Taurepán, *kaikusa*. Makuchi (Williams) *kai-kuchi*. Este es un vocablo Caribe casi universal. Los Taurepanes tienen una nomenclatura muy detallada para los jaguares de varios colores, verdaderos o míticos, y otras diferencias, pero indudablemente, ateniéndose a la realidad, todos son simples variaciones individuales.

291. Puma, en Venezuela "león", *Felis concolor*, *-kutsaribara*. Taurepán, *kusariwara*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *kusaliwalan*.

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(73) Especie de rata, llamada así en los llanos. Pocos Venezolanos parecen usar un nombre especial para estos roedores.

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292. Ocelote, en Venezuela "cunavara", "tigrito", *Felis pardalis*, *-marakada*. Taurepán, *marakada*, Kaliña (De Goeje) *marakaya*.

293. Zorro, probablemente *Cerdocyon thous*, *-maikan*. Taurepán, *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *mai-kan*. "*Canis cancrivorus*". Este animal no lo cazamos y su identificación es incierta.

294. Perro selvático, *Icticyon venaticus* — *yai'* (*y* muy cerrada, casi *dai'*). Taurepán *yai'* (o *dai'*).

295. Perro casero *-pero*. Taurepán *arimöraga*. La palabra Taurepana es Caribe y aparece de varias guisas en la mayoría de los dialectos, pero los Kamarakotos emplean una versión peculiar de la palabra Española. (74)

296. Coatí, en Venezuela "zorro guacho", *Nasua* (sentido lato) sp. — *ibarwana*. Taurepán, *iwarwana*. Esta identificación es vaga. El animal no es probablemente el coatí, propiamente dicho, aunque acaso sea un prociónido de esta clasificación general.

297. Nutria, en Venezuela "perro de agua", *Lutra* sp., —*saro*. Taurepán, *saro'* (Véase también el Nº 290).

298. Tapir, en Venezuela "danta", *Tapirus americanus*, —*maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*, *waila*. Makuchi (Williams) *wai-ra*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *waila*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *maipuri*. Ambas raíces parecen ser Caribes, pero este es un caso en que la palabra Kamarakota no está compartida por ninguna de las tribus más íntimamente afines.

299. Venado de sabana, *Odocoileus* sp. (probablemente *gymmotis*), —*waikin*. Taurepán, *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *wai-kin*.

300. Venado de monte (llamado así, al menos, por los Indios que hablan Español) *Mazama americana*, —*kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusa:ri*, *usa:ri*, Makuchi (Williams) *u-sa-ri*. Kaliña (De Goète) *kusali*.

301. Pecari de collar, en Venezuela "chácharo", *Tayassu tajacu*, —*pakira*. Taurepán, *pakira*. Makuchi, *pa-ra-ka*. Ingarikó

(74) Koch-Grünberg, da *perla*, aparentemente otra variáda de "perro", como nombre Taurepán de un perro mítico.

(Koch-Grünberg) *paki:la*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *váquira* (= *baquira*). Kaliña (De Goeje) *pakira*. Obsérvese la metatesis interesante en la forma Makuchi de este vocablo. Esta es una raíz Caribe de la que han derivado el Inglés "peccary" y el Venezolano "báquiro", por más que éste último haya sido transferido erróneamente a la especie próxima.

302. Pecari, en Venezuela "báquiro", *Tayassu albirostris*, *poi.nga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán.*piying*ɔ, *pö.inga*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-in-ga* (*po.inga*). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *pöinge*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *pi:ndya*.

303. Pecari, *Tayassu albirostris*, *vocablo poético* —*po.i:nimo*, *poyini*. Aparecen estos dos vocablos en canciones y cantos mágicos, pero no se emplean en la conversación corriente.

304. Pecari salvaje — *tauka:namo*, *taka:naimo*. Taurepán, *tökönom*ɔ. La palabra Kamarakota sólo se registra en canciones y puede ser vocablo poético o mágico, aunque no se declara específicamente como tal. Se me explicó en el sentido de una fiera salvaje y peligrosa en general, o como un pecari salvaje en particular. Un Taurepán me dijo igualmente que no se trataba de una clase determinada de animal, sino que la palabra se aplicaba a un pecari (*piying*ɔ) particularmente grande y fiero (75).

305. Puerco, cerdo, cochino, marrano— *kochino*. Los Kamarakotos no tienen puercos, pero una vez llevaron allí uno y el nombre Español se recuerda.

(Cabras, ovejas, vacas, burros y caballos no han sido introducidos jamás en la región y no se me dijo que existan palabras para tales animales en este dialecto).

b. Aves

En nuestra expedición no venía ningún ornitólogo, y los nombres de aves recogidos casualmente fueron en su mayor parte iden-

(75) Por tanto, Koch-Grünberg equivocóse casi seguramente al clasificarlo como especie distinta de pecari y definirlo como "un jabalí algo más pequeño que el *T. albirostris*, muy salvaje y dañino".

Por la forma, significado y uso de la palabra, es posible que está relacionado este animal con *hanaima* (Nº 249), pero esto no pasa de una suposición y no es definitivamente probable.

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tificados únicamente por las denominaciones vernáculas del Español-Venezolano. En algunos casos, los informes dados por Koch-Grünberg y Williams para los dialectos afines servirán para clasificar las aves, aunque debe recordarse sobre el particular que las tribus aplican a veces palabras emparentadas para diferentes objetos. Muchos de los nombres de aves parecen ser onomatopéyicos.

306. Huevos, en general, (también los de peces y reptiles)—(i) *moi*.

(a) *Aves que se comen corrientemente:*

307. "Pava" = *Penelope* sp. *okira*. Taurepán, —*wo'ra*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *okela*. Akawai (De Goeje) *okura*. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) *woki:la*. El intervalo peculiar de suspensión, en la palabra Taurepana es aparentemente un vestigió de la sílaba anterior *ki*, *ke* o *ku*.

308. "Pava", variedad más pequeña.—*paraka*.

309. "Guacharaca".—*karmaiba*.

310 Paloma.—*wakuwa*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *waku:-wa*, "paloma".

311. Paují, —*pabi'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *pawi'*, "Hokko (*Crax* sp.)". Makuchi (Williams) *pauwi*, "*Crax nigra*".

312. "Poncha" —*tsurima*.

313. "Gallineta".—*marui*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ma:lu'*, "Inambu, perdiz". Makuchi (Williams) *ma-ru*, "*Tinamus major*".

314. "Zorro" *oroi:bo*.

315. "Perdiz" —*kurui'*.

316. "Grulla" —*namai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *namai*, "*Psophia crepitans*".

317. Ave parecida a la pava, pero de ojo colorado— *kota*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kote'*, "*curicara*" (lo mismo que la palabra Kamarakota?).

318. "Piapoca", tucán de buche blanco— *kuyapo*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kuyawe*, "tucán de pico rojinegro" (el mismo que el de la palabra Kamarakota?).

319. "Piapoca", tucán de buche colorado— *körma*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kö:lema, "tucán pequeño".

320. Tucán más pequeño de buche amarillo barreado de negro-*parpari*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *palupali*, "tucán muy pequeño".

321. Tucán parecido al último, pero diminuto.—*kamate*.

322-323. "Gallina doméstica"—*köroitoko*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tsupara*, *kalicho*. Al Norte de la Gran Sabana (según mis informantes Kamarakotos) *karibana*, *supara* (76) Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) citado por Nordenskiöld, *galiwana*, *dzupala* (= *tsupara*). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *galijo* (la *j* como en Inglés). Purukutó (Koch-Grünberg) *kalaka*. Akawai (Schomburgk) *kariwina* (77) "Caribe de Venezuela" (un grupo de la Costa) (Tavera-Acosta) *koroktoko*. Kaliña (De Goeje) *korotoko*. Nordenskiöld (1922) cartografió y discutió los nombres Indios Sur Americanos del pollo doméstico con detalle considerable, aunque concediendo ínfima atención a la región Nordeste. La gran variedad de nombres en esta área, diferenciándose hasta entre tribus vecinas e íntimamente afines, es curiosa y sugiere que la evolución fué considerablemente más completa que un mero y rápido despliegue desde un centro de introducción. Es particularmente interesante que el vocablo Kamarakoto sea enteramente distinto de cualesquiera de los registrados para otros Arekunas u otras tribus vecinas sean las que fueren, aunque resulte parecido a los de grupos de la Costa más distante de los Kamarakotos, co-

(76) Me dijeron que se trata de un equívoco divertidísimo, porque en Kamarakoto *katsápara* significa *machete*, y con él se les corta el pescuezo a las aves.—Humorismo Kamarakoto típico.

(77) Y Schomburgk da la misma palabra como Arekuna — compárese con *karibana* de mis informantes Kamarakotos, pero esta palabra no es definidamente Kamarakota.

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mo el Kaliña, lo cual induce a creer que recibieron las gallinas y los pollos, no de sus vecinos, sino directamente de la Costa. La palabra es claramente onomatopéyica, pero no es tan obvia la probabilidad de que parecido tan íntimo surgiera al azar. Compárese con el vocablo onomatopéyico, pero completamente diferente *karaka*, *kalaka*, etc. Es también muy curioso y desconcertante en este respecto que los Taurepanes (Koch-Grünberg) llamen al buho *koro: toiko*, vocablo que ciertamente se acerca mucho al Kamarakoto correspondiente a "gallina". Desgraciadamente (porque hasta ahora no me había dado cuenta exacta de su posible importancia) no recogí la palabra Kamarakota correspondiente a "buho".

Sobre otros nombres que se presentan en esta región, *kariwana* y sus variantes se suponen por Nordenskiöld derivados de "gallina" lo cual es probable, aunque algo incierto. *Supara*, etc., pueden ser afines de la "lingua geral" *sapukaya*, *zapugala*., e indican una introducción del Brasil. Las tribus que poseen esos vocablos son efectivamente vecinas y tienen trato comercial con tribus Brasileñas. Es curioso que varias de esas tribus empleen también palabras diferentes de probable origen Español (Venezolano del Norte?), como si dos corrientes de difusión se encontrasen allí. Las variantes del tronco radical en el Taurepán *kalicho* tienen una distribución conocida muy circunscrita: únicamente en Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto e Ingarikó (todos ellos dialectos Caribes). No puedo hacer insinuación alguna respecto al origen de esta palabra, ya que la posible conexión con la palabra "gallo" o con los grupos de la palabra *kalaka* me parecen demasiado aventurada para que se la considere seriamente.

Los Kamarakotos establecen la diferencia entre gallinas y gallos, adjuntando, en caso de necesidad, el sufijo *wari'*, "hembra" o *warato*, "macho", a *köroitoko*.

(b) *Aves que no suelen comerse:*

324. Zamuro.—*kurun*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kurun* "zamuro de cabeza blanca".

325. Perico verde.—*kaikai*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaikai*, "periquito". Makuchi (Williams) *kai-kai*, "gallo de guacamaya, *Ara hahni* (o acaso *Conurus nobilis*)".

326. Otro perico más pequeño.—*kiirikiiri*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünbreg) *kilikili* "periquito muy pequeño". Makuchi (Williams) *ki-ri-ki-ri*, "Loro completamente verde, *Brotogeris tirica*".

327. Loro grande de plumaje rojo.—*wadara* (completamente distinto de *wadaura*). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *waya:ra* (*y* silbante) "arara roja". Makuchi (Williams) *wa-tha-ra*, "guacamaya escarlata, *Ara macao*".

328. "Moriche".—*wadaura*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *wadaura* (*d* fricativa), "ruiseñor negro". (No se trata de un ruiseñor, sino de un pájaro negro y amarillo que se parece al turupial, con el cual a veces se confunde).

329. Colibrí.—*tukiii'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tukui*, "pájaro mosca".

330. "Chupacacao".—*kadau-kadau*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kodo:kodo*, "ave parecida al *anü*".

331. "Anacoreta".—*oimi*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *woime*, "anu, negra, parecida a la urraca Europea en forma y color".

332. Pajarito no identificado (de la leyenda de *Maicha'*) *kuriñata*.

333. "Guardacamino".—*tabaru*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *tawalu*, "uacuraua, golondrina de noche", Makuchi (Chubb, citado por Williams) *tawara*. "*Podager nacunda*, el halcón nocturno Nacunda".

c. Reptiles

334. Serpiente (en general).—*okoi*. Taurepán, *ökoi*.
335. Tigre.—*paraurata*.
336. Boa.—*aura*.
337. Cascabel—*tsakasa'*.

Otras serpientes (no vistas o no identificadas):

338. *pararaipu*.
339. *saroraima*, venenosa, probablemente *Bothrops*, etc.
340. *kamaritse*.
341. *kamaitaparu*.
342. Tortuga de selva, en Venezolano, morrocoy.—*adamori*. Taurepán, *wadamori*.

343. Tortuga de sabana, en Venezolano, morrocoy.—*karume.*

344. Tortuga de agua, probablemente la matamata.—*pei.* Taurepán, *pi-tura.*

Lagartos:

345. Lagarto espinoso de roca.—*enwara'.*

346. Lagarto grande comestible, "iguana".—*ayamaka.*

347. "Mato".—*waimetsa.*

348. "Mato de agua".—*serebai.*

349. Dudoso, que acaso sea otro nombre o una variedad del "mato de agua".—*ari-kapa.*

350. Lagarto común, doméstico.—*okopi'.*

351. Caimán o yacaré, en Venezuela "baba".—*aka:re.* Taurepán, *akare,* (Koch-Grünberg) *yaka:re.* Esta es una palabra Tupi o "lingua geral", que parece adoptada por la mayoría de los dialectos Caribes así como por la mayoría de los idiomas Europeos.

351 bis. Cocodrilo, en Venezuela "caimán" (78) *-kura:tu.* Taurepán *kura:ˌtu.*

d. Anfibios.

352. Rana.—*waroma.* Taurepán, *waro'ma.*

353. Sapo.—*pölɛ:a* (la última vocal muy breve y no acentuada, pudiendo escribirse *pölɛ(a)*). Taurepán, *pöreu-tuku'.*

e. Peces.

354. Pescado (en general).—*moro'.*

(78) La palabra "caimán" se aplica en Venezuela más a menudo al verdadero cocodrilo americano que al caimán.

Los siguientes son nombres de pescados comestibles favoritos. Ninguno de ellos fué bien identificado.

355. *aimara-* (llamado también "aimara" en Español local). Probablemente *Macrodon* (o *Erythrinus*) sp.

356. *uru:yi-* Interpretado como "rayado", pez grande barreado. Acaso *Platystoma* sp.

357. *warako.* Interpretado como "boquina".

358. *warapa.* Interpretado como "aguadulce" (como nombre — la palabra India no significa "agua dulce"). Probablemente, el "pirarucu" del Brasil, *Arapaima* sp.

359. *kɔpauri'.* Interpretado como "sardina". Aparentemente se aplica a numerosos peces muy pequeños.

360. Caribe.—"piranha" en Portugués — *tsipirai'.*

361. Pescado no indentificado.—*wararo* (*wararo-yeupu* = "espinas de *wararo*", nombre de una especie de trabajo de abalorio. Dicen que el *wararo* es un pescado distinto del *warako*).

f.—Invertebrados.

362. Larvas comestibles, larva blanca que se encuentra en la palma *Oenocarpus -tsiya'.*

363. Larva amarilla grande que se encuentra en la palma *Mauritius* — *iwo.*

364. Hormiga.—*atsmikɔ*. Registrada así, entendiéndose que es hormiga en general, aunque la palabra *atsi-mikɔ* sea probablemente determinada clase de hormiga. Taurepán, *mikɔ*. Makuchi (Hübner citado por Koch-Grünberg) *mika.* Trío (De Goeje) *moikö.* Oyana (De Goeje) *musikö.* Williams pone en duda que ésta sea palabra Caribe y apunta la semejanza con las palabras Española y Portuguesa "hormiga", "formiga". Mas yo creo que es palabra Caribe pura, y considero la semejanza, tal como es, completamente fortuita.

365. Bachaco.—*kaiba'*, *kaiba-yun* (*yun* = "padre"). Taurepán, *kaiba'*, *kaiba'-yunkun*. Estas palabras pueden emparentarse con *kaiba*, *kaiwa*, *kaiwan*, etc., "grueso" en algunos dialectos Caribes, aunque yo no registré esta acepción en Kamarakoto ni en Taurepán.

366. Mosca.—*berbɛ'*. Taurepán, *weruwe*, *werwe*.

367. Jején.—*nungɔ*. Taurepán, *nungɔ*.

368. Mosquito, en Venezuela, "zancudo" *matsa'*. Taurepán *masa'*.

369. Comején.—*muna'*. Taurepán, *muna*, *merwa*.

370. Libélula, caballo del diablo.—*pirmo*, *pirɔmo*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *pi:lumo'*.

371. Mariposa.—*abakaparu*. Taurepán, *wakau*. (Koch-Grünberg) *awa:kepalu*, "*Morpho*". Makuchi (Williams) *pa-pi-ai*, (Kübner, citado por Koch-Grünberg) *wakan*. Crichana (De Goeje) *wakaparo*. Koch-Grünberg insinúa que *awa:kepalu* (= *aba-keparu* = Kamarakoto *abakaparu*) sea una derivación de *awa-* (remar) y *-paru* (río). Esto parece muy alquitarado, por no decir otra cosa. *Abaka*, *wakau*, *awa:ke-*, *waka-*, etc., parecen ser todas formas de una sola raíz Caribe "mariposa", combinada con *-palú*, *-paru*, *-paro*, y otros sufijos en dialectos varios.

372. Abeja.—*tautsan-yun*. Taurepán, *wan-yun*. Makuchi (Williams) *wan-yun-gon*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *te(u)tsan* (la misma palabra para "miel"). Oyana (De Goeje) *tuwashinem*. Tanto *tautsan-yun* como *wan-yun* quieren decir "padre de la miel". En muchos dialectos se emplea el mismo vocablo para "abeja" que para "miel". La raíz Caribe usual es *wan*, y aparte en Kamarakoto sólo hallo afines de *tautsan* en Ingarikó y, dudosamente, Oyana.

373. Miel.—*tautsan-yeuku*. (Literalmente "jugo de miel"). Taurepán, *wan*. Makuchi (Williams) *wan*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *te(u)tsan*. Véanse las observaciones al vocablo precedente.

374. Cera de abejas.—*moromba*.

375. Garrapata.—*karimatɛ'*.

376. Garrapata, otra clase.—*kananapan*.

377. Nigua, "chivacoa".—*timi'*.

378. Araña.—*arai*. Taurepán, *arai*.

7.—PLANTAS:.

a. Cultivadas.

379. Huerta, en Venezuela "conuco".—(*u*)*ma*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *mə*:. *Makuchi* (Williams) *mə*. Akawai (De Goeje) (*oo*)*ma*. Purokotó (Koch-Grünberg) (*u*)*mə*.

380. Productos de la huerta, frutos y hortalizas.—*yapaino*.

381. Yuca (la planta, *Manihot* sp.) — *-kösɛra*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kesɛ*. (=*kɛsɛ*, véase la próxima palabra). Makuchi (Williams) *kə-se-ra*.

382. Yuca (el tubérculo): *kösɛ*. Taurepán, *kɛsɛ* (la misma palabra que para la planta). Makuchi (Williams) *kɛse*.

383. Ocumo, *Xanthosoma sagittifolium*, *naipai*.

384. Ñame (*Dioscorea* sp.)-*piricha*. Taurepán *kə lücha*. (Koch-Grünberg) *pilizha*. Makuchi (Williams) *ge-ri-cha*. Todas estas son variantes de la misma palabra. Muestran (aparte la universal equivalencia de la *r* y la *l*) la desviación de la *p* inicial hacia la *k* o la *g*, vista también en algunas otras palabras de estos dialectos. Acaso sea esta la planta llamada "Ñame" en el Español de Venezuela, pero hay varias otras especies comestibles de *Dioscorea* aparte ésta y la próxima.

385. Ñame, otra especie (probablemente *Dioscorea triphylla*) -*napwei*. Taurepán *napui*. Este es el tubérculo llamado "mapuey" en Español de Venezuela, vocablo evidentemente afín de "napwei". Es probablemente una planta indígena y los Kama-

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rakotos bien pueden haber recibido la palabra directamente de otros dialectos Indios y no a través del Español (79).

386. Otro tubérculo, no visto (probablemente otra clase de *Dioscorea*) — *puwa*.

387. Batata, (*Ipomea batata*).—(*i*)*cha'*. (La papa no se conoce aquí). Véase la nota anterior.

388. Calabaza, en Venezuela "auyama" (y varios frutos del mismo género, *Cucurbita* spp.) -*auyama*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaudama* (por *kauyama*, la d muy suave). Makuchi (Willanms) *kau-ya-ma*. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) *kayama*. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) *kauyama*. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) *kauyama*. (Véase las observaciones a la palabra siguiente).

389. Frijol negro, en Venezuela "caraota" — *kumata*. Makuchi (Williams) *ku-ma-sa*. Purukotó, (Koch-Grünberg) *ku-ma:za*.

Algunos Kamarakotos me aseguraron que tanto la auyama como la caraota son de introducción relativamente reciente entre ellos. Esto es posible, pero tanto la cucurbitácea como la farináceа citadas son indígenas y las palabras Kamarakotas son Caribes de buena ley. Por lo que se refiere a la auyama (pero no a la caraota) es posible que haya adquirido la palabra Caribe del Español Venezolano, en el que se usa universalmente ("auyama"), y, si esto es así, sería el ejemplo notable de una tribu que adquiere una palabra de su propio idioma ancestral por vía de un

(79) Nordenskiöld (1922) anota las dos raíces Caribes, variantes más o menos como *wapi* y *cha'* (o *chak*) que en Kamarakoto son *wapwel'*, una *Dioscorea* o (*i*) *cha'*, *Ipomea*. Da ambas como significando *Ipomea* e insinúa que cuando los Caribes se esparcieron primeramente por Sur América tenían estas dos palabras para una sola planta. Esto me parece muy inverosímil, y, efectivamente, lo rebate en verdad el hecho de la frecuente aparición de ambas palabras en un dialecto refiriéndose siempre a dos plantas distintas. Si esto es cierto, las palabras de la raíz *wapi* se refieren siempre a la *Dioscorea* (en la medida que yo he podido determinarlo indubitablemente), y sospecho mucho que esta sea el significado original, primitivo de la raíz. El que algunos Indios la hayan transferido realmente a la *Ipomea* o sea éste mero error de los registros, no parece claro — siendo probablemente ciertas ambas cosas en diferentes casos. Sea como fuera, no pueden basarse propiamente conclusiones históricas en una lista como la que da Nordenskiöld sin comprobación más meticulosa de si las palabras *wapi* son realmente *Ipomea* en cada caso y de si las tribus a quienes se acredita una sola palabra-raíz no tienen efectivamente ambas, como sabemos ya que cosa cierta de muchas a las que solamente se ha dado una en esta lista.

idioma extranjero. Más probable es, no obstante, que estas plantas, aunque poco usadas, y sus nombres correspondientes jamás dejaran de ser familiares para algunos Kamarakotos, o bien que tanto las plantas como los nombres viniesen recientemente de algún grupo Caribe afin.

390. Piña.—*kaibara'*. Taurepán, *kaiwara'*. Makuchi (Williams) *kai-wa-ra*. Esta palabra ilustra la ecuación común de b abierta = *w*.

391. Maní.—*aneu'*.

392. Caña de azúcar.—*kaña*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kaperon, kepelon*. Makuchi (Williams) *kai-wa-ra-kui-ma*. La caña de azúcar es de introducción relativamente reciente en esta región, y las tres palabras citadas muestran de manera interesante el proceso de la adquisición de nombres para tales cosas nuevas. La palabra Kamarakota es, por supuesto, la palabra Española "caña" simplemente, con una variación en el acento. Yo creo que la palabra Taurepana sea la Española-Venezolana "papelón" (la ecuación inicial p - k es normal, aunque sólo ocasional, en estos dialectos), que es la palabra aplicada a los panes cónicos de azúcar sin refinar, de manera que los Indios le han dado a la planta el nombre de uno de sus productos. La palabra Makuchi, como lo señala Williams, se deriva de la India *kaiwara* "piña", de modo que estos Indios le dieron a la importada planta dulce el nombre de la única planta dulce que ellos cultivan. (La palabra Adzaneni, *ma:pa* — "miel, caña de azúcar" — Koch-Grünberg — ilustra el mismo género de extensión). Además, es interesante que los Schirianas y los Auakés, con lenguas completamente alejadas de estas, se hayan incorporado también al vocablo Caribe, siendo para ellos extraña la palabra para "piña" en el nombre del "azúcar de caña" : Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) *kaiualakotsa* (= *kaiwarakutsa*). En esta lengua la palabra para "piña" es *painoli* (Koch-Grünberg). Lo mismo que los Kamarakotos, adoptaron un nombre extranjero para la planta extranjera, pero el nombre, así como la planta, llegó a ellos por los Caribes, en tanto que los Kamarakotos recibieron nombre y planta de gente de habla Española.

393. Banano, en Venezuela "cambur", la palabra más general y la variedad más común.—*mekuru*. Taurepán, *erupa* (esta

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variedad?) pero la palabra *mekuru* también se conoce. Makuchi (Williams) *manekuma* (esta variedad ?).

394. Variedad grande.—*tsigerende.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ekelinte,* parece ser palabra afín.

395. Variedad mediana ("pipiyare" en Español local) *maripaima.* Taurepán *maripaime.*

396. Variedad pequeña ("Santo Domingo" en Español local) *yumari.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *yuma:li* (= *yuma:ri*).

397. Otra variedad similar pequeña.—*katapan.*

398. Variedad roja.—*uradanda.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *uladanda.* Makuchi (Williams) *urathauta* (no especificada como roja; acaso una errata por *urathanta-*). Las otras palabras dadas por Williams como Makuchi para otras variedades de banano no parecen afines de palabras Taurepanas o Kamarakotas.

399. Plátano, variedad común.—*kura:tana.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kura:tana.* Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) *kura:tana* (definido como "banano", aunque indudablemente es plátano). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) *kuratana* (definido como "banano", aunque indudablemente es plátano). Yo creo que ésta es la palabra Española "plátano". La ecuación *pl* = *kur* no es improbable en estos dialectos, y la *a* larga de la penúltima sílaba sugiere alguna etimología peculiar, por ejemplo, la derivación de una palabra con acento en esa sílaba.

400. Otra variedad ("plátano altón" en Español local),—*paruru.* Taurepán, *paruru.* Esta palabra se presenta con algunas variaciones en, por así decirlo, todos los dialectos Caribes, y en la mayoría de los vocabularios se define simplemente como "banano". Se ha convertido en uno de los nombres indígenas más extendidos del banano, aunque los Kamarakotos lo circunscriben explícitamente a una variedad, no la más común, de plátano. La probable etimología de la palabra (extractando lo dicho por Nordenskiöld, 1922, y otras autoridades) es que se trata de una vieja

raíz Caribe para el "banano silvestre" indígena no comestible, *Heliconia* ("bijao", en Español local) que se aplicó espontáneamente al importado similar *Musa*, con aplicación exacta variante, según las diferentes clases de *Musa*.

Pocos investigadores han registrado nombres de variedades para estos frutos, de manera que es fútil el empeño de establecer parentesco entre ellos. No deja de ser curioso que ninguna tribu India use al parecer ninguna palabra emparentando con el vocablo coloquial Venezolano "cambur".

401. Lechoza.—*Carico papaya- mapada.*

402. Sandía, en Venezuela "patilla".—*patiya.* Esta es fruta de muy reciente importación, y el nombre es el mismo del Español-Venezolano. Realmente, supónese que esta palabra sea una derivación Caribe (lo que no deja de ser extraño, siendo la planta Africana), pero aparentemente llegó a los Kamarakotos a través del Español y no directamente de sus parientes Caribes.

403. Fruta parecida al tomate, pero amarilla brillante.—*pupu.*

404. Maíz.—*anai'.*

405. Ají.—*Capiscum* sp. Pequeño, alargado, variedad roja, *polopakai.* Pequeño, variedad amarilla—*adamaka: yena.* Grande redondo, variedad roja — *paradan.* Muy pequeño, redondo, variedad roja — *pariyana.* Ovalado, variedad roja — *churu.* Redondo, variedad amarilla — *kurapupai'.*

Los nombres dados por Koch-Grünberg para ajíes en Taurepán no parecen ser afines de éstos, como tampoco ninguno de los vocablos insertos en los vocabularios comparativos de Adam o De Goeje.

. . . . . .

411. Tabaco.—*tamöi.* Véase la próxima palabra.

412. Infusión de tabaco usada por los piaches.—*kabai.*

Tanto *tamöi* como *kabai* son raíces Caribes, con cambios curiosos e interesantes de significado en Kamarakoto si se comparan con otros dialectos.

tamöi — Kamarakoto — "la planta y la hoja del tabaco". Taurepán *tamöyen* "pipa para fumar tabaco" (el correspondiente Kamarakoto véase en el Nº 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg), tam:ö-yen ("pipa para fumar tabaco"). Makuchi—no se ha registrado un vocablo afín; pipa para fumar es *paipa*, del Inglés o el Holandés.

kabai — Kamarakoto — "infusión de tabaco". Taurepán, *kawai* "tabaco". Ingaricó (Koch-Grünberg) *kawai* "tabaco". Makuchi (Williams) *kawai* "tabaco".

413. Algodón.—*kateuwe*.

414. Planta mágica.—*kumi*. Esta planta se restriega en cortadas hechas de propósito, para asegurar el éxito en la cacería. Koch-Grünberg cita un *kumi:'* entre los Taurepanes, también planta mágica, pero la llama "una especie de yerba", no siendo tal la planta de los Kamarakotos, diciendo que se usa contra el dolor de vientre.

(El "caruto", Nº 180, también se cultiva).

b. Silvestres.

415. Arbol, mata, planta en general *yɛ'* (en palabras compuestas algo silbante generalmente *y*, en ciertas ocasiones, una *d* suave o *d* húmeda, aproximándose a *dy*). Los nombres de árboles tienen usualmente *-yɛ'* como sufijo. Sin este sufijo, el nombre significa corrientemente el fruto o algún producto del árbol en cuestión.

416. Hoja.—*yarɛ*. (la *y* es por lo general marcadamente silbante).

417. Raíz.—*moi'*.

418. Palmas: Moriche = *Mauritia flexuosa- kwai-yɛ' gwai-yɛ'*.

419. Corozo, acaso = *Elais* sp. ? *-mausa-yɛ'*.
Corozo espinoso, *Tucuma*, ("corozo de monte", "palo de espinas") *-Astrocaryum tucuma* (?) *-awara-yɛ'*.

420. Cucurito, maripa, inava = *Maximiliana maripa. maripada-yɛ'*.

421. Cucurito (variedad de hojas grandes) = *Maximiliana regia* (?) *-aba'-yɛ'*.

422. Seje = *Oenosarpus* sp. — *ku*[illegible]

423. Caña, "caña brava", acaso *Gynerium* sp — *purau-yɛ'*. (vale decir, "planta de flechas", porque a los tallos se les da ese empleo).

424. Caña de azúcar.

425. Araguaney.—*Tecoma* sp. *-ura:padɛ'*. (por *ura:pa-yɛ'*, "madera de arcos", porque se usa para ello).

426. Ceibo = acaso *Ceiba* sp. pero hay otros géneros que producen una fibra similar.—*asarɛ-yɛ'*.

427. Canjilón.—*pori:tadɛ'* (por *pori:ta-yɛ'*).

428. Peramán, *Symphonia* sp. árbol que da un jugo lechoso.—*ponoi'* (*-yɛ'*).

429. Balatá (el árbol).—*Mimusops* sp. — *purwe-yɛ'*.

430. Balatá (la goma) *-purwe-yeuku* (literalmente "jugo de balatá) o *koma* (La palabra Española "goma").

431. Purguo.—*Mimusops* sp. — *purweidyɛ'* (por *purwei-yɛ'*-*purwe-yɛ'*, como arriba). Mi informante creía que este árbol es distinto (aunque de todos modos sea claramente de la misma familia) del *purwe-yɛ'* aunque yo sospecho que estas palabras son

las mismas y que se llaman así todos los árboles que producen balatá. "Purguo" viene de la palabra Caribe.

432. Carrizo.—*lue-yɛ'* (literalmente, "madera de flauta").

433-434. Bambú: especie grande.—*waronga-yɛ'*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ronga*. Especie pequeña *kasɛ-yɛ'*. También (Koch-Grünberg) *ka:dɛ, kaikara*.

435. Yara-yara.—*tsimarandyɛ'* (por *tsimaran-yɛ'*).

436. Cedro (80) *kopei-dyɛ'* (por *kopei-yɛ'*).

437. Arbol de la vaca.—*yumadyɛ'* (por *yuma-yɛ'*).

438. Sasafrás.—*Acroclidium* o *Nectandra* sp. *-waidawau- urai-yɛ', waidawaurai-yɛ'*.

439. Arbol (no identificado) de madera muy dura, oscura.—*ayu-yɛ'*.

440. Arbol (no identificado) de madera blanda, blanca.—*paundɛ'* (por *paunɛ-yɛ'*).

441. Madera usada para hacer cerbatanas: tubo interior.—*sanwoto*.

442. Madera usada para hacer cerbatanas: tubo exterior.—*yurwa*.

443. Yerba.—*wana'*. Taurepán, *wana'*.

444. Planta no identificada.—*murun-yɛ'*. Esta madera se usa para la parte anterior de la flecha.

Seta u hongo. No hay palabras generales para *setas* u *hongos*, pero los siguientes son nombres de especies comestibles:

445. *ɛnura*.

446. *kara-kara*.

447. *kwarampana* (es decir, "oreja de pereza", por su forma).

448. *akuripana* (es decir, "oreja de acure", por su forma).

(80) Esta planta nada tiene que ver con las que en Inglés se llaman "cedar". Es probablemente una especie de *Cedrela* y pertenece a las Meliaceas.

Frutas silvestres. Las siguientes (con *kwai*, "fruta del moriche" ya mencionada más arriba) son las principales frutas silvestres comestibles:

449. Algarrobo, posiblemente *Hymenaea* sp. *-wade.*

Guamo — frutas de la *Inga* sp.

450. Concha verde, forma forestal.—*warwoto.*

451. Concha amarilla, forma ribereña.—*abira.*

452. Muy alargada, variedad verde.—*maipa.*

453. Fruta de maripa (*Maximiliana*) *aba'.*

454. Fruta redonda, amarilla, no identificada.—*made.* (Los números 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191 y 192 también son plantas que se citan en otros capítulos, en relación con sus usos).

8.—NATURALEZA Y TIEMPO

455. Sol.—*be.* Taurepán, *wiii, wei.*

456. Luna. —*kapui.* Taurepán — *kapui.*

457. Amanecer.— *auyukana.*

458. Día.—*bene* (de *be*, "sol", pero *be* sola también se usa al parecer para decir "día", y la palabra *bene*, pronunciada fuera de contexto y después de pensarla mucho, por mi informante, es dudosa, pudiendo significar "durante el día").

459. Noche.—*warbə*. Taurepán, *wargə*, (Koch-Grünberg) *wa:lupə*.

460. Nube, nublado.—*katuri'.* Taurepán, *katu'ru'.*

461. Cielo.—*ka'.* Taurepán, *ka'.*

462. Viento.—*iroma.* Taurepán, *iroma.*

463. Lluvia.—*kono'.* Taurepán, *kono'.*

464. Tierra, greda, barro.—*non.*

465. Metal precioso, plata (y a veces oro).—*pun.* No pude distinguir fonéticamente esta palabra de la correspondiente a "carne" ni la encontré en dialectos afines, pues todos ellos, por así decirlo, emplean la palabra Española "plata".

466. Oro.—*woro'* Este es el "oro" Español, del cual *woro'* parece solamente una pronunciación particularmente "Kamarakotizada". Hay una raíz Caribe para "oro" por ejemplo, Makuchi (Williams) *karu-kari*, pero mis informantes Kamarakotos usaron siempre la palabra Española.

467. Temporada seca, "verano" *tolongan.* Taurepán (Koch Grünberg) *wei-yayenesa'* (*wei* = "sol"). Véase la próxima palabra.

468. Temporada de lluvias, "invierno".—*ipukupƏ.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *kono-yayenesa'* (*kono'*-"lluvia"). Me ha sido imposible encontrar afines seguros de las palabras Kamarakotas para las estaciones del año y tampoco he podido trazar su derivación. Esta parece una forma verbal.

469. Hoy.—*tsiredau.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *seleuale.*

470. Ayer.—*koomiyau.* Taurepán (Koch-Grunberg) *koomƏya'.*

471. Mañana.—*penane.* Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *penane:.*

472. Cordel de nudos para medir el tiempo.—*bekiii'* o *bekwi'* (Pronunciación al parecer constante, pero la última sílaba es tan breve que no distinguí exactamente los sonidos). No hay palabras para mes (se cuenta por lunas, si se cuenta) ni año (se cuenta por temporadas de lluvia, si se cuenta) ni puntos cardinales, los cuales se expresan solamente hacia adelante o hacia atrás de un punto determinado, o, simplemente, señalando con el dedo.

9.—ADJETIVOS:

a. Color.

Una investigación a fondo no produjo más que seis vocablos para designar colores, y de éstos, los correspondientes a "azul" y "verde" se consiguieron solamente tras larga discusión y argumentos prolijos entre varias mujeres. Estas mujeres no pudieron describir el color de objetos que les mostramos, y que eran púrpura, naranja y pardo, excepto por referencia con los tonos más próximos de los enumerados a continuación:

473. Blanco.—*ametun*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *aematun*.

474. Negro.—(*ta*)*rikutun*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *leikutun*.

475. Rojo.—*chayu*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *zhu:yu* (se pretende que esta *zh* es parecida a la *j* Francesa, pero probablemente es muda o casi muda, pronunciándose aproximadamente como *shu:yu*).

476. Amarillo.—*chukupiyu*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *zukubiyu*.

477. Azul.—*irouribari*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *ro:liua* (posiblemente = *rouriwa?*). Makuchi (Williams) *ror-ri-wa*, "verde o azul claro".

478. Verde.—*chenan*. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *lo:ra* (también dado para "azul"). La mayoría de los Caribes no distinguen aparentemente el verde del azul, y yo sospecho que esta palabra es una desviación hecha para darme gusto. El único indicio de palabra afín que he encontrado, y es precario, está en Aparai (Coudreau, citado por De Goeje) *chinoucoutoumé*, "oscuro, negro", en el que— *coutoumé* es pariente de *-kutun*, "negro", y *chinou* sugiere remotamente *chenan*.

b. Otros adjetivos.

479. Bueno, bello.—*wakö, wakörə*. "Hombre hermoso" *wakörə warato moine.*

480. Malo, feo.—*alwarə*.

481. Hermoso, lindo.—*amanon.*

482. Caliente.— *iköyin, iköina.*

483. Frío.—*komi'.*

484. Fuerte.—*merundə*.

485. Débil.—*apaumun.*

486. Enfermo.—*ene*: (*pe*).

487. Grande.—*kaipun.* Makuchi (Williams) *o-kai.* (En comparación puede parecer que *kaipun* es primitivo y puede significar "pequeño", pero es ciertamente la palabra Kamarakota para "grande").

488. Numeroso.—*tukango*, por ejemplo, *waratokon tukango* "muchos hombres".

489. Pequeño.—*nomboron*, "hombre pequeño".

490. Sabroso.—*kanə*.

491. Ignorante, torpe.—*putapun.*

492. Solo (o "solamente", usado como adverbio) — *leukin.*

493. Pobre.—*tuwari.*

494. Vacío.—*yembə*.

495. Tejido.—*katsa'.*

496. Satisfecho, contento.—*autsim* (*be*).

10.—PRONOMBRES:

a. Pronombres personales disyuntivos.

Estas son las formas usadas cuando el pronombre se usa solo (fuera de contexto) o cuando no está prefijado a una palabra siguiente.

497. Primera persona del singular.—*yura*. Etimológicamente, éste es probablemente el conjuntivo (*y*)*u-*, más la partícula *ra*.

498. Segunda persona del singular.—*amaure*. Este puede ser el conjuntivo *a* — más el igualmente conjuntivo *mau-* (por *-mo-*, *-mö-*) más la partícula *-re* = *-ra*.

Tercera persona del singular, no se ha identificado forma disyuntiva personal verdadera. En cambio, úsanse demostrativos.

499. Primera persona del plural.—*ina*.

Segunda persona del plural, no se ha identificado con certeza forma disyuntiva personal. Los demostrativos suelen usarse en cambio por regla general, pero *möts*ə*n* (véase más adelante) puede ser considerado como forma personal.

500. Tercera persona del plural. —*to'*.

b. Pronombres personales conjuntivos.

Estas son formas usadas como prefijos para nombres, verbos, etc., o como sufijos de verbos, para denotar posesión, objeto, sujeto, etc., o solamente como elementos en demostrativos, etc. Nunca se presentan independientemente, aunque pueden usarse con posposiciones de sí mismos, como vocablos separados.

501. Primera persona del singular. —*u-*, frecuentemente con *y* que interviene cuando la letra siguiente es una vocal, por ejemplo, *upupai*, "mi cabeza" (*pupai-to*, "cabeza"), *uyepi*, "mis labios" (*epi-to*, "labios").

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502. Segunda persona del singular- *a* -, frecuentemente con - *y* -, rara vez - *b* -, delante de una vocal, por ejemplo, *apupai*, "tu cabeza", *ayepi*, "tus labios", *abendana*, "tu comes" (*endena*, "comer").

503. *m-*, *mo-*, *mõ-*, *mu-*. Esta forma, observada solamente con verbos, se refiere aparentemente a la segunda persona, ya sea del singular o del plural.

504. Tercera persona del singular - *i* -, frecuentemente con - *t* -delante de vocales, por ejemplo, *ipupai*, "su cabeza" (de él, de ella o de ello), *itepi*, "sus labios" (de él, de ella o de ello), pero respecto a esta -*t*- véase más adelante.

505. *n-*, *no-*, *nə*. Esta forma de tercera persona está sujeta a las mismas reglas que la de segunda persona *m-*, etc., a la que nos remitimos. Puede presentarse con verbos en un doble prefijo pronominal, por ejemplo, *un* = *u-*, "yo", sujeto de verbo, más -*n* "ello", objeto de verbo.

506. Primera persona del plural -*ina*, lo mismo que la forma disyuntiva; se usa también comunmente en forma conjuntiva.

507. -*nokon*. Se ha observado solamente como sufijo, expresando el sujeto de un verbo, sin -*ya*.

Segunda persona del plural -*m-*, etc., parece usarse tanto como en singular. No se ha hallado forma especial para segunda persona del plural.

508. Tercera persona del plural — *to'*, a veces, por eufonía, *to*, lo mismo que la forma disyuntiva; también se usa conjuntivamente.

n-, etc., se emplea también en plural.

e. Pronombres demostrativos.

A juzgar por los dialectos afines más conocidos, pueden ser numerosos los demostrativos en Kamarakoto, y ellos parecen ser combinaciones de pronombres conjuntivos personales y partícu-

las (81). Los siguientes son los principales vocablos oídos hasta ahora, y mi interpretación de su posible etimología que, inevitablemente, es insegura.

509. *n:orö*, "el, ella, ello; la persona o cosa alejada — aquél, aquélla, aquello". Probablemente = *n* + *norö*, pudiendo ser a su vez *norö* prenominal *no-* + *partícula -rö*.

510. *in:ɔrɔ*, significando aparentemente lo mismo que *n:orö*. Probablemente = *i* + *n* + *nɔrɔ* pudiendo ser *nɔ-rɔ* *nɔ* (= -no-) + *rɔ* (= *rö*).

511. *ñ:amorɔ*, "La persona o cosa (cerca de usted-)". Probablemente = *n* + *ña* + *morɔ* pudiendo ser *morɔmo* + la partícula — *rɔ*, pero yo no conozco la función o significado de *-ña-* en este compuesto.

512. *mötsɔn* "usted (allí)". Probablemente *mö* (por *m* — delante de una consonante) + *tsɔn*, partícula no identificada de otro modo. Esto puede aproximarse más a un verdadero pronombre personal que es un demostrativo. Los ejemplos de uso están en el plural.

513. *mötsamorɔ*, "usted, el de más allá (allí donde se encuentra usted)". Probablemente *mö* (= *m-*) + *-tsa-* (= *tsɔn*) + *morɔ* (como en *ñ:amorɔ*), que puede ser *mo-* + *-rɔ*. Los ejemplos de uso están en el plural.

d. Pronombres reflexivos

514. *te-*, *t-*. Esta forma conjuntiva es reflexiva en el sentido de referirse al sujeto de la frase, por ejemplo, *teumo* "su hijo" (el hijo de la persona que ha sido mencionada como haciendo algo) (82).

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(81) No es inverosímil que esto sea generalmente cierto en demostrativos Caribes, los cuales pudieran ser llamados más exactamente compuestos personales que pronombres demostrativos.

(82) Williams insinúa que la *-t-* después de *i*, por ejemplo, en *itepi* y muchas otras palabras, es la misma que esta *t* reflexiva, pero yo considero esto dudoso, siquiera en Kamarakoto. *ti-* se usa (delante de vocales) como simple substitución de *i-* (delante de consonantes) sin sentido reflexivo, y esta *-t-* meramente substituye después de *i-* a la *y*, que generalmente aparece en las mismas circunstancias después de *u-* y *e-*.

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11.—VERBOS

No es práctico intentar reducir los verbos registrados a una forma "standard", y se transcriben aquí como se encontraron en contextos. Lo que se cree la forma radical, se aparta, poniendo entre paréntesis los adjuntos prefijos y sufijos.

515. Comer.—*endana*, "(yo) como... come".

516. Querer comer.—*endana-pai*, *endanapai*, "(yo) quiero comer".

517. Beber.—*enɔ*. "(yo) bebo... bebe".

518. Querer beber.—*anɩmbai*, "(yo) quiero beber... está sedienta, etc.".

519. Tomar (intoxicantes) o embriagarse.—(*i*)*etari*(*ba*), "El está tomando o se emborracha o está borracho".

520. Dormir.—*ɩ'*(*-moron*), ("yo) duermo... duermes".

521. Querer dormir.—*wenumbai*, "(yo) tengo sueño".

522. Caminar.—*etame*, "(yo) camino, viajo, voy".

523. Nadar.—*sururupɩ*, "(yo) nado".

524. Vivir, estar vivo.—*panape*, en *pero panape*, "el perro está vivo" (83).

525. Morir.—*yɩtɩka* "...está muriendo".

526. Ir.—*utɩ*(*dai*) "(yo) voy (me encuentro en el acto de hacerlo ahora").

527. Tejer, trenzar.—*ka*(*tsa'*) "tejido, etc., (la partícula *ka* puede ser una forma radical apocopada).

(83) Pero no estoy seguro de si esta palabra, que oí solamente en esta frase, es realmente un adjetivo, vale decir, si la frase no sería "el perro vive (es o está)" en vez de "el perro vive".

528. Agarrar.—*karo*. Dado fuera de contexto y explicado como "coger con los dedos un objeto, como empuñar una vera". Esta es probablemente la forma básica principal.

529. Recoger.—*paöke* (radical incierta), en *kawai paöke uyepüi*. "He venido recogiendo la trompeta (recoger vine").

530. Venir.—(*u*)*ye* (*püi*), "vine, he venido", *yeu* (*püi*) "... están viniendo".

531. Venir.—(*a*)*chi* (*kɔ*), "ven acá" (no oído en ninguna otra frase).

532. Venir (a un lugar, visitar).—*ade* (*-polumɛ*), "he venido a visitar (aquí)". (La construcción no es clara).

533. Levantarse (de la cama), ir o salir fuera.—(*u*)*paga*, "párese! salga" (imperativo) (*ide*) *paka* (*pə*) "él salió".

534. Encontrar, hablar.—*epo* (*lupui-ya*) "(él) encontró".

535. Dar.—(*i*)*depa* (*pə*), "él dió". La radical es probablemente *repa*, convirtiéndose la *r* en *d* (abierta) después de i.

536. Avisar, enseñar, mostrar.—*erupa* (*poyɛ*), "(él) avisó".

537. Vaciar.—*anoka* (*pötipə*), "...vació".

538. Juntar, sacar, recoger.—*anumbatu* (*pöyɛ*), "...recogió", *anumu* (*pɔ*) "...recogió". La raíz básica es probablemente *anu* o *anum*, pero *anumbatu* parece también usarse como radical de verbo.

539. Saber.—*putu*, "...sabe".

540. Hacer, ejecutar.—*koneka*, "Yo hago,... ejecuta".

541. Sonar (como una maraca).—*sakauma-nöi* (radical incierta), en *maraka-i sakauma-nöi* ("yo toco la maraca").

542. Ver, visitar?—*ene* (*se*), en *yeupüi*... *enese*, "vienen para (con objeto de) ver, visitar".

543. Matar.—*ereukai* (radical incierta), en *yepui*... *edeukai*, "vienen para matar".

544. Lavar (oro).—*koka* (*-to'*), en *watea woro' koka-to'*, "una batea para lavar oro".

545. Querer, desear.—*numbai*, *-mbai*. Este verbo no se ha observado excepto como sufijo o en posposición más o menos fundida con otros verbos, haciéndolo desiderativo, pero se ha intentado alistarlo aquí como un elemento verbal cuyo significado es constante y no análogo a meros sufijos o variables. Es equivalente o incluye el sufijo verbal. —*pai*.

Ser (también auxiliares, etc.) El sistema de auxiliares y de verbos mejor traducidos como formas de "ser o estar" es muy complejo en Kamarakoto, como en todos los dialectos Caribes, y no puedo dilucidarlo plenamente, limitándome a transcribir algunas formas registradas en frases.

546. *dai*, *edai*, *edai'* por ejemplo, *andana-pai pura edai*, "(yo) no quiero comer" ("querer comer no soy o estoy"), *utedai* (por *ute edai*) "(yo) voy ("ir, soy o estoy"), *autsimbe dai*" (yo) estoy satisfecho".

547.—*man*. Este verbo se emplea usualmente en la tercera persona, donde *edai*, etc., se emplearían en la primera persona del singular y por consiguiente, puede considerarse una forma de la conjugación del mismo verbo, pero las raíces son tan obviamente diferentes que también pueden considerarse como dos verbos imperfectos distintos, por ejemplo, *ene:pe man* "(él) está enfermo", pero *ene:pe edai'*, "(yo) estoy enfermo".

pö'man, *pöuman*. Estas variantes probablemente idénticas gramaticalmente pueden ser una combinación de *pö*, como una especie de partícula, y *man*, pero la combinación se emplea como si fuese un verbo unificado, por ejemplo, *etamen pö'man* "(él) está caminando" ("caminar, o en el acto de caminar (él) está"), *auyukana pöuman* "está amaneciendo" ("amanecer está").

pö. Hay varios sufijos y sus equivalentes que se asemejan a esta palabra, y usualmente no parecen desempeñar ninguna función verbal en la oración desde el punto de vista Europeo, pero en la frase siguiente, siquiera, es difícil ver que pueda ser otra cosa que verbal: *warato endana wooto-pun pö'* "el hombre está comiendo carne" ("hombre comiendo, o come, carne está").

548. *pəti* (*pə*). Esta forma verbal más frecuente y segura puede ser una forma compuesta más elaborada del último voca-

blo. Obsérvese las formas más evidentemente afines del Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *e-pɔ̈* (o *e-pö* — generalmente usa K. G. el mismo signo para estos sonidos a mi entender diferentes) y *e-pə̈-te'-pɔ̈*. Por ejemplo, *maicha' epɔ̈tipɔ̈ putapun* "Maichak era ignorante", *teumo-dakarɔ̈ leukin yepɔ̈tipə̈*, "tenía solamente su hijo con él (" (propio) hijo con sólo él estaba").

549. *medan*. Este puede ser el equivalente de la segunda persona de *edai* y man. Por ejemplo, *we-numbai medan*, "tienes sueño?" (" querer dormir estás (tú)").

550. (*y*)*etsi*(*pɔ̈*), por ejemplo, *putu pura yetsipə̈*, "él no lo sabía" (saber no él estaba). Una forma diferente (*n*)*itsi* del mismo verbo se ve en *konekapɔ̈'-tau' nitsi* "él estaba haciendo" (más o menos literalmente "habiendo estado haciendo, él está").

12.—MISCELANEA

Aquí están reunidas algunas posposiciones y partículas, varios substantivos, etc., sin nada de común entre sí, excepto en que no se amoldan bien para las otras categorías ni parece recomendable hacer secciones distintas para ellos.

551. Sí.—*ina*.

552. No.—*ake*. (Pero los Kamarakotos rara vez dicen "no" rotundamente, contestando por lo general con un "sí" dubitativo o acentuado "sui generis").

553. No. *pura*, *pöla*. Esta negación no se emplea independientemente, sino sólo después de un verbo para darle forma negativa.

554. Luego (después de) *-more-pope*.

555. Inmediatamente después.—*marödau*.

556. Por algún tiempo, durante un período no especificado.—*mono-pe*.

557. Con (acompañado de) *-dakarə*, usado como posposición, por ejemplo, *teumo -dakarə*, "con su (propio) hijo".

558. Sin (carente de).—*pun*. Usado como posposición, o sufijo privativo, por ejemplo, *imedapun*, "sin una pared, sin paredes".

559. Hacia.—*poirə*. Usado como posposición, por ejemplo, *uruyen.poirə utaupai*, "voy (iré) a Uruyén".

560. Fuera.—*wapai*. Usando como posposición, por ejemplo, *tunaicapai*, "fuera del agua".

561. Como (parecido a, del modo que).—*pɛ*. Usado como posposición, por ejemplo, *iwoto-pɛ*, "como un animal".

562. Sobre, añadido, más.—*pona*. Usado como posposición, por ejemplo, *eña-to-iratoimarə-pona taukin*, "diez más uno" o sea once.

563. Modo, forma, manera de.—(it) *ɛtseru*.

564. Berrido del báquiro, sonido emitido por un.—*kamai* (Nº 227)—*wairi*.

565. Nombres de Tribus.—*Kamara-koto*. Esta ortografía es más estrictamente correcta, pero en este libro, por conveniencia, se emplea siempre Kamarakoto.

566. *Arekuna*.

567. *Pabanaton*. Este es el nombre Kamarakoto de los Mayongones o Maquiritares.

Los nombres siguientes aparecen en la leyenda de *Maicha'* como los de los progenitores raciales y fueron explicados por el narrador como nombres arcaicos de tribus. Probablemente ninguno de ellos se aplica ahora a los actuales grupos tribuales:

568. *Karopakoi'*- "de Luepa", es decir, del Norte de la Gran Sabana o posiblemente del adyacente valle del Cuyuní o de la Guayana Inglesa.

569. *Karosiai*, de la Gran Sabana.

570. *Nungakoi*, del Brasil.

571. *Mwerwan*, del Karoni.

572. Nombre de héroe legendario.—*Maicha'*.

573. Nombre de rey-zamuro legendario.—*Atito*.

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GRAMATICA

Mi permanencia con los Kamarakotos no fué lo bastante larga para adquirir un conocimiento gramatical pleno de la lengua, y cuanto puedo dar aquí es algunas notas y un sumario general del tipo de estructura gramatical. Koch-Grünberg suministró una gramática relativamente completa del Taurepán; y Williams, del Makuchi. Estos dialectos son similares al Kamarakoto en gramática, como lo son en vocabulario, pero con numerosas diferencias menores. Las siguientes notas demuestran la similitud y enseñan que no hay identidad, sin intentar un análisis profundo.

Nombre.

Los nombres Kamarakotos son de una condición que oscila entre la aglutinación pura y la inflexión verdadera. No hay sistema fijo de desinencia, pero los números y los casos generalmente se indican con sufijos o posposiciones que parecen encontrarse en las mismas condiciones que los superlativos, privativos, etc., no ideados por lo general como implicados en la desinencia. Ordinariamente estas posposiciones no alteran la forma de la raíz, aunque ocasionalmente lo hacen por simples razones fonéticas, por ejemplo, *imedan*, "pared", pero *imedapun*, "sin pared".

El plural se forma con varios sufijos, los más comunes de los cuales son *-kon* o *-gon* y *-gon* o *-don*, por ejemplo, *warato*, "hombre", plural *waratokon; uyetse*, "mi cuñado", plural *uyetseton*. La terminación plural no se requiere rigurosamente, siempre que

no sea necesaria para evitar confusión. Puede, por ejemplo, usarse cuando el nombre está modificado por un número o un adjetivo de cantidad, pero corrientemente se omite. Los nombres de objetos inanimados rara vez tienen forma plural.

El nominativo, el genitivo y el acusativo de la gramática Indo-Europea no se indican de ordinario con posposiciones, sino por sintaxis, dejando el nombre en su forma absoluta o no inflexa. El orden básico de las palabras es sujeto-objeto-verbo y modificante — cosa modificada. Cuando este orden se sigue simplemente, los parentescos de los nombres son por lo general claros, aunque no se usen sufijos especiales. Hay, no obstante, formas empleadas en casos de inversión o posible confusión que yo sólo puedo interpretar como envolventes de prefijos nominativos y acusativos. Así, en la frase *wai-kɛ pemon-ya idepapɔ*, "el hombre le dió una tapara", *-kɛ* especifica la cosa dada y *-ya* el dador. En *woto-pun-pɛ endana dai'*, "estoy comiendo carne", *-pɛ* parece desempeñar la misma función, aunque úno vacile para designarla o traducirla: sitúa *woto-pun* como el objeto y no como el sujeto o modificante de *endana*.

Un genitivo virtual, más exactamente descripto como una forma adjetiva, se obtiene simplemente colocando un nombre ante otro, por ejemplo, en formas como *piricha -yeuku*, "jugo del ñame", que se traslada, como es tan común en Inglés, diciendo literalmente "*yam-juice*". Exposiciones como *uma -yeima* "camino o sendero del huerto", es decir, la vereda que conduce al conuco, se apartan más aun de la idea de un genitivo en el sentido nuestro y sin embargo son en absoluto la misma construcción en Kamarakoto. A menudo, el primer nombre de esta construcción puede traducirse solamente por un adjetivo o por una locución adjetiva, por ejemplo, *moro' -tuna* "pez-agua" significa "agua de pescado" o "agua que contiene peces". El Kamarakoto se caracteriza por el gran número de nombres compuestos para el estilo, como se observará ya con sólo ojear el precedente vocabulario, y pueden elaborarse casi a placer, haciendo el lenguaje flexible al propio tiempo que sucinto.

Como otros dialectos Caribes, el Kamarakoto posee también lo que pudiera denominarse una desinencia posesiva prenominal de nombres que puede hacerse completamente complicada y hasta

implicar cambios en la radical del nombre. La forma básica de esta pseudo-desinencia incluye estos prefijos:

Primera persona, *u,-uy-*, por ejemplo, *upupai*, "mi cabeza", *uyeuna*, "mi nariz". Segunda persona, *d-*, *ay-*, por ejemplo. *apupai*, "su cabeza", *ayeuna*, "tu nariz". Tercera persona, *i-*, *it-*, por ejemplo, *ipupai*, "su cabeza", — de él, de ella, de ello, — *iteuna*, "su nariz" — de él, de ella, de ello".

Esto es tan cabalmente una parte de psicología Kamarakota, y ciertamente de psicología Caribe en general, que resulta difícil para esta gente pensar en abstracto y sin respecto a la propiedad de cosas normalmente poseídas simplemente como objetos. ejemplo, éste de la especificación a menudo característica de las lenguas primitivas en general. En algunos dialectos llega esto al extremo de no poder decir úno, por ejemplo, "una cabeza", sino que debe decir "la cabeza de alguien o de algo", pues una cabeza sin propietario les parece a estos Indios un imposible, desde luego que la posesión requiere expresión. Los Kamarakotos emplean, no obstante, formas no posesibles hasta para partes del cuerpo, pero en este caso debe indicarse la falta de posesión. "Una cabeza" no especificada como perteneciente a alguien, no es *pupai*, sino *pupai-to*, y *to* se usa de hecho con todas las palabras para las partes del cuérpo, indicando falta de posesión.

En algunos casos excepcionales la forma posesiva de un nombre, en vez de eliminar un sufijo, lo adquiere, por ejemplo, *mari:a* "cuchillo", pero *umari.arö* "mi cuchillo", *waka*, "hacha", pero *uwakari* "mi hacha".

En otros casos, ocurren cambios que quizás hubiesen surgido en modos simples, análogos a los arriba mencionados, pero que sin embargo ahora son verdaderos cambios radicales, indistinguibles por el tipo de los de formas inflexas en los idiomas Indo-Europeos; por ejemplo, *mumun*, "hijo", pero *umo*, "mi hijo"; *kami*, "kamaca", pero *ukaimi*, "mi hamaca". Ejemplos análogos expone Koch-Grünberg en su vocabulario Taurepán, donde da formas posesivas a muchos nombres (84).

(84) Debe advertirse, no obstante, primero, que el Kamarakoto parece tener menos cambio en el radical que el Taurepán; por ejemplo, Taurepán *unda*, "mi boca", *to-*[illegible]*da*, "sus bocas", y Kamarakoto *umeta*, *to'-meta*, y, segundo, que varios de los cambios apa-

El nombre Kamarakoto no tiene género. El sexo natural se expresa para las personas mediante el uso de diferentes palabras para los sexos. (Véase "Vocabulario" y "Conceptos y Palabras de Parentesco"). Parece no haber animal alguno con nombres diferentes para cada sexo ni para la cría, pero pueden prefijarse con las palabras *waroto* "hombre" *wari'*, "mujer", y *mure*, "niño", si la distinción es esencial; por ejemplo *köroitoko-waroto*, "gallo", *köroitoko-wari'*, "gallina", y *köroitoko-mure*, "pollo".

Adjetivo.

Excepto por lo que pueda ser inherente al significado del vocablo, en Kamarakoto no hay distinción clara entre nombres y adjetivos. Así, "rojo" es un adjetivo, porque siempre tiene que tener algo modificado: el objeto que es rojo (85), pero la misma palabra puede significar "montaña" y "montañoso" o "fuerza" y "fuerte", etc. Aparte las formas que se traducen lo mejor posible como adjetivos, pero que son realmente partes de verbos, no encontré sufijos adjetivos especiales ni cambios radicales de ninguna especie entre el nombre y su correspondiente calificativo.

El adjetivo precede normalmente al nombre modificado, como en Inglés y distinto que en Español, pero también puede seguirle, particularmente tratándose de vocablos de cantidad o medida, por ejemplo, *-waratokon tukango'*, "muchos hombres" (literalmente "hombres muchos"), *tuna kaipun* "gran torrente" (literalmente "agua grande").

La comparación de adjetivos puede expresarse como en este ejemplo:

tuwari	*itetsɛton*	*tuwari-dö*
pobre	sus cuñados (de él)	pobre (que), es decir, más pobre que sus cuñados.

rentes en el radical de su vocabulario no son tales, sino que resultan de su ocurrencia de tomar palabras diferentes de significados afines, por ejemplo, *u-y-enji* (la *j* como en Inglés) "mi hija", *ilume*, "su hija (de ellos)", pero sucede que *enji* y *lume* son palabras distintas de significado diferentes y no simples cambios de raíz debidos a cambios en la personas y número del pronombre posesivo.

(85) No creo yo que un Kamarakoto pueda asir el concepto de "rojez" como una abstracción.

Un adjetivo predicado puede simplemente preceder o seguir al nombre, sin verbo; por ejemplo, *waköre woto-pun* puede significar lo mismo "buena carne" que "la carne es buena" o bien puede preceder a un verbo "substantivo", en cuyo caso tiene algunas veces el sufijo *-be*, por ejemplo, *autsim-be dai'* "Yo estoy satisfecho", o puede seguirle a un verbo de esa clase, entonces generalmente sin *-be;* por ejemplo, *maichá ‹p›tip› tuwari*, "Maichak era pobre".

Pronombre.

Las definiciones y comentarios del Vocabulario presentan el pronombre Kamarakoto suficientemente para este examen sumario. Sus principales particularidades son que es básicamente demostrativo en siquiera dos personas (tercera del singular y segunda del plural, siendo posible que las otras tengan o hayan tenido en origen un elemento demostrativo) y que tiene una radical de formas conjuntivas íntimamente unidas con nombres, como se usan actualmente, así como también con verbos. (Véase más adelante).

Verbo.

El verbo Caribe es en extremo complejo, y el Kamarakoto no les va en zaga a los otros dialectos en este particular. Se conjuga: (a) por prefijos de pronombres conjuntivos y posposiciones que indican el sujeto y el objeto, (b) por gran número de sufijos que usualmente tienen algún significado de tiempo, pero también de modo, adjetivo, nominal, etc., y (c) mediante el empleo de verbos auxiliares. Lo que no sucede con el adjetivo, el verbo es distintamente una forma separada y definible de la oración. Su forma radical indica siempre un acto independiente o una situación indepediente de algún modo, y las formas, que pueden usarse o siquiera traducirse como nombres o adjetivos, están integradas por sufijos y no dejan de ser predominantemente verbales en sentido, interpretándose como partes de un verbo más

bien que estrictamente como de la categoría del nombre-adjetivo. Esto puede verse, por ejemplo, en el hecho de que los adjetivos verdaderos generalmente preceden al nombre modificado, por lo que las formas de participio de verbos usadas como modificantes comunmente le siguen al nombre y pueden colocarse en posición normal respecto a un verbo.

Las radicales verbales son aproximadamente invariables, pero simples cambios fonéticos introdúcense a menudo mediante prefijos y sufijos, y éstos producen ocasionalmente una pseudo-inflexión, como en los nombres. Difiere, no obstante, de la inflexión verdadera en que nunca es funcional: no indica en sí misma un significado modificado. Por ejemplo, *e'moron* "(yo) me estoy durmiendo", *we-numbai* "tengo sueño", muestran cambios en la radical *e-* y *we*, pero de cualquier forma la radical tiene el mismo significado, calificándose solamente por contexto y sufijos.

Los pronombres conjuntivos insertos en el vocabulario se usan en conexión con verbos así como con nombres. Con nombres indican posesión, pero con verbos señalan ya sea el sujeto o bien el objeto de la acción. Así, tres casos de pronombres tan radicalmente diferentes en gramática Indo-Europea: nominativo, posesivo y acusativo, pueden ser formalmente idénticos en Kamarakoto, mostrando solamente el contexto la traducción correcta. La discrepancia parece ser un intento de forzar a las lenguas Caribes dentro del marco gramatical Indo-Europeo. El pronombre conjuntivo Caribe no es nominativo, posesivo o acusativo, sino una forma simple que pudiera denominarse relativa, indicando en todos sus usos la persona a quien se refiere la acción, sin indicar (en sí misma) la naturaleza de la relación. Así, *iteuna*, "su nariz" significa "nariz con relación a la tercera persona"; *iyendana*, "él va", es el acto presente de ir con relación a la tercera persona; e *ikoneka*, "hacerlo", (forma imperativa dirigida necesariamente a la segunda persona) "hacer con relación a la tercera persona". En estos tres ejemplos, *i* tiene actualmente el mismo significado, aunque pueda traducise a un idioma Indo-Europeo de tres maneras diferentes.

Los pronombres conjuntivos, siempre prefijados a los nombres, pueden ser indistintamente prefijados o sufijados con ver-

bos. Con un verbo intransitivo, y a veces un verbo transitivo, con objeto de otra manera expresado; el pronombre prefijado es el sujeto. Con un verbo transitivo, el pronombre prefijado es usualmente el objeto, expresándose el sujeto ya sea con una palabra separada o bien por un sufijo prenominal. Este sufijo va normalmente seguido de la partícula nominativa *-ya*. Así, el pronombre conjuntivo *-u-*, "yo", cuando sigue a un verbo en calidad de sujeto suyo, es *uya*. La elisión y la fusión pueden ocultar a veces los valores vocálicos de los pronombres en esta posición. El objeto de un verbo transitivo nunca es un sufijo.

Estos pronombres conjuntivos pueden conservarse hasta cuando el sujeto y el objeto están expresados de otros modos, pero normalmente no lo están. El verbo puede presentarse también sin ningún sujeto (u objeto) y entonces se toma usualmente como refiriéndose a la primera persona. Así *endana*, sin contexto, se interpretará corrientemente en el sentido de "yo como".

Se ha insinuado vagamente que la radical de verbo típico o primitivo era monosílaba o bisílaba y que la mayor parte o todas las radicales son de hecho compuestas. No obstante, sea cual fuere su origen, las palabras trisílabas usadas como radicales básicas de verbo son actualmente tan comunes cuando menos como las radicales más cortas, y existen algunas de cuatro y posiblemente hasta de cinco sílabas. Parece no haber ninguna diferencia formal en virtud de la cual pueda distinguirse una radical de verbo pura de un pronombre o adjetivo, no siendo por su significado.

La especie simple de combinación de pronombre radical de verbo se advierte en las siguientes formas de *endana*, significando la radical "comiendo" (86).

	Singular	Plural
Primera persona.	*endana*	*inandana.*
Segunda persona.	*abendana*	*mötsamorö endana.*
Tercera persona.	*iyendana*	*to' endana.*

(86) *endana* es una radical pura de verbo en la práctica, pero (como lo señala el Padre Baltasar de Matallana para el Taurepán) se deriva de raíces primitivas por composición: *ende* (o *e* eufónica radical *nde*), "Boca" (afín del Kamarakoto *mete-te'* "boca", véase vocabulario Nº 19) *na*, un sufijo común de construcción de vocablos con un sentido general de actividad o movimiento.

Esto ilustra también irregularidades como las que ocurren con la mayor parte de los verbos como se usan actualmente y previene la abstracción de un paradigma que puede aplicarse a cualquier verbo sin conocimiento definido del uso. Así, *uy-* se omite en la primera persona del singular, *ab-* es una foma rara del pronombre de la segunda persona, que es usualmente *ray-* (o *a-*), e *iy-* es más comunmente *it* en la tercera persona. Las formas plurales deben considerarse como disyuntivas, pero, en oración coloquial, en la primera persona *ina* y *endana* se funden para hacer una forma pseudo-conjuntiva, pseudo-inflexa: *inandana*.

Esta forma radical pura de verbos se traduce usualmente como un tiempo de presente del indicativo, pero significa la acción simplemente como ocurriendo, sin referencia al tiempo relativo o absoluto, salvo por la implicación de que si la acción no se estuviese desarrollando ahora, probablemente se hubiera indicado empleando un sufijo. Con su carencia de tinte de tiempo o de modo, también es esta la forma usada generalmente con verbos auxiliares; por ejemplo, *endana edai* "estoy (entregado al proceso de) comiendo", donde *endana* significa simplemente el proceso o la actividad más o menos en abstracto y *edai* especifica que el locutor está entregado a ello.

No hay distinción general formal entre verbos transitivos e intransitivos, y el mismo verbo puede usarse de cualquier modo, siempre que el significado lo permita. Así, en los ejemplos precedentes *endana* es intransitivo, pero puede emplearse en las mismas formas con un objeto, siendo entonces transitivo.

No hay voz pasiva, y la idea se expresa mediante formas del verbo activo y mediante circunlocuciones. "El hace" significa justamente lo que "está hecho" (por él o por alguien inexpresado). Si se suscita confusión acerca de si el nombre precedente es el hacedor o la cosa hecha (análogo al sujeto de la acción o del verbo pasivo en gramática Indo-Europeo), ello puede especificarse con un sufijo, no en el verbo, sino en el nombre, *-ya*, indicando el hacedor o sujeto activo, *ke* o *pe* la cosa hecha, o sujeto pasivo.

Se emplean sufijos para expresar más o menos los tiempos y los modos de gramática Indo-Europea, pero el sentido exacto, rara

vez trasmitido, probablemente nunca corresponde con exactitud a uno de los tiempos dados del género gramatical moderno. Hablando estrictamente, no hay tiempos presentes o futuros. Cualquier forma que no exprese conclusión de la acción o su no-contemporaneidad puede emplearse de manera traducible como un presente o futuro. La radical pura de verbo puede referirse a cualquier tiempo y se usa comunmente donde nosotros usaríamos un tiempo presente o futuro. Las formas que indican acción contínua o acción deseada o propuesta, y que por tanto no se están desarrollando en el presente o fueron consumadas en el pasado, son traducibles comunmente como tiempos futuros; pero yo estoy convencido de que llamarlas "tiempos futuros" es injertar en el Kamarakoto (y en otras lenguas Caribes) una idea que en realidad está completamente ausente de las mentes de los locutores.

La negación puede expresarse con formas especiales de verbo que probablemente se considerarían privativas o prohibitivas más bien que negativas en sentido riguroso. La negación verbal general se expresa con la partícula *pura*, etc., a continuación del verbo.

Una lista incompleta, pero representativa, de afijos verbales (no-prenominales) en Kamarakoto sería la siguiente:

-i.-. Pretérito simple, acción consumada.

-pɔ̃. Este, el más común de todos los sufijos verbales, es traducible comunmente como pretérito. Puede, de todos modos, considerarse mejor como un sufijo que muestra no-contemporaneidad con un punto de referencia. Por lo tanto, indica un tiempo pasado, en el sentido de mostrar que la acción no se está desarrollando ahora. En su sentido más lato puede usarse también con nombres, por ejemplo, *utapüi*, "mi casa" (en general o ahora), *utapüipɔ̃*, "mi casa" (un tiempo dado, pero no cuando estoy hablando o no ahora). Tratándose de narrativos, los verbos en -pɔ̃ se emplean por lo general para lo meramente histórico.

-püi Sufijo dudoso acaso emparentado con el anterior. Generalmente designa un tiempo pasado y puede ser un narrativo

histórico alternando con -pɔ̈, por ejemplo, *epolupüi-ya* (probablemente por *epolupüi-iya*) "él encontró", usado en un pasaje paralelo con verbos en -pɔ̈, pero también *pemon-don yeupüi* "los Indios venían", donde se puntualiza que la acción no fué completa en el tiempo de referencia (que era un tiempo pasado). Esta misma palabra se tradujo también como tiempo perfecto *uyepüi*, "he venido" (es decir, estoy aquí ahora), pero en conexión con otra acción no consumada.

-poya,-pöya. Designando acciones pasadas. Estas son posiblemente variantes fonéticas de *-pɔ̈-ya* o *-pɔ̈-i-ya*, el sufijo no-contemporáneo -pɔ̈ + (o sin) pronombre conjuntivo -i- + sufijo nominativo *-ya*.

-pauya. Esta es probablemente una forma fonética similar de *-pɔ̈-u-ya* un tiempo pasado en la primera persona del singular.

-tana,-tana'. Este prefijo designa acción contemporánea y es por tanto en parte del positivo del cual -pɔ̈ es la negación. Se refiere usualmente al tiempo presente, pero también se emplea para mostrar una acción que sucedió o está sucediendo (en cualquier tiempo, pasado, presente o futuro) simultáneamente con otra acción expresada o implícita.

-se. Acción contínua, no especificada como habiendo cesado en ningún tiempo relativo. Como quiera que la acción puede proseguir en el futuro, los verbos con este sufijo frecuentemente pueden traducirse por un tiempo futuro.

-pe. Acción dependiente. Acción condicional de alguna otra acción. Ejemplo, *konekape utambai, utambai* — forma desiderativa de *ute*, "ir", por tanto, más o menos, "vayamos", *konekape*, "hacer" condicionalmente por la otra acción: "vayamos y (habiendo ido), hagamos", o "vayamos y hagamos (después, o cuando hayamos ido)".

-pa. Forma dudosa, acaso una mera variante de *-pe*, mas traducida como implicando persistencia de una acción en un período de tiempo, no dependiente necesariamente de otra acción.

-puti. -pɔ̈ta. La equivalencia radical de estos dos sufijos es incierta, pero fueron usados en contextos fonéticos diferentes

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para designar la misma idea, la de una acción pasada continuada o repetitiva, "solido hacer", "seguir haciendo", etc., explicándolo como "algo que hizo usted a menudo en el pasado, pero que no está haciendo ahora".

-ka. Imperativo. "Haz" aquí o en general.

-ta. Imperativo. Este es una especie de imperativo demostrativo, siendo la implicación que la acción se ha de ejecutar en otra parte; más o menos, "vé y haz...".

-kɔ. Imperativo, posiblemente una simple variante de *-ka*, pero usado en ciertas combinaciones, en las que *-ka* no se oyó, por ejemplo, en la expresión común de *achikɔ*, "ven!, ven acá!".

-nikɔ. Imperativo, = *-ni* + *-kɔ*.

-tanikɔ. Imperativo, = -ta + *-ni* + *kɔ*. No obstante la presencia de *-ta* en sentido no es necesariamente "ve y haz"..." y hasta puede ser "ven y haz...", pero esta idea se expresa más especificadamente con *achikɔ*, por ejemplo, *achikɔ konekanikɔ*, "ven (aquí) y haz...".

-'. Imperativo, observando solamente en *koneka'*, con el que *-ka* no se usa, siendo probablemente reemplazado por éste.

-pai. Traducible como desiderativo, voluntativo, optativo, imperativo o subjuntivo. Tiene el sentido de desear hacer una cosa o querer haberla hecho. Puede expresar también la intención de hacer una cosa y, por tanto, puede traducirse por un tiempo futuro, con el cual ha sido confundido. Es, de todos modos, futuro, no en el sentido temporal, sino solamente expresando un deseo de hacer, el cual, como es natural, se refiere usualmente a algo no hecho todavía. Este es claramente el *-bai* de *-mbai*, etc., (= *-mpai* o *-npai*. La suspensión bilabial hace la nasal bilabial y la nasal hace la suspensión sonora), y pudiera considerarse como un verbo auxiliar más bien que como un sufijo. Por ejemplo, *utɩupai*, "quiero ir, tengo intención o voy a ir" puede ser *utɩ*, "ir" y *u-pai* "quiero o deseo". Pero también se funde frecuentemente con otra radical y comunmente se toma por sufijo verbal (por ejemplo, Koch-Grünberg en Taurepán), sea cualquiera su origen.

-dareu. Esta forma un tanto dudosa se usa aparentemente en algunas circunstancias para expresar la intención de hacer algo.

-ima, -ma. Esta es otra forma de voluntativo similar o subjuntivo optativo o de sentido imperativo. Puede traducirse frecuentemente "inducir a..." "que ellos, etc., hagan...", y así se usa para construir modos causativos o esencialmente nuevos verbos causales, los cuales pueden a su vez tomar otros sufijos.

kai-..-i, ka-..-i. Esta es combinación de prefijo y sufijo, y forma el imperativo negativo o el prohibitivo, "no hacer...", etc.

-tope. Esta es una forma propositiva o una que expresa un fin que ha de realizarse, "final" (como Koch-Grünberg llama a su equivalente Taurepán) en este sentido, no en el de acción terminal o consumada. Williams llama a su equivalente Makuchi un gerundio, pero el gerundio Indo-Europeo difícilmente pudiera usarse para traducir el verbo Kamarakoto en *-tope*, usualmente trasladable por alguna frase como "con objeto de". Los ejemplos de este caso están conectados con negación, pero el negativo no parece ser inherente en *-tope.* Esta conexión no es clara.

-kapa. Forma propositiva similar, "a fin de...", etc, también usada como una especie de subjuntivo o imperativo de la tercera persona, "que haga...", etc.

-namai. Negativo propositivo. Correspondiendo con *-tope* y *-kapa* en el uso, pero definidamente negativo o prohibitivo.

-sa'.-s:ɔ'. Expresa la idea de una acción consumada definitivamente y puede traducirse en diferentes contextos como un pretérito indicativo, como un participio pasado o como un adjetivo. Por ejemplo, *konekasa'-uya,* que es un verbo independiente con un sujeto, "yo he hecho, hice (y completé)", y no puede considerarse como participio. En cambio, *tamöi-konekasa',* literalmente "tabaco hecho", es decir, "tabaco elaborado, un tabaco-puro", que es esencialmente un nombre compuesto y en el cual está inserto el verbo con *-sa',* se traduce mejor como un participio o adjetivo. Hay muchas ex-

presiones de este género en Kamarakoto. No obstante la traducción como un adjetivo, la idea es aún verdaderamente verbal; es "tabaco que fué hecho, tabaco que alguien hizo o que yo hice".

-nin-. Este sufijo introduce lo que es en idioma Indo-Europeo un concepto de nombre, significando "el hacedor de...", algunas veces vertible como participio presente, pero con su sentido verbal propiamente evasivo, acaso conservado más plenamente por la consideración de que construye una forma de verbo equivalente a una cláusula relativa. Por ejemplo, *konekanin amaure* "haciendo tú; quien está haciendo". Puede usarse sin una palabra modificada, y ésta puede traducirse libremente por un nombre, *konekanin* "el hacedor". Implica que la acción no está consumada.

-tɔpon. Se usa este prefijo del mismo modo que *-nin*, pero la acción está consumada. *konekanin*, "el hacedor (quien está haciendo)", *konekatɔpon* "el hacedor (quien ha terminado da hacer, o hacedor de algo que ya está hecho)".

-to'. Se usa de maneras análogas a *-nin* y *tɔpon*, pero designa los medios o el instrumento empleado o requerido para la acción más bien que el agente activo. *konekato'*, "el hacedor (empleado en hacer"). Este no es el pronombre personal *to'*.

-n. Este también se usa en los casos en que los idiomas Indo-Europeos emplearían un nombre verbal o un nombre, siendo así en Kamarakoto lo más próximo de cuanto pudiera ser un gerundio verdadero. Significa el acto o el proceso de hacer algo, por ejemplo, *endana*, "comer" *endanan* "el acto de comer". No obstante, como los otros llamados nombres verbales Caribes, es básicamente verbal, no nominal. Puede usarse con auxiliares, por ejemplo, *etame*, "caminar", *etamen pö'man*, "él está caminado" ("en el acto de caminar está").

Como comparación ilustrativa, se recogieron los equivalentes Kamarakotos del paradigma parcial Taurepán expuesto por el Padre Baltasar de Matellana (87). Más tarde fué posible com-

(87) Desgraciadamente no tuve a mi disposición la edición más completa de la obra de Koch-Grünberg sino después de haber salido de tierra de Kamarakotos.

pararlo con el Kamarakoto de viva voz y sobre el terreno. Los resultados de la comparación fueron instructivos desde varios puntos de vista, y así los transcribimos aquí, sin pretensión alguna de dar una comparación completa ni de establecer una conjugación plena o modelo. Ha de recordarse que la transcripción del Padre Baltasar no tiene el propósito de ser fonética.

1. Radical de verbo y presente o no-temporal de indicativo. *koneka*. Taurepán, *koneka*, (P. Baltasar) *koneká*.

2. Formas de indicativo mostrando consumación o no-contemporaneidad. "Pretérito" del P. Baltasar.

   a. *konekapauya*, derivativo fonético de *koneka-pɔ-u-ya* — radical prefijo no-contemporáneo *pɔ* + pronombre personal *u* + partícula nominativa *ya*, "yo hago". La forma de tiempo simple es naturalmente *konekapɔ*. Taurepán, *konekapöya* = *konekapɔ* + *ya*, sin indicación de persona, (P. Baltasar) *konekapue uyá*, "*hiciste*". (88).

   b. (No de uso común entre los Kamarakotos, quienes habitualmente lo reemplazan por la forma próxima). Taurepán, *konekapöti'-uya*, "hice repetidamente, solía hacer", (P. Baltasar *konekapueti-uyá*, "hiciste (repetidas veces"), (debiera ser "yo hice"?) "repetidamente".

   c. *konekaputi-pauya*, forma fonética de *koneka-puti-pɔ-u-yo* "hice repetidamente, solía hacer "(pero no hago ahora). Forma simple (no prenominal) *konekaputi*. Taurepán, *konekapöti'-pöya*, "solido hacer", (P. Baltasar) *konekapuetipue-uya*, "hiciste (de un todo"), debiera ser "yo hice"?) "definitivamente".

   d. *chikonekai*, "hice". Forma simple *konekai*. Taurepán *chikonekai*, (P. Baltasar) *chi-koneká-i*, "hice (en este momento)".

   e. (Esta forma está definidamente ausente en Kamarakoto). Taurepán, *chikonekatai*, (P. Baltasar) *chi-koneká-tai*, "hice (hace tiempo").

(88) Juzgando por mis propias observaciones y por las de Koch-Grünberg y otros, este sufijo parece ser traducido en persona errada en toda la tabla del Padre Baltasar.

f. *konekasa'-uya* "hice". Forma simple *konekasa'*. Taurepán *konekasa'-uya*, (P. Baltasar) *koneka-sak-uyá* "hiciste (éste más bien es el participio transformado en modo personal)". Esta última observación es cierta desde un punto de vista estrictamente Europeo, pero yo opino que no se ha operado ninguna transformación desde el punto de vista Indio, y que *konekasa'* es una forma de verbo que, como la mayor parte de las demás, puede usarse indistintamente con o sin pronombre personal y puede traducirse unas veces por el indicativo y otras por un participio.

g. *konekapɔ'-tau'-nitsi*. "él estaba haciendo". Es propiamente un verbo compuesto (o tiempo de un verbo): *koneka-pɔ-tau'*, forma pretérita de *koneka*, usada aquí más o menos como participio, + el auxiliar *n-itsi*, siendo *n-* el pronombre conjuntivo de la tercera persona como sujeto del auxiliar. En la medida que pudiera intentarse una traducción literal, sería éste: "ha estado en condiciones de hacer". Taurepán, *oknekapɔ-nichi* (P. Baltasar) *koneka-púe-n-ichí*, "hizo". Esta forma es la misma que la del Kamarakoto, pero sin el sufijo *-tau'*.

3. Formas que expresan deseo o intención de hacer o haber hecho, voluntativa, optativa, imperativa, etc.

a. *ikoneka'*, "hazlo", imperativo simple en segunda persona. *i* es el pronombre objeto y la forma verbal es *koneka'*. Taurepán, *ikoneka-ke* (P. Baltasar) *i-konekaké*, "hazlo".

b. *ikonekata*, "(ve y) hazlo", "hazlo (allí)", imperativo en segunda persona con sentido demostrativo. Forma verbal *konekata*. Taurepán *ikoneka-ta*, (P. Baltasar) *i-konekatá*, "véte a hacerlo".

c. *ikonekata-nikɔ*, "hazlo", imperativo con triple sufijo, *-ta* + *-ni* + *-kɔ*, aparentemente imperativo de modo vago, no necesariamente "allí" o "aquí" de manera explícita y no estrictamente "ven y hazlo", que sería *achikɔ-ikonekata-nikɔ*. Como en el caso anterior, *i* es el pronombre objeto, no estrictamente parte del verbo. Taurepán, *iko-*

nekata-nikɔ. (P. Baltasar) *i-konekata-neke*, "ven a hacerlo".

d. *ikoneka-pai-nokon*, "hagámoslo" con sentido no-demostrativo. Taurepán, *ikoneka-pai-nikon*, (P. Baltasar) *i-koneka-pai-nokon*, "vamos a hacerlo".

e. *kai-konekai*, "no lo hagas", prohibitivo simple en segunpersona (o negativo imperativo). Taurepán *ki-konekai* (P. Baltasar) *kikonekái*, "no lo hagas".

f. *to'-ya ikonekaima*, "dejadles hacer, que lo hagan, pueden hacerlo", voluntativo o imperativo en tercera persona del plural. *to'-ya* es el sujeto e *i* el objeto, siendo la forma verbal simple *konekaima*. Yo no he registrado esta forma en Taurepán, pero el P. Baltasar transcribe *konekaima*, que parece ser la misma forma, aunque él la considera gerundio presente "haciendo", no siendo tal la forma en Kamarakoto.

4. Propositivos. El Padre Baltasar los llama "participios de final".

a. *koneka-tope*, "para hacer", usado en contexto negativo, no siendo completamente claro el sentido exacto. Taurepán *koneka-tope*. (P. Baltasar) *koneka-topé*, "para hacer".

b. *konekapa*, "para hacer", propositivo simple. Taurepán, *konekapa*. (P. Baltasar) *koneka-pá*, "para hacer".

c. *koneka-namai*, "para no hacer, que no haga", propositivo negativo. Taurepán, *koneka-namai'*. (P. Baltasar) *koneka-namai* (d), "para no hacer (negativo)".

5. Formas de participio o de modo que expresan acción contínua o acción relativa a otras acciones, expresadas o implícitas. El Padre Baltasar llama a estas formas en Taurepán "gerundios del presente", lo cual no es declaración clara de su empleo ni de la traducción usual al o del Kamarakoto.

a. *koneka-tana'*, "está haciendo (mientras se está haciendo otra cosa)", usado como forma esencialmente indicativa que expresa acción contemporánea. Taurepán, *koneka-*

tana, (P. Baltasar) *koneka-taná* "haciendo (mientras hacía").

b. *konekase*, "haciendo, está, estaba, estará haciendo", expresando acción contínua. Taurepán (P. Baltasar) *te-koneka-sé*, "haciendo (al mismo tiempo"). El prefijo *te-* es probablemente el pronombre reflexivo y no parte de la forma verbal, hablando estrictamente. En Kamarakoto, esta forma de verbo no suele traducirse por "haciendo al mismo tiempo" sino solamente expresando una acción no pensada como completa en ningún tiempo dado.

c. *konekape*, "hacer, hecho, etc", condicional de o a continuación de otra acción expresada que ha de realizarse con o antes de la acción del verbo en *-pe*. Taurepán, *onekape*, (P. Baltasar) *koneka-pe*, "haciendo", traducción adecuada en ciertas ocasiones, pero no una explicación del sentido de la forma de verbo.

d. *konekas:ɔ'*, "habiendo hecho, hecho, habiendo sido hecho", forma que puede emplearse como un pretérito de indicativo (Véase 2, f, más arriba) o como un participio o adjetivo, = *konekasa'*. (No dada por el Padre Baltasar como forma separada, aunque da el indicativo, véase 2, f.).

6. Nombres verbales de relación o formas verbales relativas modificantes. El Padre Baltasar los llama "participios de presente".

a. *konekanin*, "quien está haciendo, quien sabe cómo se hace". Taurepán (P. Baltasar) *konekanin*, "hacedor".

b. *konekat:ɔ pon*, "quien hizo, el autor de una cosa terminada". Taurepán *konekat:ɔ pon*. (P. Baltasar), *konekatepon*, "hacedor".

c. *ikonekato'*, "los medios o la cosa usados para hacer (lo)". *i* es un pronombre conjuntivo. Taurepán, *konekato'*, (P. Baltasar) *konekatok*, "lo que se hace (hechura"). Esta sería una traducción incorrecta de la palabra Kamarakota. No estoy seguro respecto del Taurepán, pero advierto que Koch-Grünberg da una palabra completamente diferen-

te, *ikone*: *ka'-pə*, para "lo que ha sido hecho" en dicha lengua.

d. *ye-konekase*, "quien está haciendo", forma más puramente verbal de expresar lo mismo que *konekanin*. Es simplemente la forma verbal contínua *konekase* con prefijo pronominal. Taurepán (P. Baltasar) *te-konekasén*, "hacedor", probablemente también *konekase* simplemente con un pronombre reflexivo y quizás con el sufijo nominal *-n*.

7. Tres formas que el Padre Baltasar llama "gerundios de pretérito" no fueron reconocidas por mis informantes Kamarakotos ni se encontraron en textos Kamarakotos, siendo probable que estén ausentes en esta lengua. Un Kamarakoto las substituiría con *konekasa'* en la mayoría de los contextos.

La expresión que les da el Padre Baltazar es ésta:

te-koneká-id	—	(*te-koneka-i'*)
te-koneka-pue-sé	—	(*te-konekapə-se*)
konekasák.tesé	—	(*konekasa' tese*).

todas ellas traducidas por "habiendo hecho".

Otras partes de la oración.

Es difícil, por no decir imposible, distinguir el adverbio, la preposición o la conjunción como partes especiales de la oración. Algunos vocablos que indican tiempo, lugar, etc., son inherentes o adverbiales por el sentido. Otros vocablos calificativos se usan, sin cambio alguno de forma, para modificar ya sea nombres o bien verbos, siendo por tanto traducibles ya como adjetivos o como adverbios. Nombres y pronombres con posposiciones preposicionales, indicando manera, dirección y cosas análogas se emplean frecuentemente para calificar la acción de un verbo y pueden traducirse por consiguiente como adverbios, pero denominarlos adverbios es meramente un modo de hablar, no una clasificación lógica. La analogía más próxima con los adverbios Indo-Europeos acaso sea el empleo de la posposición *-pe* (a veces *-pe*

o *pö*) para formar expresiones adverbiales (pero también adjetivas) de nombres y adjetivos. La sílaba puede traducirse usualmente "-como", por ejemplo, *wotopɛ*, "como un animal", y su formación en lo que equivale a un adverbio es análoga al empleo de "-mente" en Español o de "-ly" en Inglés. Las preposiciones no se presentan como tales, sino que ocupan su lugar gran número de posposiciones que se sufijan a los nombres y que tienen un sentido preposicional, por ejemplo, *tuna-wapai*, "desde el agua", *uruyen-poire*, "hasta (o hacia) el Uruyén".

Las conjunciones no existen en absoluto. Las palabras coordinadas se suceden una a otra simplemente sin conjunción, y otros conceptos de conexión se expresan por la posición, el contexto o con sufijos que expresan conceptos relativos.

Las interjecciones son muy comunes, por más que sean orgánicas o imitativas, de manera que no parece justificado reducirlas a una clasificación ni considerarlas como palabras definidas y definibles del lenguaje. Las expresiones vocálicas internacionales de dolor o sorpresa, *a:*, *a:i*, etc., se oyen frecuentemente, así como la menos universal *aka:*, que parece bastante difundida entre los Caribes, no siendo tan común en otros pueblos. Los sonidos imitativos de la caída de un árbol, el silbar de un machete, el reclamo de un ave, etc., se oyen constantemente (89).

No hay artículos.

Texto.

El siguiente breve extracto de la leyenda de Maichak bastará para mostrar el dialecto Kamaracoto en acción.

maicha'	*ɸətipə*	*putapun*	*maicha' ɸətipə*
Maichak	era	ignorante (sabiendo menos).	Maichak era
Maichak	era	ignorante.	Maichak era

(89) Cuando estábamos sacando fotografías, seguíannos varios muchachitos, señalando con el dedo la cámara y gritando "*ta:ɸ!*", remedo del disparo. Esto parecía haberse convertido en palabra para "cámara fotográfica" en Kamaracoto, pero aparentemente le cedió el lugar a la palabra *retrata*, de "retratar", que frecuentemente nos oían en relación con las fotografías, y que ellos decidieron, al parecer, era la palabra para el objeto, aunque empleada más bien para la acción.

tuwari	*itetsɛton*	*tuwari-dö*	*arautizö*
pobre	sus cuñados	pobre que	Sin embargo
más pobre	que sus cuñados.		Pero
itɛ tseru	*epolupüy-ya*	*wai-kɛ*	*pemon-ya*
su-modo	encontró él	tapara	hombre (Indio)
encontró la manera de arreglarse.		Un hombre	le dió
idepapə	*tuna- wapai*	*idepakapə*	*idepatsɛ*
dió-él	agua-desde	él-vino	él-dando (al mismo tiempo)
una tapara.	El hombre salió del agua (o del río) - y le dió		
wai-kɛ	*morɛ-popɛ*	*erupapoyɛ*	*wai*
tapara	luego	enseñó	de la tapara
(a Maichak) una tapara.	Luego le enseñó la manera de		
etseruke	*marodɛu*	*maicha'-ya*	*moro'*
Usar	luego	Maichak	peces
usar la tapara.	Luego	Maichak	vació
tuna	*anokapə tipə*	*to'*	*anumbatupöyɛ*
agua	vació	ellos	recogió
(del río), el agua que contenía peces y los recogió.			
mono-pɛ	*moro'*	*anumbatupɛ*	*itetsɛton-ya*
Un rato	peces	recogió	Su cuñado
Siguió cogiendo peces un rato.		Su cuñado	
itɛtseru	*putu pura*	*yepə tipə*	*teumo-dakarə*
su modo	sabiendo-no	estaba	su (propio) hijo con
no sabía como lo hacía.			Sólo su hijo estaba
leukin	*yetipə*	*moro'*	*anumupə*
solamente	estaba	peces	recogió
con él cuando cogían peces.			

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AFINIDADES LINGÜISTICAS

Kamarakoto antiguo.

Varios de los Kamarakotos mejor informados aseguráronme que su habla no es "Kamarakota verdadera", por más que con este nombre se conozca entre ellos y todos las tribus vecinas, sino que ha reemplazado una lengua más antigua que era el Kamarakoto propiamente dicho. Este Kamarakoto "antiguo" o "verdadero" está actualmente extinto. Nadie puede hablarlo y nadie sabe mucho acerca de él, excepto que era completamente distinto del lenguaje actual. Los esfuerzos aunados de los hombres más viejos y más inteligentes de la tribu produjeron cinco palabras aisladas y una frase que afirmaron ser *Kamarakoto antiguo*, trasmitidas en la tribu de padre a hijo desde tiempos muy remotos. La frase, "Está amaneciendo, hijo, párate!" es única, pero da fe de la memoria de una lengua antigua que oyóse en la niñez y que después se olvidó, salvo algunos retazos impresos más indeleblemente. Esas palabras son las siguientes:

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
1. Selva	*icha*	*chureta*	*tu'rita*

OTRAS LENGUAS

Chaima (Adam) *y-uto, y-ucha.*

Cumanagoto (Adam) *t-uto, t-uta, y-ucha, y-ucho.*

Anótense también las siguientes palabras para "árbol" dadas por De Goeje:

Cumanagoto *ekiche*, Chaima *yekich*. La última contiene la raíz de "árbol" (*yε'* en Kamarakoto) y un sufijo *-ich-* comparable a *icha*.

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
2. Cucurrito (palma)	*yoloki*	*maripa* (d)	*mariba*

OTRAS LENGUAS

No encuentro ninguna palabra muy parecida a *yoloki*.

La palma *Astrocaryum*, un tanto similar, es *yawala* en Oyana (De Goeje) y en algunos otros dialectos. Compárese también *ka:liki* palabra para cucurrito en Guinau (Koch-Grünberg), dialecto Aruaco con el que los Kamarakotos han tenido contacto.

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
3. Flecha	*mapuru*	*purau*	*pulõu*

OTRAS LENGUAS

No encuentro formas más aproximadas que el Kamarakoto moderno. *Puru* sería una variación probable de la raíz Caribe usual. *ma-* puede ser un prefijo de alguna clase.

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
4. Mi hamaca	*utauri*	*ukaimi*	*ukarimi*

OTRAS LENGUAS

Chaima (Adam) *u-y-etuat*. Variaciones de esta raíz, distantes o no afines de la raíz que aparece en Arekuna, se presentan también en siquiera otras siete lenguas Caribes. (Véase Adam, Nº 139), incluyendo el Makuchi, (Williams). Es aventurado, pero la forma poseída del Taurepán (según se ha transcripto; la forma

no poseída es *kami*) indica que puede haber habido una raíz antigua *kari*, y, si ello es así, *tauri* sería un derivado normal de ella.

Obsérvese también que la palabra para "hamaca" frecuentemente está relacionada con las correspondientes a "algodón". (Véase De Goeje Nº 51 y Adam Nº 239) y que hay una raíz Aruaça para "algodón" no disímil de *tauri*, por ejemplo, Adzaneni (Koch-Grünberg) *tauali*. Pero el prefijo posesivo *u-* es Caribe puro.

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
5. Ese	*mia: mo*	*ñ: amo: ra*	*i'yamor* ə

OTRAS LENGUAS

Chaima (Adam) *amiamo-r-com.*

Cumanagoto (Adam) *amiamo-r-como.* Akawai (Adam) *amiamo.*

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
6. Párate (imperativo)	*apaga'*	*upaga*	*pata*

OTRAS LENGUAS

En este caso el vocablo antiguo es casi lo mismo que el moderno.

Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
7. Está amaneciendo	*airapauna*	*auyakana*	*auyakana*
8.	*pomon*	*pöuman*	*pöuman*

OTRAS LENGUAS

pomon-pöuman es bastante claro, pero no encontré palabra evidentemente próxima a *airapauna*. Estas palabras son, no obstante, raras en los vocabularios. La ecuación *airapauna* = *ayukana*, aunque no satisfactoria, acaso no sea imposible, puesto que hay en Caribe ejemplos seguros de las transformaciones *r-y* y *k-p*.

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Traducción	"Kamarakoto antiguo"	"Kamarakoto moderno"	Taurepán
9. Hijo, o mi hijo	*keukɛ*	*oun- 'unuunu*	*umu*

OTRAS LENGUAS

Kaliña (De Goeje) *mako, morokoko.* Maquiritare (De Goeje) *mudekeke.* La raíz básica Caribe parece ser *m* + vocal (usualmente *o* o *u*), pero frecuentemente va seguida de una gutural + vocal, y la duplicación de este elemento de sufijo, como en Kaliña y Maquiritare, forma un posible origen de este *keukɛ* vagamente recordado, no siendo demasiado aventurada esta hipótesis.

De las palabras del "Kamarakoto antiguo" puede decirse que 1, 3, 5, 6, y 8 son más bien Caribes con certeza. 4, 7 y 9 pueden serlo, pero la evidencia es precaria. 2 es completamente incierta. 4 tiene indicios de Aruaco, pero estos indios no son concluyentes, y la lista en conjunto, es definitivamente no-Aruaca. Es interesante que 1 y 5 sugieran de manera completamente definida y 4 y 9 vaga e inciertamente verdaderas raíces Caribes que están ausentes o fuertemente modificadas en Kamarakoto moderno. Como quiera que los Kamarakotos difícilmente han podido inventar estos parecidos con dialectos que ellos desconocen, estas palabras tienden, pues, a confirmar su afirmación de que esta lista representa un lenguaje real y distintivo desaparecido hoy.

Sin concederle mucho crédito, este curioso lote de palabras está acorde con la afirmación Kamarakota de que su lenguaje actual reemplazó otro. Si esto es así, el lenguaje antiguo era aparentemente Caribe también, pero probablemente distinto y no simplemente una forma ancestral del Kamarakoto. Claro está que la lista es insuficiente para establecer las íntimas afinidades de la lengua extinta. Todo este problema es en extremo conjetutural, mas es posible que algunas de las palabras Kamarakotas que difieren radicalmente del Taurepán hayan podido derivarse de esta lengua Caribe desaparecida.

Influencia castellana en el Kamarakoto.

Los Kamarakotos, como tribu, han tenido muy poco roce con pueblos de habla Española, y la influencia del Español en su lenguaje es casi nula. Las siguientes palabras de origen Español fueron oídas en la conversación corriente de Kamarakotos que no hablan más nada Español:

Kamarakoto	Español	Observaciones
alakaputsa	arcabuz (arcaismo por rifle)	Este es un vocablo prestado muy antiguo que de tribu en tribu pasó a casi todos los Indios de esta región. Los indios, y la mayoría de los viajeros de habla Española, ignoran en absoluto que el vocablo es Español.
sara: sa	zaraza	No, como en Español, una clase especial de tela, sino todo tejido que no sea indígena. Vocablo de introducción reciente.
somberero	sombrero	Estas son adquisiciones muy recientes. Tanto los objetos como las palabras fueron adoptodos por la tribu no hace más de cuatro o cinco años.
kamisa	camisa	
pantalon	pantalón	
alpargata	alpargata	
kaña	caña (de azúcar)	Adquisiciones relativamente viejas. El cultivo de la caña y la extracción de azúcar se difundieron evidentemente entre las tribus salvajes ya en tiempos de la Colonia.
tʊrabichi	trapiche (prensa)	
watea	batea (artesa de madera)	
kacho	cacho (cuerno de vaca)	Adquisición muy reciente. El cacho es todavía una gran

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Kamarakoto	Español	Observaciones
kachimba	cachimba	novedad y rareza.
kalabo:so	calabozo	Los Indios aplican este término a una casa cerrada herméticamente, no usada como cárcel.
tapɔ̃ra	tabla (tablero)	Los Indios aplican esta palabra a los tableros o esteras usados para cerrar una puerta.
pero	perro	Hay una palabra Caribe para "perro", pero los Kamarakotos no la emplean.
sambura	tambor	La etimología generalmente aceptada de esta palabra no es completamente segura.
kochino	cochino	Esta es una palabra que difícilmente puede emplearse ahora, pues allí no hay cochinos actualmente, pero el animal se conoce.
kura:tana	plátano	Vieja adquisición, tan Caribizada, que su origen Español no se ha observado, al parecer, hasta ahora.
oro' woro'	oro	Aunque en esta región se encuentra oro, los Kamarakotos parecen no haberse dado cuenta de ello hasta que vieron traficar con ese metal a los Blancos.
patiya	patilla	Se supone que este vocablo es Caribe, pero yo creo que los Kamarakotos lo recibieron del Español - Venezolano (al que, ciertamente, pudo llegar de alguna otra lengua Caribe).

Todas estas palabras se aplican a objetos que los Indios recibieron directa o indirectamente de gente de habla Española, no siendo indígena ninguno de estos objetos, excepto *tapɔ̃ra* y *oro;* y aun estas palabras se aplican a objetos para los que no parece haber viejas palabras Caribes. El tambor se supone generalmente importado, pero puede no serlo. Los perros son indígenas, y hay una palabra Caribe para ellos, pero los Kamarakotos pueden haberlos recibido de gente de habla Española.

Por otro lado, hay objetos importados para los que los Kamarakotos tienen palabras Caribes, entre ellos:

kasu:ru	cuentas de vidrio
peoi (90)	clavo
unamari	espejo
waka	hacha
mari:a	cuchillo
kutsupara	machete
kulü-kulü	lima
köroitoko	gallina

Las dos últimas palabras son probablemente onomatopéyicas y las demás pueden ser denominaciones de objetos indígenas reemplazados hoy por sucedáneos importados. Las nuemerosas variedades de bananos, presuntamente importados, tienen también nombres que son de origen indígena, en cuanto ha podido averiguarse hasta ahora.

Pocas palabras pueden indentificarse como adoptadas seguramente de otras lenguas Indias y el Kamarakoto no evidencia mezcla mayor con dialectos no-Caribes. Esta tribu usa algunas palabras acaso de origen Tupi o Aruaco, pero tan difundidas entre los Caribes que pueden considerarse Caribes para todos los fines prácticamente. *Karöi*, denominación del colorante *Genipa*, difiere radicalmente de la palabra en dialectos Caribes afines (usualmente variantes de *ruku*) y puede relacionarse con alguna variante del vocablo Aruaco *karutu*. De ser así, constituiría casi el único ejemplo de adopción directa de una lengua India completamente extraña y no a través de otros dialectos Caribes.

(90) Pero esta palabra puede tener relaciones con "puya" o "pág".

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Clasificación del Kamarakoto y lenguas afines.

Omitiendo numerosos subdialectos, dialectos conocidos escasamente, algunos que se extinguieron antes de estar bien clasificados y otros de categoría dudosa o deleznable, las principales lenguas Caribes pueden clasificarse como sigue:

I.—División principal o Nordeste.

A. Grupo de la Costa:

Kaliña, Kalinga, Galibi, Karibi, Caribi (El llamado Caribe Insular es una mezcla de Kaliña y Aruaco).

Kumanagoto, Cumanagoto.
Palenke, Palenque.
Chaima, Chayma, Core, Paria.
Tamanako, Tamanaco.
Oyana, Ayana, Uayana, Rukuyen, Roucouyenne.

B. Grupo del Amazonas:

Trío.

Umaua: a. Hianakoto.
b. Guake, Huake.
c. Karixona.

Pianakoto.
Apalai, Aparai.
Wayewe, Wayawai, Woyaway, Waiwai.

C. Grupo Bonari:

Bonari.
Yauapery, Uaimeri.

D. Grupo central o del Roraima:

Akawai, Acawai, Accawai.
Ingarikó (Acaso solamente dialecto Akawai).
Makuchi.

Arekuna: a. Taurepán, Taulipang.
b. Kamarakoto.
c. etc. Varios otros dialectos.

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Purukotó, Ipurucoto.
Sapará.
Wayumará.
Krishana, Kirisaman, Crichana.

E. Grupo del Ventuari:

Makiritare, Maquiritare:
a. Yekuana, Mayonggong, Maiongkong.
b. Ihuruana.
c. Dekuana.
d. Kunuana, Kununena.

Yabarana, Yauarana.

II.—División Noroeste.

A. Grupo Motilón:

(Numerosos lenguajes o dialectos no bien clasificados y cuya enumeración no es pertinente aquí).

B. Grupo Peba:

Peba.
Yagua.
Yameo.

III.—División Sur.—Lenguajes Caribes desparramados y aislados, incluso los siguientes:

Palmella.
Yuma, Pariri.
Arara, Apiaca.
Bakairi.
Nahuqua, Nabuqua, Akuku.
Pimenteira.

La mayor parte de los nombres insertos en la lista precedente, aun dentro de un mismo grupo, pueden considerarse lenguas separadas y no meramente dialectos. Es absurdo hablar, como lo hacen algunos viajeros e investigadores, de "una" lengua Caribe. El habla Caribe constituye una gran familia o tronco lin-

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güístico con características comunes bastantes para creer que todos sus miembros tienen un origen común, pero incluye cuando menos treinta y probablemente alrededor de cincuenta lenguajes completamente distintos, la mayoría de ellos vivos aún, aunque muchos hayan podido extinguirse. Pese a su clasificación en un solo tronco, estos lenguajes difieren entre sí más que, por ejemplo, las lenguas Romances en Europa. Un Motilón no comprendería seguramente una sola palabra hablada por un Kamarakoto, por más que ambos hablen lenguas Caribes, y los Kamarakotos y los Maquiritares no pueden conversar entre ellos, aunque sus lenguas tengan una afinidad relativamente íntima. A más de estas divisiones que pueden llamarse lenguas hay innumerables dialectos menores o locales, no cabiendo duda de que han existido varios cientos en el curso de los tiempos históricos, aunque la mayor parte de ellos nunca hayan sido y jamás serán definidos y caracterizados con exactitud. Existen todas las gradaciones, desde diferencias de discurso puramente individuales hasta diferencias tan grandes que solamente un estudio profundizado revela una afinidad cualquiera.

Dentro de este gran complejo, el dialecto Kamarakoto puede ubicarse con cierta precisión. Sus afinidades lingüísticas están muy bien definidas por su posición geográfica, aunque no de manera completa. El Kamarakoto se acerca geográficamente al Maquiritare tanto como al Makuchi, pero sus afinidades son mucho más íntimas con éste que con aquél. Esto puede sintetizarse adecuadamente diciendo que las afinidades del Kamarakoto se encuentran principalmente con dialectos hablados al Este y al Sureste, y que, en términos generales, las afinidades se distancian más en esa dirección, donde es mayor la separación geográfica (91).

Entre los dialectos bien conocidos, el Kamarakoto es evidentemente el pariente más cercano del Taurepán, como lo demuestran de manera concluyente el vocabulario y el esbozo gramatical precedente. El parentesco es tan íntimo, que los Kamarakotos y los Taurepanes pueden conversar entre ellos con relativa faci-

(91) Pero existen seguramente dialectos desconocidos o siquiera no indicados en una distancia relativamente corta hacia el Oeste y en una distancia mayor hacia el Sur, emparentados muy íntimamente con el Kamarakoto.

lidad (92), aunque no puede hablarse de una identidad ni mucho menos. El acento Kamarakoto es reconocible, por diferente, y hasta palabras de origen común frecuentemente se pronuncían de diferente manera en Taurepán y en Kamarakoto. Hemos expuesto ya ejemplos suficientes. Algunas de las tendencias fonéticas generales son las siguientes:

Los Kamarakotos tienden a pronunciar de manera más clara y más forzada; sus fricativas son a menudo más cerradas y sus suspensiones más plosivas. La b abierta del Kamarakoto es muchas veces *w en* Taurepán; la *ts del* Kamarakoto, *s* en Taurepán, etc.

El Taurepán parece, sin embargo, tener más suspensiones internas no-plosivas, ', que el Kamarakoto. Esto puede deberse también, en parte, a la pronunciación un tanto farfullesca del Taurepán; por ejemplo, en siquiera algunos casos la ' interna obscura del Taurepán es equivalente a una plosiva clara en Kamarakoto.

El Kamarakoto tiende a tener diptongos, especialmente en la sílaba final, donde el Taurepán tiene frecuentemente vocales simples, y acaso también un apócope causada por la enunciación menos clara del Taurepán.

En la medida que puede hacerlo una palabra, la Kamarakota *tien-ake mili* = Taurepán *yenegamə'* muestra las citadas tendencias.

Una transcripción muy ceñida mostraría que la mayor parte de las palabras se pronuncian diferentemente en Kamarakoto y en Taurepán, aun cuando se escriban del mismo modo en transcripción amplia.

Hay además numerosos casos en que la palabra Kamarakota es de la misma raíz que la Taurepana, pero el derivativo es claramente distinto, por ejemplo, Kamarakoto *abakaparu* = Taurepán *wakau*, y muchos más que presenta el vocabulario. También hay casos frecuentes, como Kamarakoto *maikuri* = Taurepán *waira* (o *waila*), en que los sinónimos de ambas lenguas pro-

(92) Esta es evidencia válida de afinidades íntimas, pero hay que advertir que se ve ayudada considerablemente por el hecho de que los Kamarakotos conocen buen número de palabras Taurepanas como extranjeras. Son traficantes inveterados y han adquirido un conocimiento superficial de varios otros dialectos Caribes, palabras que conocen, pero que no usan entre ellos.

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ceden de raíces diferentes por completo. Finalmente, las mismas raíces pueden usarse, pero de maneras distintas, en palabras como *kabai* = *kawai*, que significa tabaco en general en Taurepán, mientras que en Kamarakoto designa solamente una infusión de hojas de tabaco.

El Kamarakoto y el Taurepán son, por tanto, dos dialectos afines distintos. La expresión ulterior de este hecho, aunque sea asunto de nombre, tiene cierta importancia. Decir que cualquiera de ellos es dialecto del otro sería confuso e inexacto. Son coordinados y ninguno de ellos presenta netamente una forma modificada del otro, ni puede haberse derivado del otro tal como ambos existen hoy. Después de larga consideración, creo que la conveniencia y la exactitud serían atendidas de la mejor manera posible llamando tanto al Taurepán como al Kamarakoto dialectos de una lengua que puede denominarse Arekuna.

En obras anteriores a ésta, por así decirlo, todos los Caribes del Sureste de Venezuela que no fueran Maquiritares eran llamados Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg los dividió en Arekunas y Taurepanes (o "Taulipanges"). Debióse esto, simplemente, a que los Taurepanes eran los únicos Arekunas que él pudo conocer directamente, no dándose al parecer cuenta de que no diferían de los Arekunas más de lo que difieren estos últimos entre ellos (93). Compiló un vocabulario "Arekuna" sin darse tampoco cuenta de que éste es solamente uno (o acaso hasta una mezcla) de siquiera tres dialectos, probablemente más, englobados bajo la denominación de Arekuna, pero tan diferentes entre ellos como el Taurepán de cualquiera de los otros dos. Desde un punto de vista taxonómico, recientes investigaciones positivas hacen indefendible la clasificación de Koch-Grünberg. Además, como él mismo lo advierte, sus Taurepanes son Arekunas hasta en terminología indígena. Los Kamarakotos, por ejemplo, los llaman Arekunas (excepto cuando lo hacen por influencia externa, porque les ha sido enseñado el nombre de Taurepanes por exploradoras y misioneros de la Gran Sabana), y los Taurepanes le dijeron a Koch-Grünberg

(93) Estaba bajo la impresión errónea de que los otros Arekunas eran tribus selváticas, lo cual hubiese sugerido una distinción real, pero son de hecho Indios sabaneros, justo en la medida y del mismo modo que lo son los Taurepanes.

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que eran Arekunas, dándoles el nombre más personal o local específico sólo después de haber intimado con ellos.

En realidad, el nombre de Arekunas es el aplicado por todos estos Indios a sus vecinos y frecuentemente a ellos mismos. Los Kamarakotos, por ejemplo, usan este nombre para ellos mismos, pero llaman a la gente vecina del Caroní, Arekunas, aunque esta gente sea de descendencia Kamarakota o tenga con ellos parentesco íntimo, llamándose ellos mismos Kamarakotos. Los Kamarakotos llaman también Arekunas a todos los Indios de la Gran Sabana y a todos los más distantes del Alto Caroní.

No veo razón para que no se retorne a la usanza de los antiguos viajeros, sancionada por los propios Indios, llamando Arekunas a toda esta masa incoherente de Indios y a la lengua que hablan en común. Acá y acullá aparece un núcleo o grupo más conocido o mejor definido, y éstos pueden llevar el nombre de la localidad o la comarca respectiva. Hasta ahora, solamente los Taurepanes y los Kamarakotos, a quienes yo denominaría dos tribus Arekunas que hablan dos dialectos Arekunas, han sido distinguidos convenientemente. Los Indios del Norte de la Gran Sabana pueden distinguirse como otro grupo de éstos (94) . Probablemente el vocabulario Arekuna de Koch-Grünberg representa todavía otro grupo local o dialecto (95). Entre las lenguas Caribes adecuadamente conocidas, la Makuchi es ciertamente la que se acerca más a la Arekuna. Es, como era de esperar por la vecindad geográfica, más similar al Taurepán que al Kamarakoto. El Makuchi y el Taurepán son, ciertamente, tan parecidos

(94) Pero no se ha propuesto un buen nombre local. Los Kamarakotos los llaman *Arekunas de Lucpa*, por el que es actualmente (aunque hasta hace poco no lo era) el lugar más importante de esa región. Los misioneros de Luepa y Santa Elena tienden a limitar el nombre de Arekunas a esos Indios del Norte de la Gran Sabana, lo que parece inconveniente en extremo y contrario al precedente y al uso tanto Indígena como Europeo.

(95) No es un vocabulario Kamarakoto, pero se parece al Kamarakoto más que al Taurepán en algunos respectos y difiere más que el Taurepán en otros. He examinado cuidadosamente ese vocabulario de arriba a abajo, pero no doy aquí comparaciones con él. Su estructuración es absolutamente deficiente para estudios dialectales, y la lengua Arekuna, como conjunto, se conoce mejor en el dialecto Taurepán. No he podido encontrar en parte alguna de los cinco volúmenes de Koch-Grünberg donde declare, dentro de una extensión de cientos de kilómetros, la región en que se habla actualmente "Arekuna", ni seguridad alguna de que no sea una mescolanza de varios dialectos Arekunas diferentes.

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que casi pudieran considerarse dialectos de una lengua, aunque es más conveniente, y puede justificarse con un balance de consideraciones varias, clasificarlos como lenguajes diferentes (96).

El próximo, en orden de parecido, es el dialecto llamado Ingarikó por Koch-Grünberg, y el cual, como el mismo autor advierte, no es propiamente un nombre lingüístico o tribual. Significa simplemente "moradores de la selva", y los Indios selváticos del Norte del Roraima a quienes aplica este nombre pueden ser una rama de los Akawais y la lengua un dialecto del Akawai. De todos modos, se acerca más al Arekuna y no es Akawai verdadero o típico. Este último puede situarse como próximo, en orden a parecido, junto al Purukotó. El Sapará y el Wayumará, dialectos y tribus del Brasil, en el confín Sureste del área Arekuna y cerca de los Purukotós, se están esfumando rápidamente y acaso estén ya extintos. Estos lenguajes son definidamente menos parecidos al Arekuna que el Purukotó, pero todavía son reconocibles como afines.

El lenguaje Krishana, poco conocido, y el igualmente poco conocido y ya extinto Paravilhana, hablados ambos más al Sur del Brasil, acaso puedan considerarse como los más distantes y menos íntimamente afines (respecto al Kamarakoto) de este grupo general de lenguajes diseminados en una gran extensión que tiene al Roraima más o menos por centro.

El Maquiritare, con sus cuatro o más dialectos, difiere más del Arekuna que los lenguajes que acabamos de mencionar y puede colocarse convenientemente en grupo separado. Los Kamarakotos que han traficado con los Pabanatones, como ellos llaman a los Maquiritares, me informaron que la lengua de éstos es casi incomprensible para un Kamarakoto.

Otras lenguas Caribes son más distantes todavía en afinidades, aunque todas las pertenecientes a la llamada "División principal" en la clasificación preinserta tengan similitudes definidas y hasta vocablos ocasionales idénticos.

(96) La similitud es quizás un tanto exagerada por el hecho de que nuestro conocimiento detallado del Taurepán procede de Koch-Grünberg, cuyo Taurepán es del extremo Sur, o sea, el que hablan los miembros marginales de la tribu, en íntimo contacto y hasta mezclados con Makuchis.

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Los Kamarakotos están rodeados de otras tribus Caribes por todas partes y sus valles remotos se encuentran casi en el centro geográfico de esta desparramada familia de Indios. Su dialecto es seguramente uno de los más puros entre los conocidos. Los estudios Caribes no han progresado lo bastante para reconstruir un proto-Caribe ni para identificar las formas radicales de las palabras en el sentido más estricto, pero hay alguna razón para creer que el Kamarakoto es también una forma de Caribe relativamente primitiva y no degenerada. Su articulación tajante y forzada, en contraste hasta con el Taurepán y más aún con muchos dialectos más distantes todavía, sugiere la retención de formas fuertes de palabras que en otros dialectos frecuentemente se han diluído y simplificado. Naturalmente, entre dialectos contemporáneos nunca es posible construir una escala desde el más primitivo hasta el más evolucionado o degenerado, pero, en analogía muy general, puede compararse el Kamarakoto, entre los dialectos Caribes, con el Castellano entre los dialectos Romances, como menos degenerado fonéticamente que algunos de sus afines (por ejemplo, el Portugués entre las lenguas Romances) y menos mezclado que otros (por ejemplo, el Rumano entre las lenguas Romances).

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(*) Terminada la presente obra, me llegan noticias de que el trabajo valioso de los PP. Misioneros Capuchinos del Alto Caroní se está publicando en Caracas. Será otra referencia lingüística importante, pero no he podido utilizarla.

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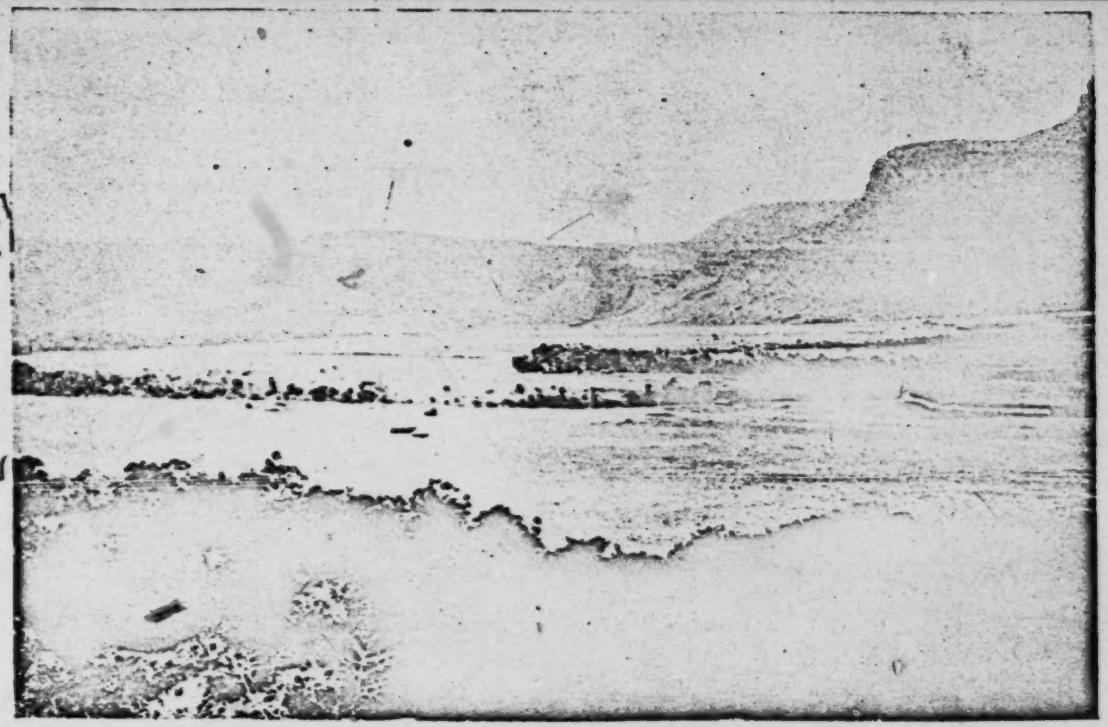

Ilust. Nº 1.—Poblado Kamarakoto típico.
Uruyén visto desde el Este. En primer término el lindero de la selva que se desbroza para cultivos. Detrás de las casas, de izquierda a derecha corre el río Aichá. Los árboles del fondo de la derecha marcan el curso del Yuruán, cuya confluencia con el Aichá se ve por el reflejo de las aguas al juntarse. En el confín, a la izquierda, se divisa el extremo alto del valle de Kamarata, con sus varias sabanas pequeñas. En el fondo de la derecha, encima de las sabanas, aparecen las dos mesetas inferiores del Auyán-tepúi.

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TERRITORIO Y POBLACION

Región habitada.

Un Indio Kamarakoto requiere tres cosas para su lugar de habitación: (1) Un espacio abierto, una sabana de extensión más o menos grande, para su morada actual; (2) una corriente de agua perenne, de preferencia lo bastante ancha y profunda para poder nadar y pescar, pero siquiera que asegure el abastecimiento de agua durante todo el año; y (3) una selva en cuya margen pueda cultivar y disponer de frutos silvestres y madera, pudiendo también, como consideración secundaria, cazar. Por razones principalmente psicológicas, prefiere vehementemente no vivir en la selva, aunque su modo de vida le imponga establecerse cerca de ella. Es indio sabanero, no selvático. Ilustra esta idiosincrasia el caso de Juan José y su familia, quienes anteriormente moraban en Uruyén. Hace pocos años se mudaron a corta distancia hacia el Sur, a un lugar llamado Oruá, y construyeron una casa nueva en una selva de verano relativamente despejada. Después de breve permanencia allí, tornaron a mudarse, conservando su conuco en Oruá, pero alzando su casa en Aleuiba (*alewi:ba*), donde se abre una pequeña sabana, y su habitación se encuentra en terreno descubierto.

Estos requisitos han motivado la concentración de la población Kamarakota en torno a las laderas Sur, Este y Noreste del Auyántepúi, donde se abren amplios valles, cuyas partes bajas son por lo regular despejadas y herborosas, una sucesión de sa-

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banas atravesadas por ríos de caudal constantemente renovado por numerosos afluentes de agua clara y saludable y bien provistos de peces. Esas sabanas están cercadas de selvas y toda la región resulta ideal para la manera de vivir de los Kamarakotos.

Los propios Indios piensan que su región está dividida en cuatro zonas seguidas, pero geográficamente separables. Es la primera Kamarata, propiamente dicho, valle al Sur del Auyán-tepúi, entre esta montaña y Enuarapaimá-tepúi (97), regado por el río Aichá y sus numerosos afluentes pequeños. Directamente al Este de Kamarata se encuentra Akanamuinta, área ancha y abierta, al Sureste del Auyán-tepúi, incluyendo el curso extremo inferior del Aichá y parte del río Akanán en torno a la desembocadura del Aichá, tributario suyo. La tercera zona es el valle bajo del Akanán, al Este del Auyán-tepúi, entre Akanamuintá y la confluencia del Akanán con el Karao; y la cuarta está formada por sabanas que bordean el Karao cerca de su confluencia, al Noreste del Auyán-tepúi.

Como su nombre lo indica, Kamarata ("el lugar de Kamara") es tradicionalmente el hogar de los Kamarakotos ("el pueblo de Kamara"). Actualmente, Uruyén, que se encuentra aproximadamente en el centro de Kamarata, es el lugar habitado del valle más hacia el Oeste. La parte superior del extremo occidental del valle, aunque se presta para ello, está hoy completamente deshabitada. Los Indios dicen que estuvo muy poblada hasta hace poco, cosa evidentemente cierta puesto que allí se ven conucos abandonados y vestigios de casas (98). Cuentan que muchos

(97) En página anterior ya mencionamos el hecho de que los mapas, hasta la fecha, le han adjudicado a Kamarata una superficie demasiado extensa. El mapa de Cardona (1988) muestra a "Camarata" como si fuera una aldea o un caserío, localizándolo fuera de lo que es realmente Kamarata.

Ahora tenemos el mapa espléndido de la Comisión del Ministerio de Fomento. Este mapa debe consultarse en relación con los datos geográficos-etnográficos de este estudio.

(98) Varios observadores cuidadosos, hablando de lugares habitados por otras tribus Caribes, han llamado la atención sobre la falacia de otros viajeros menos responsables, quienes afirmaron que la existencia de casas abandonadas es, en sí y por sí, indicio de población declinante. Esta enmienda es naturalmente válida, desde luego que las casas se abandonan frecuentemente por razones no relacionadas con mengua racial. En Uruyén, por ejemplo, hay dos edificios abandonados, en pié todavía, y trazas de varios otros, pero no se encuentra evidencia de que la población de ese lugar (añadiendo los nuevos lugares ocupados hoy por gente que anteriormente vivía allí)

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de aquellos Indios murieron víctimas de la fiebre o posesos de los espíritus, y que el resto se trasladó a otra parte. Actualmente, sólo hay cuatro lugares habitados que se consideran dentro de Kamarata (uno de los cuales, Aleuiba, *aleui:ba*, se encuentra fuera del valle propiamente dicho), y el núcleo principal de población se encuentra en la parte baja del valle del Akanán, donde vive aproximadamente la mitad de este "grupo central" de Kamarakotos.

El área habitada y la tribu misma están bien definidas hacia el Norte y hacia el Este. No viven Kamarakotos al Norte del valle del Karao, donde comienza un trecho enorme de selva no cortada efectivamente por sabanas, y que resulta, por consiguiente, inhabitable para estos Indios. Hacia el Este nadie vive a más de medio día de camino al Este de Akanán, donde otro trecho menor de selva separa esta región de la parte Norte de la Gran Sabana.

Hacia el Oeste y el Suroeste, sin embargo, las fronteras de la tribu son en extremo vagas. Kamarata está bien delimitada aquí por montañas y bosques, pero a no gran distancia, en los valles del Caroní y sus afluentes, hay sabanas habitadas por Indios indistinguibles de los Kamarakotos. Los propios Indios no saben cuántos suman los radicados en aquellas sabanas y se muestran completamente indecisos sobre si deben llamarse o no Kamarakotos. Diferentemente del grupo que puede denominarse central, establecido en los valles del Aichá, Akanán y Karao, aquellos Indios no están en contacto constante unos con otros ni con el grupo nuclear; y la autoridad sobre ellos proclamada por el cacique es puramente nominal, no sabiendo él mismo cuántos son ni dónde viven. Efectivamente, en general, viven más aislados y están menos afectados por las llamadas influencias civilizadorass que tienen su centro en el grupo nuclear.

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haya mermado recientemente. No obstante, en el caso de la parte alta del valle de Kamarata, hay toda una zona de considerable extensión que antiguamente estuvo bastante habitada y hoy se encuentra totalmente desierta. Los habitantes de esa zona pudieron trasladarse a otra simplemente, y algunos lo hicieron así sin duda, pero dada la bondad del sitio, no es verosímil que todos lo hicieran sin razón especial para ello, y tenemos el testimonio de los Indios de que la mayoría de ellos perecieron y los restantes abandonaron el lugar por esta causa.

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Visitan con frecuencia a Kamarata para comerciar, conversar, bailar y beber, y son tratados, no completamente como miembros de la familia, aunque tampoco como extranjeros. Su habla no se diferencia perceptiblemente de la del grupo central. Algunos se dicen ellos mismos Kamarakotos, pero generalmente son llamados Arekunas por los Kamarakotos centrales. Excepto por la influencia, más atenuada en ellos, de las recientes expediciones, su cultura es idéntica a la del grupo central. He podido comprobar estas declaraciones viendo bastantes Indios de ésos, pero el estudio presente sobre los Kamarakotos se basa enteramente en el grupo central (99).

Censo.

La siguiente tabla de los lugares habitados por el grupo central de los Kamarakotos procede principalmente de datos suministrados por el cacique Alejo Calcaño y el subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repetidamente revisados con ellos y con otros, incluso con los habitantes de siquiera las dos terceras partes de esos lugares, por lo que probablemente es, en esencia, completa y exacta (para el comienzo del año 1939).

Nombre del lugar	*Cabeza de familia (to'-esa')*	*Núm. de hombres*
Kamarata:		
Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
Santa Marta o Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4

(99) Estas declaraciones muestran lo errada, aunque no absolutamente inexacta que fué la conclusión de Koch-Grünberg, basada en pruebas de oídas de que los Kamarakotos son Arekunas del Caroní. La declaración de Kieckers (véase Referencias Lingüísticas), hecha con anterioridad, y no sé en qué basada, de que el dialecto Kamarakoto domina especialmente en el Paragua, es inexacta completamente. De pasada puede advertirse que la ortografía de "Paragua" aceptada generalmente para el nombre de ese río es un ejemplo de mala asimilación o de fonética coloquial deficiente. No tiene nada que ver con la palabra española "paraguas", sino que viene de la Caribe *pereba, pereua* o *pereua*.

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Nombre del lugar	*Cabeza de familia (to'-esa')*	*Núm. de hombres*
Kurún-kén, o Uapináu-tepúi..	Marcelino Torres...	2
Aleuiba..	Juan José..	1
	Total en Kamarata..	11
Akanamuinta:		
Asakapán, o Abasakapán. ..	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-eupiripán, o Uepiripá..	Pedro José...	2
	Total en Akanamuinta..	12
Valle de Akanán:		
Ibanamarú..	Mateo Agostini.. ..	6
	Lorenzo (99 bis)...	3
Guaiparú..	Tomás Ribas..	4
Maibá-motá, o Maibá-pan	José Rangel (99 bis)	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipún..	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimbak.	Pablo Abati..	1
Urá-kupái..	Palacios...	2
Benné...	Lorenzo (99 bis)...	3
Amidán..	José Rangel (99 bis)	4
Abaraparú..	(no registrados). ..	2
Total en el Valle de Akanán (abajo de Akanamuinta)..		37

(99 bis) Los Lorenzos y los José Rangel son personas distintas del mismo nombre.

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Nombre del lugar	*Cabeza de familia* (to'-esa')	*Núm. de hombres*
Valle del Karao:		
Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-mopatói	JoséDolores	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
Total en el Valle del Karao.		11
Otros lugares:		
Orilla del río Kuaná, afluente del Akanán.		
Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco. .	2
Orilla del Kapín, afluente del Karao.		
Kapín.	Daniel.	3
En el camino de Luepa Araubái. . .	Faustino Rivas. . . .	2
	Total en otros lugares.	7
Total de hombres en el grupo central.		78

La cuenta de "hombres" incluye de hecho a todos los varones adolescentes, pero excluye los niños de menor edad. Esto constituye aproximadamente la tercera parte de la población; las mujeres y muchachas crecidas, el otro tercio, y los niños pequeños el restante. La población total de la región es, por tanto, aire-

dedor de 250. Puede decirse con seguridad que es mayor de 200 y menor de 300 (100).

Es completamente imposible calcular el número de Indios en el Caroní y sus afluentes, Indios que pudieran llamarse Kamarakotos en sentido amplio, o que pudieran ser clasificados eventualmente como tales, desde luego que no acusan diferencias notables y no pueden adjuntarse a ninguna otra tribu Arekuna. El número de ellos difícilmente puede bajar de ciento, siendo posible que ascienda a varios cientos. También hay que tener en cuenta algunos Kamarakotos que emigraron de la región, pero su número debe de ser insignificante Puede calcularse, aunque sea realmente algo aventurado, que toda la tribu tiene más de 300 pero menos de 500 individuos. Como comparación diremos que el censo de la Gran Sabana, según las cifras comprobadas por el Padre Baltasar de Matallana (1937), arroja 820 Taurepanes y 264 Arekunas en el Norte de la Gran Sabana (101).

Estadística demográfica.

Me fué dado obtener razonablemente informes fidedignos referentes a las familias de 19 mujeres. Habían tenido 79 hijos, a razón de unos 4 por mujer, y de ellos vivían 46, habiendo muerto 33. La mayoría de estas mujeres seguían pariendo, de manera que el número medio de hijos por mujer es todavía más elevado. Solamente 3 mujeres de las que pude conseguir datos seguros habían pasado ya la edad de tener hijos, dato significativo en sí, pues demuestra el número escaso de mujeres que sobreviven a este período. Dichas 3 mujeres habían tenido 21 hijos, 7 por término medio, lo cual es probablemente algo superior a la proporción corriente en la tribu, por cuanto esas mujeres habían vivido

(100) Este modo de calcular la población por el número contado por los Indios como hombres se basa en el conocimiento del número exacto de hombres, mujeres y niños en muchas familias y tiene que ser razonablemente justo. En Urayén, por ejemplo, lugar habitado típico, hay 18 residentes, de los cuales 4 se cuentan como hombres.

(101) Estos Arekunas singulares no tienen nombre tribual. Los Taurepanes, lo mismo que los Kamarakotos, son Arekunas también, pero de un grupo tribual más o menos definible dentro de la familia Arekuna.

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más de lo normal. El término medio de niños por mujer que llega a la madurez puede calcularse en alrededor de 5 o quizás un poco más.

Más del 40 por ciento de los niños nacidos de mujeres todavía vivas habían muerto ya. Por así decirlo, todos ellos fallecieron antes de llegar a la plenitud. Como quiera que muchos de los niños supervivientes eran párvulos aún, es seguro que gran número de ellos morirán antes de la madurez. De 21 niños nacidos de 3 mujeres de edad superior a la corriente para ello murieron 14, o sea el 67 por ciento. Basándose en estas cifras es razonable calcular que el 50 por ciento de los niños que nacen en la tribu mueren antes de la plenitud.

De los 46 niños vivos compredidos en esta tabla, 25 son varones y 21 hembras. Informes definidos en cuanto al sexo sólo se obtuvieron de 20 de los 33 niños muertos, y éstos incluían 9 varones y 11 hembras. Estas cifras no demuestran un punto de partida probable para una proporción sexual de I : I ni para una correlación de mortalidad infantil con sexo.

En total. 23 mujeres fueron interrogadas personalmente y otras 25 más fueron vistas o anotadas por informes suministrados por sus maridos o parientes cercanos. Incluían todas las edades, desde la infancia hasta la vejez, y es significativo que solamente dos de ellas, aptas ya para la maternidad, no hubiesen tenido hijos todavía. Una de éstas, aunque sexualmente madura, era muy joven, no considerándose todavía casadera. La otra encontrábase ya en su primer preñez. Puede concluirse de esto que el cien por ciento de las hembras llegadas a la pubertad son fértiles y tienen hijos. Hay, por el otro lado, un grupo considerable de hombres jóvenes sexualmente maduros y de la edad de las hembras paridas ya, que no están casados todavía y que afirman no tener hijos, resultado inevitable en una sociedad polígama y cuyo significado discutiremos más adelante.

Ningún Kamarakoto sabe su propia edad ni la de sus hijos, resultando imposible calcular ésta en proporción más aproximada que de 10 a 20 por ciento. Sea como fuera, es en extremo reducido el número de miembros de la tribu que pueden llamarse ancianos. Seguramente no más del 15 por ciento de las mujeres

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pasaron de la menopausia, y probablemente no más de 10 por ciento, pudiéndose calcular en globo que no más de 20 personas de la tribu tienen edad superior a 45 años. No encontramos ni oímos hablar de nadie cuya edad pudiera calcularse razonablemente en más de unos 60. La tribu tiene realmente una mortalidad infantil muy elevada y es corto el margen de vida de quienes sobreviven este período. Como impresión general, no comprobable por ninguna de las cifras disponibles hasta ahora, la mortalidad en edades intermedias, vale decir entre los 15 y los 35 años, es con toda probabilidad relativamente baja.

Con un término medio de natalidad de 5 o algo más por mujer madura y una mortalidad prematura de aproximadamente 50 por ciento, la tribu debe de conservar el número de sus miembros o aumentar lentamente. No hay datos independientes para comprobar la veracidad de este aserto, pero existe algo de razón para creer que ello es cierto en general, tratándose de períodos largos, aunque la tribu disminuyera en el curso de la generación anterior, años más, años menos. Hemos mencionado el abandono de la parte superior de Kamarata, perfectamente habitable, y toda la región está escasamente poblada, aun en la proporción que acostumbran los Indios. Sin cambio alguno en el modo de vivir, puede contener seguramente varias veces más de Indios, probablemente, y cuando menos, el décuplo de los que viven hoy en ella. Varios informantes de edad avanzada convinieron en que cuando ellos eran jóvenes la población era mucho más densa. Explicaron ésto por la ocurrencia de epidemias, y no hay razón para dudar de que tal sea la verdadera causa. Las cifras actuales de natalidad y mortalidad se refieren a un período excepcionalmente favorable. Se han registrado epidemias periódicas y malas cosechas que mermaron abruptamente la población, la cual se reconstruyó lentamente durante períodos como el presente (102). Los indios desmintieron categóricamente que haya emigración significante, y, efectivamente, no hay pruebas de ella. Entre los muchos detalles que obtuve respecto a lo numeroso de las familias y al paradero de sus miembros, son raros los casos de individuos que abandonasen el grupo central y fuesen a vivir al Ca-

(102) Según la leyenda de una guerra India que ocurrió hace cosa de 75 a 100 años, la tribu fué entonces diezmada, pero en la generación siguiente o en dos generaciones creció hasta el punto de ser más numerosa que hoy.

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roní u otra parte de la región, citándose un solo caso de individuo que desertó de la tribu. Por otra lado, hay Arekunas que llegaron de otras partes (principalmente de la Gran Sabana) y se juntaron a la tribu. Hízolo, en tiempos recientes, hasta un Akawai, ya difunto. Esta inmigración ha de equilibrar, siquiera, la escasa emigración. Algunos venezolanos (sin contar los de las expediciones) han visitado varias veces a la tribu, y siquiera dos de ellos vivieron allí durante períodos considerables. Uno de ellos lleva con la tribu cosa de tres años, habiéndose casado con una Kamarakota. A éste lo vimos durante nuestra estada en la región. Vista la gran fertilidad de las mujeres en sus matrimonios con indígenas, resulta interesante que ni éste ni otro Venezolano, muerto ya, que se desposó también con una Kamarakota, hayan tenido hijos. No veo razón para declararme en favor de ninguna de las varias explicaciones posibles, pero es importante la constancia del hecho de que los Kamarakotos, por lo que hasta ahora se sabe, todavía no han tenido mezcla de sangre no Caribe, aunque tengan alguna de otras tribus del mismo tronco.

Nombres y apellidos

Como se vé en la preinserta lista de hombres principales (*to'-esa'*, "el amo de la casa") la mayoría de los Kamarakotos del grupo central tienen nombres Españoles. Por así decirlo, todos los hombres adultos tienen nombres de éstos. Los niños pequeños no lo tienen por lo general, así como pocos hombres jóvenes o adolescentes. De 25 hembras anotadas en detalle, solamente 6 carecían de nombre Español, y de ellas 4 eran muchachitas. Por otro lado, en cuanto me fué posible averiguar, ninguno de los Indios emparentados del exterior del grupo central tiene apellido ni nombre Español. Los Indios sin nombre Español afirmaron de primeras y sin excepción no tener nombre en absoluto. Después, cuando se establecieron relaciones más íntimas, confesaron tener todos nombres Indios, por más que la totalidad se negase después rotundamente a revelarlos (103). Los Indios rara vez

(103) Un muchachito, de nombre Español, reveló su nombre Indio a uno de los miembros de nuestra expedición con quien había intimado particularmente, pero inmediatamente le pesó, desmintiendo que se llamase así. Yo personalmente no oí el nombre y no lo apunté.

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se dirigen uno a otro por el nombre, si es Español, y, por lo que pude averiguar, jamás por el verdadero nombre Indio, no siendo en la intimidad más rigurosa de la familia.

La aversión de la mayoría de los Indios, y especialmente de los Caribes y Aruacos, a usar y aun revelar sus apelativos personales hasta entre Indios y, naturalmente, mucho más tratándose de extranjeros, es asaz conocido. Véase, por ejemplo Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, páginas 140 y siguientes) quien comprobó la veracidad de ésto entre los Taurepanes. Esta aprensión parece derivarse de la creencia de que el nombre es parte esencial de la personalidad, el *ego* que sufre al ser revelado, y de que el conocimiento de él confiere un poder que puede usarse contra el propietario. Los Kamarakotos tienen ciertamente esta aprensión en grado extremo. Es probable que en este caso fuese reforzada por el deseo del cacique de que su tribu parezca todo lo "civilizada" posible, y yo sospecho que ha prohibido la revelación de todo nombre Indio. De todos modos, la razón que se da para la negativa es la de que la revelación del nombre Indio "perjudicaría" a la persona nombrada.

Los Caribes tienen de ordinario apodos, aparte los nombres propiamente dichos, pero hasta los apodos los usan por lo general rara vez y con cautela, aunque los conocen siquiera todos los miembros de la tribu. En conversaciones, oí a los Kamarakotos dirigirse palabras que al parecer eran de tratamiento, en algunos casos nombres de animales, que yo supongo fuesen motes Indios, pero no confirmé este punto por temor a que con la tentativa destruyese la franqueza con que hablaban delante de mí. En realidad, lo que parece haber sucedido en el grupo central es que los nombres y apellidos Españoles se usan ahora esencialmente como apodos o en substitución de los motes Indios. Dos o tres Kamarakotos que habían vivido en localidades Venezolanas afirmaron estar bautizados. El cacique les había dado nombre a algunos de sus hombres y otros los habían recibido como regalo de viajeros o se les habían puesto ellos mismos (104). Algunos solamente tienen nombre y no apellido Español, pero otros usan ambos. La costum-

(104) Por juego, pusimos a varios Indios que no tenían apelativo Español los nombres de miembros de nuestra expedición, y ellos los aceptaron y los usaban entre ellos.

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bre Europea de apellidos hereditarios es totalmente extraña entre Indios de toda tribu, y los apellidos que llevan los Kamarakotos no se usan como denominación de familia. El hijo no toma el nombre del padre ni la esposa el del marido. Un caso ví en que hermano y hermana llevaban el mismo apellido, pero al casarse ella, lo conservó y no tomó el de su esposo, ni les dió a sus hijos uno ni otro. Los hermanos no tienen necesariamente el mismo apellido, ni tampoco el padre y el hijo.

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CULTURA MATERIAL

VIVIENDAS:

Tipos de edificaciones.

Los Kamarakotos viven en casas sólidamente construídas y cuyo carácter es semipermanente. Pueden estar ocupadas hasta que muera el hombre que las construyó, lo que significa a veces un lapso de quince o veinte años, aunque por término medio el período de ocupación sea más breve. De acuerdo con el propósito de la construcción, pueden distinguirse tres tipos: (1) la vivienda cerrada, (2) el albergue sin paredes o tinglado para taller, y (3) el "calabozo" hermético. Un determinado grupo familiar puede tener solamente el primero de estos edificios, o el primero y el segundo, o los tres. La mayor parte de las familias poseen el primero y el segundo, pero los tres, pocas.

El tipo más sencillo de vivienda ordinaria es circular, con techo cónico y una entrada (o, raras veces, dos). Esta vivienda, llamada "*waipa*", es el modelo más universal de casa Caribe y se cree sea el más primitivo. Algunos investigadores han llegado a suponer que es el único tipo Caribe verdadero y que las casas oblongas o rectangulares evidencian influencia Europea, afirmación dudosa hasta el extremo de parecerme a mí demostrablemente falsa. La casa oblonga es en efecto completamente distinta de todo edificio hecho por gentes no-Indias con quienes esos Indios

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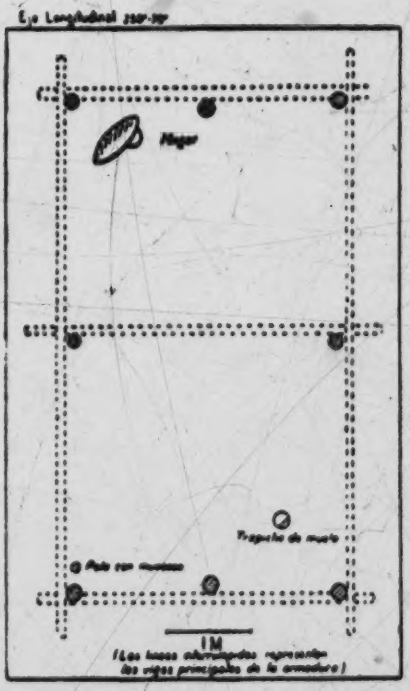

Ilust. Nº 2.—Tingiado-taller Kamarakoto.

Edificio G de Uruyén. (véase el mapa, Fig. 11), una *wata-imedapun*. Plano de la base, mostrando los ocho postes y (en líneas de puntos) las vigas de la armadura. La instalación interior incluye un horno, cavado en el suelo, un trapiche de caña y un poste rematado en horqueta para colgar el sebucán (prensa de yuca).

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han tenido contacto, siendo realmente un desarrollo natural de la casa circular. Tomando en consideración a las tribus Caribes vecinas, puede verse toda graduación entre los dos tipos. No puedo menos que convenir con Roth en que la casa oblonga o elíptica es una complicación puramente indígena de la casa circular.

La casa oblonga es la más común entre los Kamarakotos y puede ser llamada su vivienda típica. Se distingue de las casas oblongas cuyos planos expusieron Koch-Grünberg, para los Taurepanes, y Farabee, para los Makuchis, en que no es propiamente elíptica, sino recta, con las paredes paralelas, excepto en los extremos, que son semicirculares. Tiene una puerta en cada extremo, como las casas de Farabee, y ninguna en los lados, como muestran las Taurepanas de Koch-Grünberg.

Ambos tipos de estructuras sirven para el mismo fin. Son los hogares, propiamente dichos, donde se almacenan los utensilios y víveres de la familia, donde se prepara y come la mayor parte de los alimentos y donde la familia duerme.

Cerca de la vivienda se alza usualmente una simple estructura cuadrangular, sin paredes y con techo de parhilera. Es una especie de taller. Contiene casi invariablemente el trapiche de caña y sirve también a menudo para la preparación del casabe y para cocinar, aunque estas dos operaciones puedan hacerse también en la vivienda. Frecuentemente cuelgan en este tinglado o *enramada* hamacas o *chinchorros* para la siesta o para los visitantes (105) por más que la familia duerme siempre en el hogar cerrado. Suele creerse que las construcciones de este género son esencialmente no-Caribes simplemente porque son cuadradas, pero esta conclusión me parece inconsistente, por no decir falsa en absoluto. Una *vivienda* cuadrada no es típicamente Caribe, pero un *tinglado* cuadrado sí lo es. El tipo más sencillo de refugio, levantado de prisa contra el sol o la lluvia, por ejemplo, por cazadores, es invariablemente cuadrado, y la casa-taller cuadrada es simplemente una forma más permanente del mismo refugio. En todo caso, tales casas-talleres son en la actualidad típicamente Kamarakotas y las construyen otras tribus que tienen todavía me-

(105) En un baile al que asistimos, los bebedores llegados a un estado de inconsciencia eran transportados a la enramada mientras en ella quedaban chinchorros libres.

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nos influencia Europea. Llaman a estas construcciones *wata* o, si hace falta especificar la ausencia de paredes, *wata-imedapun*.

Los Kamarakotos construyen también casas rectangulares con paredes, *wata-timeakɛn*, y éstas son realmente, según creo, una reciente innovación que muestra cierta influencia no-Caribe. Hasta el nombre que se las dá, *kalabo:so*, es extranjero. Tienen una puerta y casi todas ellas están selladas herméticamente con barro, incluyendo un techo horizontal de barro debajo del techo de parhilera. (Véase la ilustración Nº 10). A menos que se necesiten para alojar visitantes, estas construcciones se usan solamente durante la temporada de lluvias, (invierno) cuando abundan y están furiosos los insectos. Entonces, la familia se recluye por la noche en el *kalabo:so*, saliendo de él casi asfixiada a la mañana siguiente, costumbre ésta que contribuye indubitablemente a la prevalencia de enfermedades respiratorias.

Construcciones y materiales.

El tinglado de todo edificio se hace con troncos sin desbastar de todo tamaño. Se usa cualquier madera fuerte, aunque para las vigas pesadas suele preferirse el purguo, *purwei-dyɛ'*. Las verticales se entierran en hoyos bajo la superficie y el resto del tinglado se sujeta sólidamente, lo que se consigue amarrando los maderos con bejucos unos con otros. A veces se emplean horquetas o entalladuras, pero corrientemente los postes son redondos y simples. Los detalles de una construcción típica de este género pueden verse en las ilustraciones correspondientes a una *wata-imedapun*, tinglado o taller, (Nos. 2-5) y a una *parapan*, vivienda (Nos. 6-8).

Los techos están cubiertos espesamente con hojas de palma, prefiriéndose para esto las de *kunwada-yarɛ*, *Oenocarpus*, aunque también se emplean corrientemente las de *maripada-yarɛ*, *Maximiliana*, y también, a veces, las de *gwaiyarɛ*, *Mauritia* (106). Las

(106) La mayoría de las casas y tinglados de nuestra expedición tenían techo cubierto con hoja de *Mauritia*, pero los Indios me advirtieron (con mucha corrección) que no se habían preocupado por hacer las casas para nosotros tan buenas como las suyas. Sospecho también que guardaban las hojas de *Oenocarpus*, cuyo repuesto había mermado, aunque se podía conseguir fácilmente, para uso propio.

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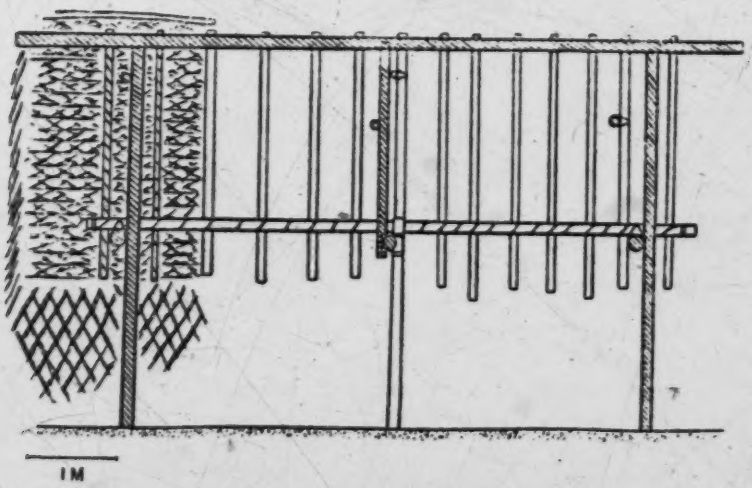
paredes también se revisten muchas veces, usualmente con hojas de *maripada-yare*. Las paredes de un "calabozo" se hacen siempre, y las de la *parapan* a veces, con cañas y barro, tipo de construcción común en Venezuela y llamado "bahareque" en Español-Venezolano coloquial. (Los Kamarakotos lo llaman simplemente *non*, "barro"). Este tipo de construcción es probablemente menos común o castizo entre los Caribes que el revestimiento de las paredes con hojas de palma, pero se usa y se ha usado hace



Ilust. Nº 3.—Tinglado-taller Kamarakoto.
La misma construcción que la Ilust. Nº 2. Diagrama de la sección longitudinal. El techo está indicado solamente en el extremo izquierdo.

ya mucho tiempo en, por así decirlo, todas las tribus del grupo del Roraima y del grupo del Ventuari, no habiendo razón para creer que sea no-Caribe. No se usan techos de barro, como tampoco adobes. Los techos de barro son indudablemente una innovación que muestra influencia no-Caribe. No ví yo que los Kamarakotos empleen cortezas de árbol para hacer paredes, como

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se ha dicho acostumbran algunas otras tribus de esta región general.

El plano de la base de la casa circular consiste en una viga vertical en el centro y en un cerco de viguetas cortas que sostienen la pared. Un cerco horizontal está sostenido por las vigas de la pared, y un cono de vigas que forman el techo irradia hacia el cerco. En las casas grandes circulares un segundo cerco bajo puede insertarse entre la pared y la viga central, sosteniendo un cerco más alto en el que se apoya el centro de las vigas del techo. Maderas delgadas o bejucos gruesos atraviesan horizontalmente las vigas del techo, sujetándose así el revestimiento de hojas de palma.

En la casa oblonga cada extremo está construído como media casa circular, teniendo cada extremo su correspondiente sostén central; pero el techo se hace más bajo, dirigiéndose las vigas radiadas del techo superior, no hacia el vértice de la viga virtual sino hacia la parhilera horizontal y longitudinal que está sostenida por los postes verticales y que sobresale para sostener también las vigas del techo en los extremos semicirculares. La parhilera recta es de consiguiente más larga (como el doble) que la parte recta de las paredes y las principales de las vigas erectas sólo tienen aproximadamente dos tercios del alto que sería necesario para una casa circular de radio comparable a los extremos de la casa oblonga. Las vigas erectas intermedias entre los dos postes centrales y la pared son pocas (por lo regular sólo cuatro) y próximas a las paredes, dejando el centro de la casa relativamente desembarazado y sirviendo más bien para sostener los cabrios transversales y colgar utensilios que para reforzar el techo.

El plano de la base de un tinglado o refugio sin paredes consiste de seis postes, dos que soportan el centro del tejado y otros dos más cortos en cada lado soportando las orillas. Un cabrio transversal abraza de ordinario cada extremo entre los postes de los rincones. En las amplias y más típicas casas-talleres abiertas, el plano se complica añadiendo un poste en el centro de cada lado como soporte adicional de la viga de la orilla, y también se agrega un soporte central para el tejado. A fin de que el centro del

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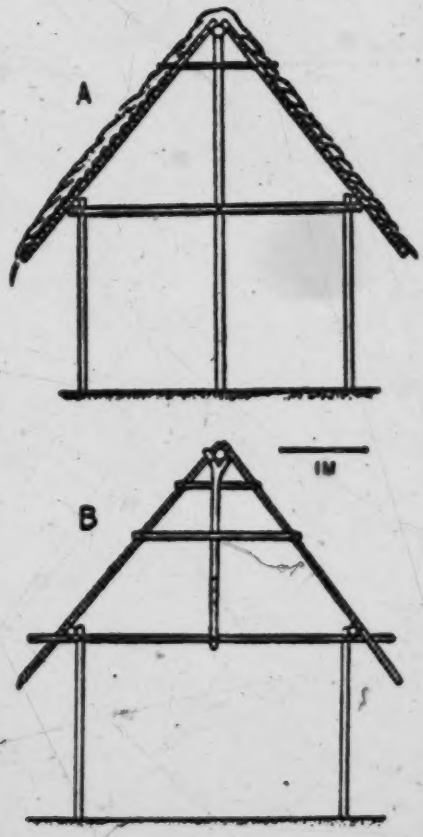

Ilust. Nº 4.—Tinglado-taller Kamarakoto. La misma construcción que las Ilust. 2 y 3. A, diagrama del extremo N. E. B, diagrama del frente (sin techo) mostrando el sistema de unir la hilera con los cabrios, dejando libre el centro del piso.

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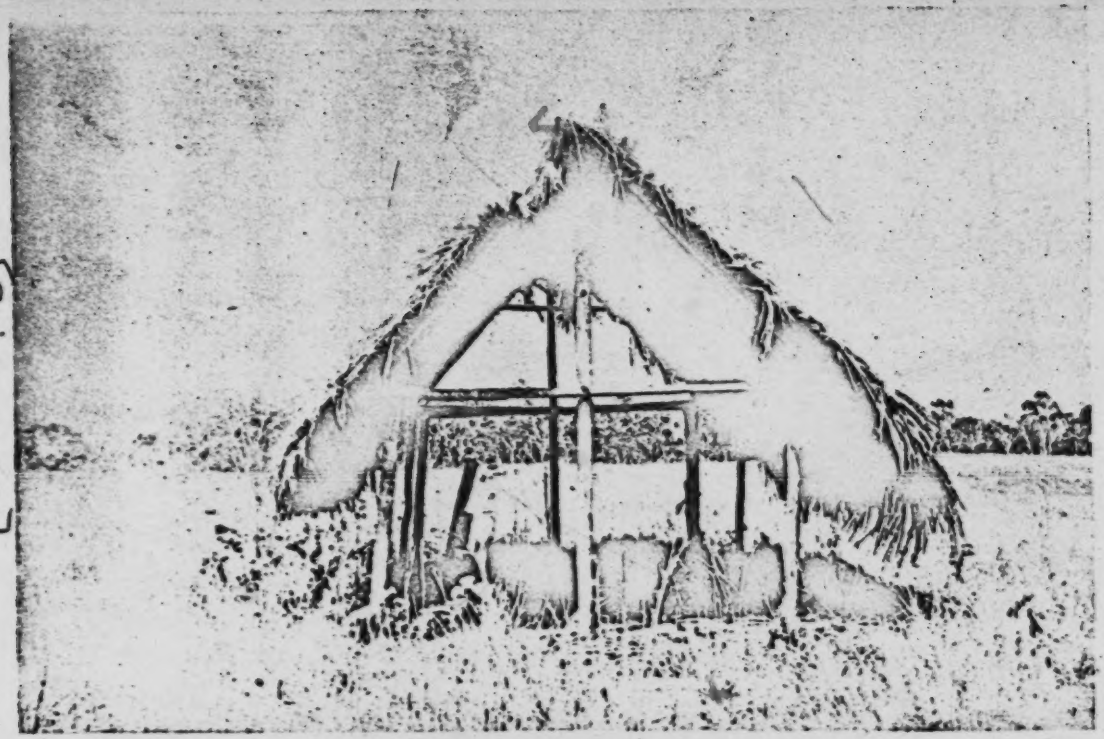

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Ilust. Nº 5.—Tinglado-taller Kamarakoto.
La misma construcción que las Ilust. 2, 3 y 4. Fotografía del extremo N. E. (véase Ilust. 4-A). El trapiche se ve en el interior, a la izquierda. Este edificio no se había usado hacía varias semanas, de otra forma el suelo estaría limpio de vegetación.

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taller quede libre, este último soporte no suele ser un poste enterrado en el suelo, sino un puntal sostenido por un cabrio transversal. (Véase ilustración 4 b).

Un escape imperfecto para el humo suele dejarse a veces junto al extremo de la parhilera en las casas oblongas. De otro modo, nada se hace para facilitar la salida del humo y la parte interior del techo de una casa que haya estado ocupada algún tiempo tiene una capa espesa de resina y hollín. El piso es simplemente de tierra. La primera operación para construir una casa consiste en desbrozar el terreno de arbustos y hierba en una superficie algo mayor que la de la casa, es decir, como un metro más alrededor de la pared. No hay tabiques ni subdivisiones en el interior de las casas ni ninguna instalación o utensilio mayor que las bateas para el casabe y el cachirí, las cuales se apilan muchas veces entre los dos postes de la casa oblonga, dejando un paso relativamente libre alrededor de esta barrera central por ambos lados.

Jamás se abren ventanas en las paredes. Las puertas, más bajas que una persona adulta, siempre tienen sus dos jambas, y usualmente, a pocos centímetros del interior, se levantan otros dos postes, de modo que entre ellos queda un resquicio justo para el paso. Por la noche se tiende una estera de palma (o raras veces, un tablero desbastado) entre los postes interiores y exteriores, cerrando así la entrada.

Uruyén.

Induce a error hablar de una aldea Kamarakota, puesto que el lugar habitado típico solamente tiene una familia-grupo, la cual puede incluir de uno a tres, rara vez más varones adultos con sus mujeres e hijos, no habiendo en cada lugar, generalmente, más de una o dos viviendas ocupadas. No hay acumulaciones de varias familias-grupos no emparentadas que es lo que constituye una aldea propiamente dicha. Uruyén, donde yo recogí la mayoría de informes, se presenta aquí como ejemplo de un lugar Kamarakoto habitado.

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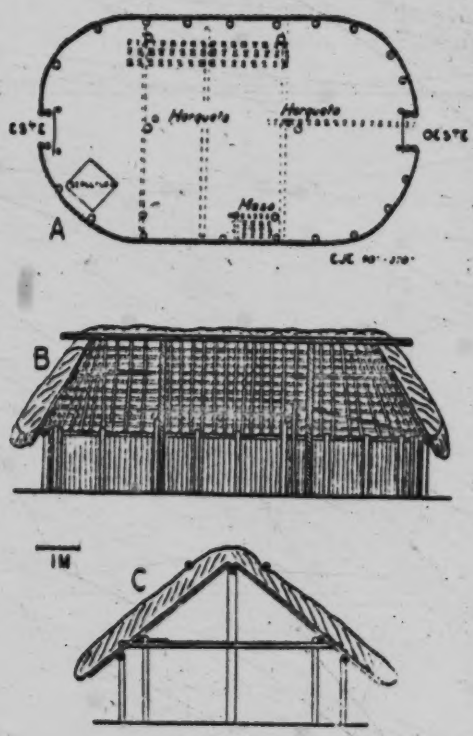
Está situado Uruyén en una sabana pequeña y plana, la Uruyéntai, en el centro de Kamarata y en la ribera Sur del Aichá. La sabana es una terraza cortada abruptamente a unos dos metros de altura sobre el nivel del río, y las casas se alzan cerca de la orilla de la terraza, o sea, más arriba de la creciente normal. El Yuruán, afluente de caudal perenne que baja del Auyán-tepui, se junta con el Aichá en Uruyén, por el lado opuesto. Aguas arriba de esta confluencia, por el lado de Uruyén, corta la terraza una quebrada, al parecer un viejo meandro del Aichá que allí formaba un remanso profundo en el que abundaba el pescado llamado *uru:yi*. El pescado suele influir bastante en la elección de los lugares de habitación y le dió a éste el nombre de Uruyén. Los uruyis se acabaron ya en la localidad y el antiguo estanque es hoy una charca casi seca en verano y desbordante en invierno, pero otras ventajas del sitio han sido causa de que siga habitado. A corta distancia de Uruyén, hacia el Sur y hacia el Este, hay bosques, y en sus linderos se labran los conucos. El lugar ha estado ocupado desde antes que nacieran los más viejos de la tribu y se ven restos de casas más antiguas que fueron destruídas.

Actualmente hay siete edificios en pie en Uruyén, pero dos de ellos no se usan en absoluto. Las características de las construcciones pueden describirse así:

Tipo de Edificio	*Techo*	*Material Paredes*	*Uso*
A. Oblongo: *parapán.*	*kunwada-yaru.*	*maripada-yaru.*	Vivienda principal de Reyes y familia.
B. Tinglado rectangular: *wata-imedapun.*	*kunwada-yaru.*	(no tiene)	Taller para A.

Tipo de Edificio	*Techo*	*Material Paredes*	*Uso*
C. Circular: *waipa.*	*kunwada-yare.*	*maripada-yare.*	Abandonado parcialmente y sin arreglar, aunque se usa como taller para B. y para albergue de visitantes.
D. Oblongo: *parapan.*	*kunwada-yare.*	barro (*non*).	Vivienda de Claudio y su familia.
E. Rectangular con paredes, "calabozo": *wata-timeaken.*	*kunwada-yare.*	barro (*non*).	Usada como vivienda durante el invierno y para visitantes.
F. Oblongo: *parapan.*	*kunwada-yare.*	*maripada-yare.*	Vivienda abandonada hace poco por fallecimiento de su dueño.
G. Tinglado rectangular: *wata-imedapun.*	*maripada-yare.*	(no tiene)	Taller para F. ahora abandonado.



Ilust. Nº 6.—Vivienda Kamarakota.

Edificio F de Uruyén. (Véase el mapa, Ilust. Nº 11) un *parapan*. A, plano. B, diagrama de la sección longitudinal, con la parte posterior proyectada. C, diagrama de la sección transversal, mostrando el aspa de la derecha. Las líneas diagonales de puntos en A, son los tres cabrios y los ejiones superpuestos para formar una especie de desván ("soberado"), también aparecen indicados del mismo modo. El difunto cabeza de familia está enterrado en la fosa marcada en el plano, y la casa, por tanto, está abandonada. Por lo demás, es idéntica a las habitaciones.

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Las dimensiones de F y G, que son típicas, pueden verse en los planos (gráficas 2, 6 A) y las de los otros edificios, más aproximadamente, en el mapa (Ilust. 11). No se ha intentado orientar las edificaciones de ningún modo particular. La orientación parece depender de leves accidentes del terreno y, más particularmente, de la colocación de los extremos de las casas, donde están las puertas, más o menos en la dirección que suelen estar más próximas. Los vientos reinantes no parecen haber influído en la orientación.

En la casa A habita el jefe del lugar (*to'-esa'*), Reyes, con su esposa, sus tres hijos y otros dos niños adoptados (sobrino y sobrina huérfanos). B es la casa-taller de esta familia. Reyes proyecta convertirla en "calabozo" y tiene más postes de los normales para un tinglado abierto. C era antes una vivienda. Quien la hizo abandonó el lugar, de manera que ahora se está cayendo, pero todavía se usa en ocasiones como taller y como albergue de huéspedes. D fué la vivienda que levantó Juan José, quien se trasladó a Oruá, pasando después a Aleuiba, al Sur de Uruyén. Desde que Juan José marchó, la casa ha estado ocupada por un miembro de la familia-grupo de Reyes, Claudio, con su mujer, que es hermana de Reyes, y sus cuatro hijos.

E es un "calabozo", cuyo uso ya hemos explicado.

F y G, vivienda y taller respectivamente de una familia-grupo, que quedaron abandonados al fallecer el jefe. Si una casa es abandonada viviendo el jefe, como ocurrió con C y D, puede ocuparla quien lo desee, y en caso de que después muera aquel jefe, no por eso deja de ser habitada la casa. El fallecimiento de uno de los miembros secundarios de la familia no determina el abandono del hogar. Pero si el cabeza de familia muere, la casa que ocupaba a raíz de su fallecimiento se desocupa inmediatamente y nunca más vuelve a habitarse, así sea temporalmente. En este caso, el cabeza de familia difunto se suele enterrar en la casa, aunque no siempre se hace; pero, en cualquier parte que se le entierre, la que fué su casa no se habita más nunca. Las casas así abandonadas frecuentemente se queman, pero no es obligación hacerlo y el incendio se debe al parecer a pasatiempo o

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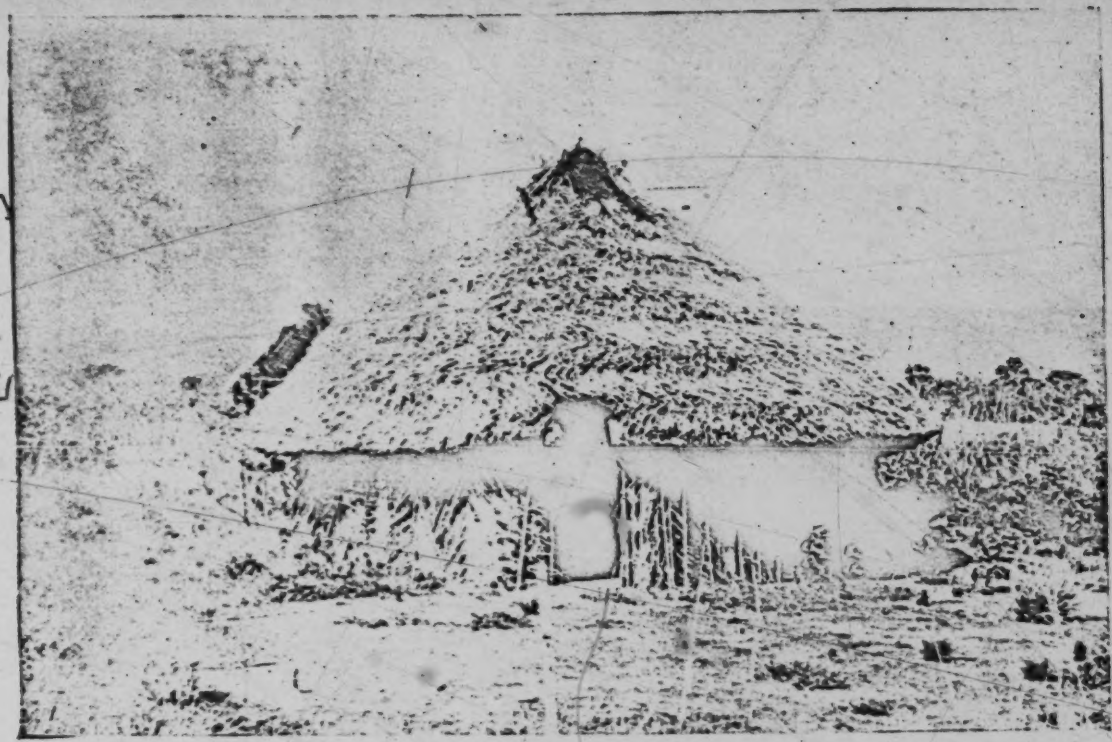

Ilust. Nº 7.—Vivienda Kamarakota.
La misma construcción que la Ilust. Nº 6. Fotografía del extremo E.. mostrando la fachada o entrada principal. Por el extremo izquierdo del techo de esta vivienda asoma la punta del techo del tinglado - taller de las ilustraciones 2 - 5.

[p. 384-A]

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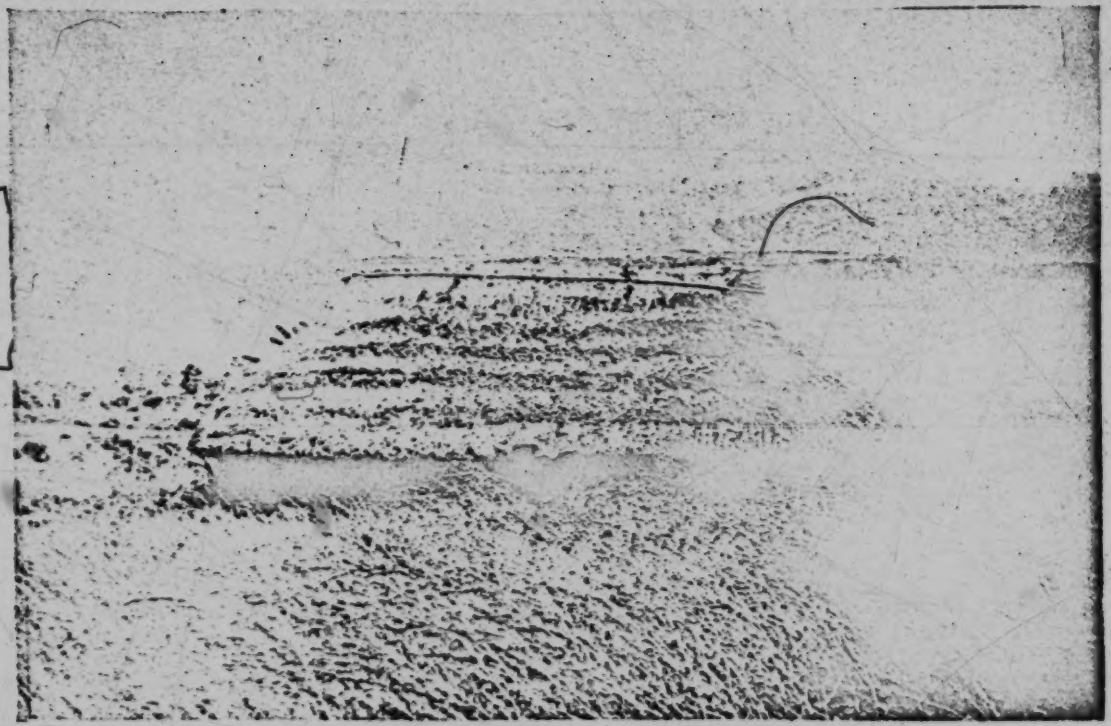

p.384-B

Ilust. Nº 8.—Vivienda Kamarakota.
La misma construcción que las Ilust. 6 - 7. Fotografía de la parte Sur. (En el fondo, entre nubes, se divisan las laderas del Auyán-tepúi).

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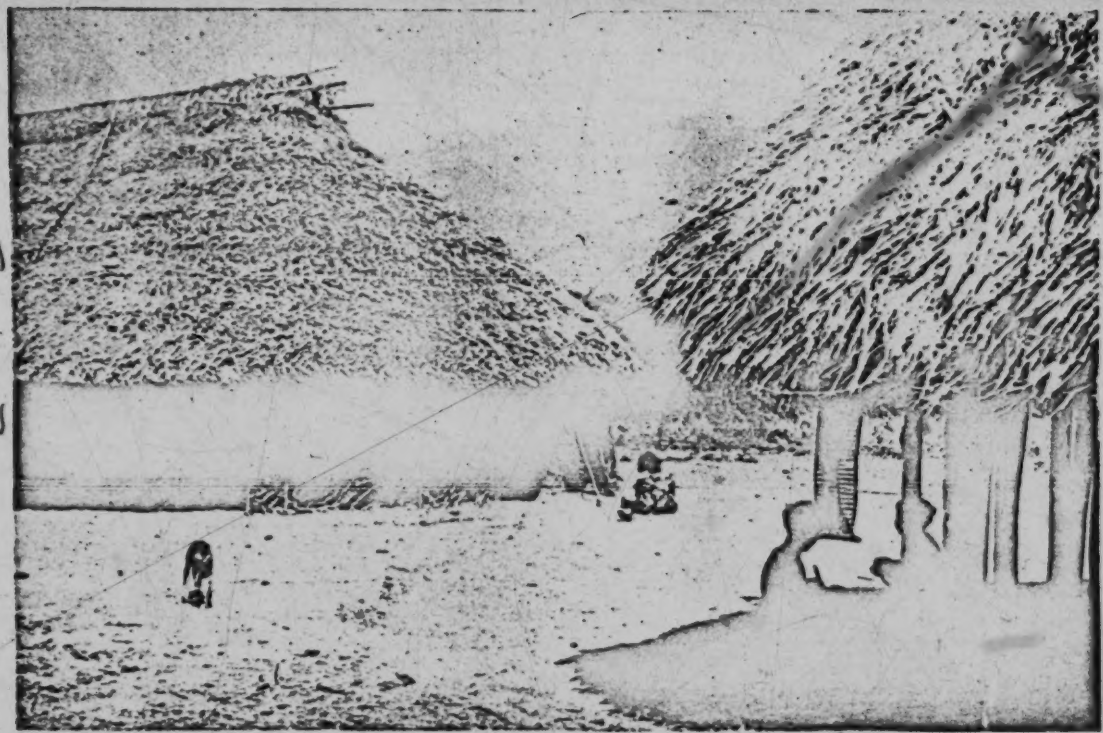

Ilust. Nº 9.—Vivienda Kamarakota.
El extremo Este del edificio A de Uruyén (véase el mapa Fig. 11) visto de la izquierda, una *parapan* esencialmente lo mismo que las de las ilustraciones 6 - 8. A la derecha asoma una esquina del edificio B, o sea el tinglado-taller perteneciente a esta vivienda. Del alero cuelga un arte de pescar (o nasa).

[p. 384-C]

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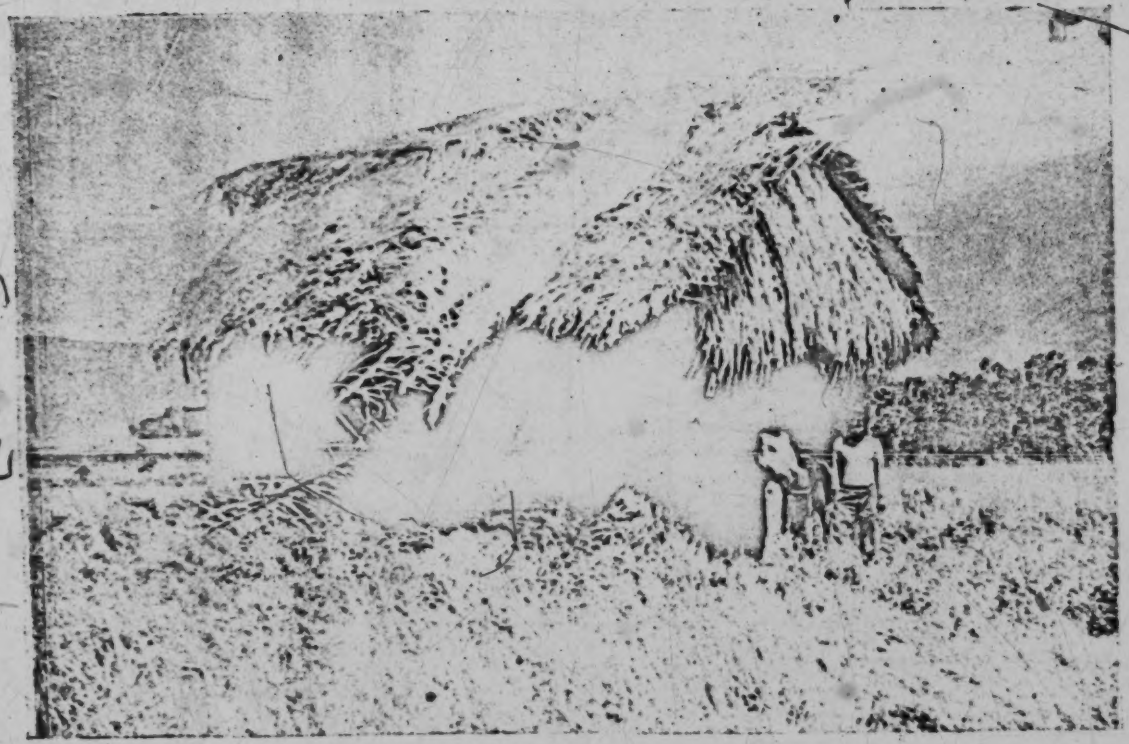

Ilust. Nº 10.—"Calabozo" Kamarakoto.
Extremo N. E. y parte S. E. del edificio E de Uruyén (véase el mapa Fig. 11). Aunque el techo está deteriorado, la casa está habitada.

[p. 384-b]

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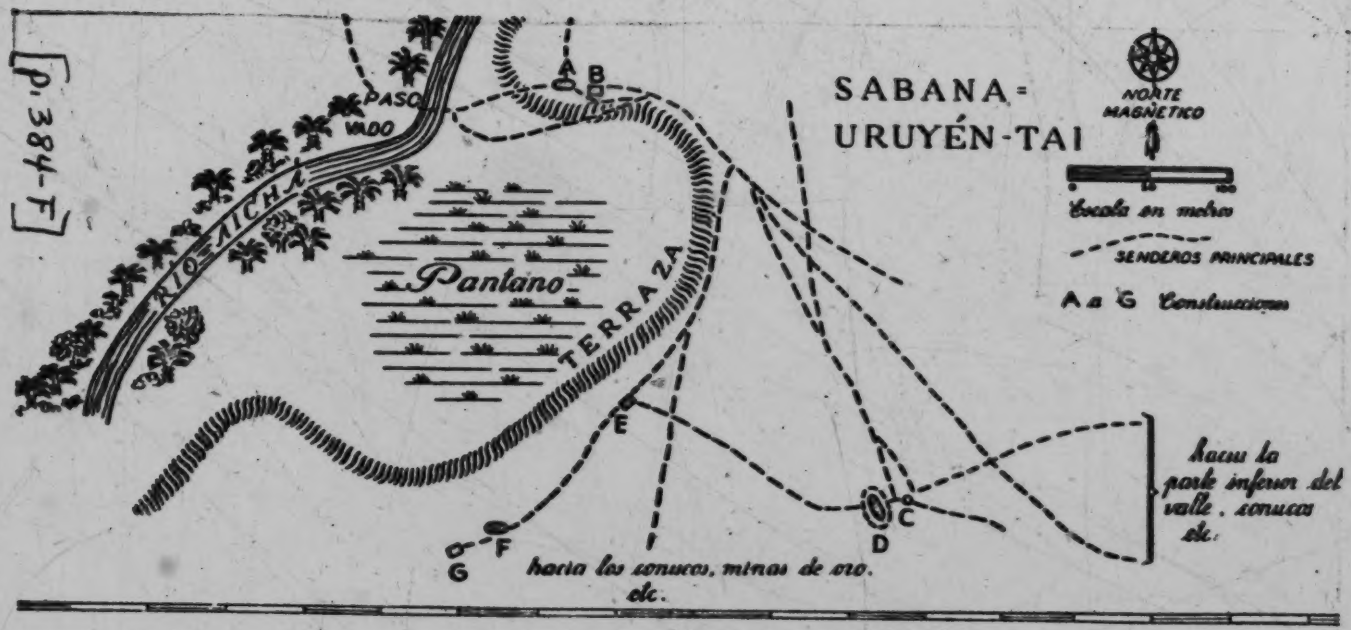
[p. 384-E]



[p. 384-F]

Ilust. Nº 11.—Poblado Kamarakoto.
Mapa-diseño de Uruyén. Véase en el texto la descripción de los edificios A - G.

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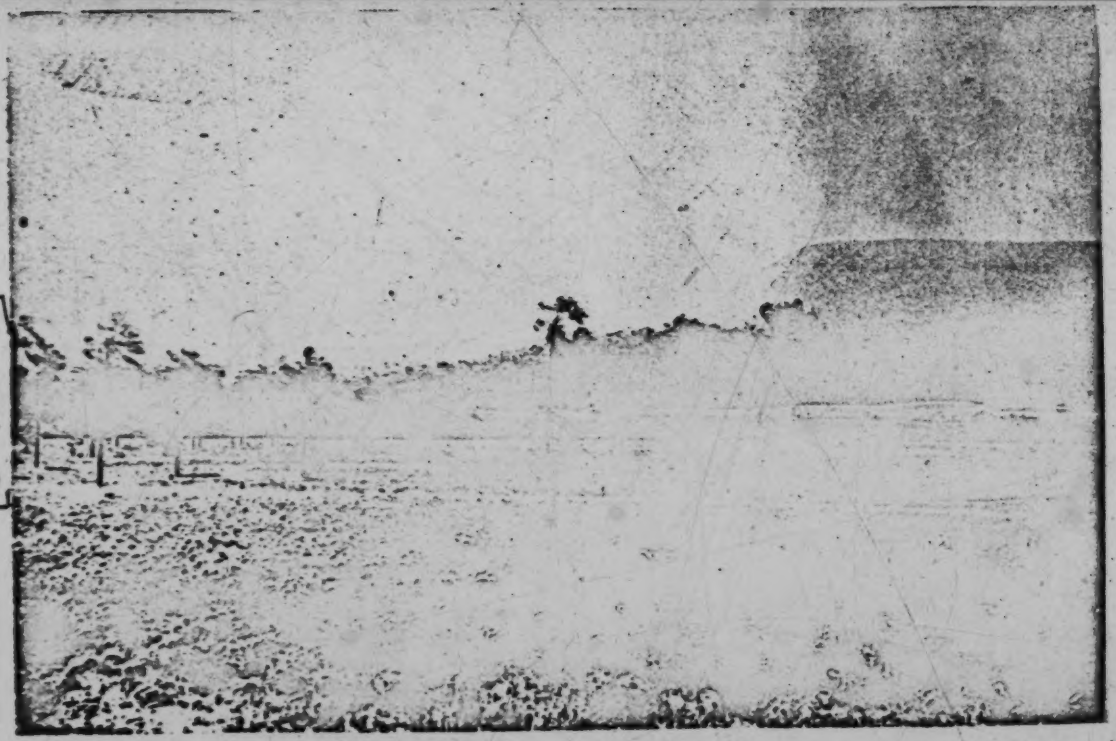

p. 384-G

Ilust. Nº 12.—Poblado Kamarakoto.
Uruyén visto desde el Norte. En primer término, la entrada del Kumbú-tai (donde estaba el viejo aerodromo). Palmas moriches crecen en el nivel bajo y cenagoso entre este valle y el río Aichá. Más allá del río, sobre una meseta seca, están el Uruyén-tai y Uruyén, cuyas casas se divisan. Las colinas bajas más allá de Uruyén están cubiertas de vegetación—selva—y son de roca ígnea. En el confín, a la derecha, la vertiente oriental de Enuarapaimá-tepúi.

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es un resultado accidental de la quema de maleza. Las casas abandonadas se dejan por lo regular desmoronar simplemente, como se están desmoronando éstas. Sin embargo, se encuentran todavía en condiciones casi perfectas, habiéndolas usado nosotros para hacer planos de construcciones típicas, ya que ofrecían la ventaja de poder medir y diseñar edificios no llenos de gente, utensilios y arreos.

Mientras acampamos cerca de Uruyén, más de cuarenta visitantes se juntaban a veces en el poblado y todas las casas estaban colmadas de hamacas, hasta el tinglado B, por más que los Kamarakotos no gustan de dormir al aire libre. No obstante, ni bajo tal presión ocupó ninguno de ellos las casas F o G, ni se usaron para nada.

ALIMENTACION.

Puede decirse que los Kamarakotos comen cuanto producto de su región es susceptible de alguna extracción alimenticia para seres humanos, pero derivan principalmente su sustento de la agricultura. Los alimentos silvestres, vegetales y animales desempeñan parte importante en su nutrición, pero la carencia de ellos no es fatal. Las plantas cultivadas constituyen por el contrario la base del sustento, y el fracaso de la cosecha significa inanición. Aunque otra cosa se crea generalmente, es en extremo difícil y precario vivir de los productos espontáneos de la naturaleza en las selvas y sabanas del Trópico. Los Kamarakotos deben ser clasificados como Indios agricultores.

Alimentos vegetales y cultivo.

La alimentación con plantas silvestres carece relativamente de importancia y constituye tan solo una adición insignificante

en la dieta del Kamarakoto. Se conocen y cómense siquiera cuatro especies de hongos. No he oído de ninguna raíz ni semilla silvestre que habitualmente se coman. Son poquísimos y sorprendentemente escasos los frutos silvestres que pueden aprovecharse en su temporada, incluyendo los de las palmas maripa y moriche, llamados *aba'* y *kwai* respectivamente, y varias clases de guamo, vainas con una pulpa dulce y comestible que envuelve unas semillas duras (*warwoto, maipa, abira*) y el algarrobo (*wadɛ*), vaina algo similar con una substancia farinácea comestible en torno a las semillas.

Por el otro lado, las plantas cultivadas comestibles son numerosas y variadas. Algunas plantas, alimenticias y de utilidad diversa, se cultivan más o menos al azar alrededor de las casas, especialmente algodón y *pupu* (un arbusto de hojas espinosas y un fruto carnoso semejante a un tomate amarillo). La agricultura, hablando con propiedad, se lleva a cabo con un sistema de huertos mixtos y temporales, oneroso e ineficaz tipo de cultivo heredado de los Indios y común en todo Venezuela, donde tales huertos se denominan "conucos".

El conuco Kamarakoto, *uma*, está situado invariablemente en el bosque, habitualmente en su linde. La razón de esto es que el bosque creció en terreno rico, no en el pobre y arenoso que sólo da hierba. En Uruyén, el *to'-esa'*, Reyes, empleando un sistema desusado, a manera de ensayo, desbrozó un trozo de sabana y plantó en él yuca (107), pero cuando abandonamos aquel lugar el experimento pareció haber fracasado debido a la poca feracidad del terreno. En aquella región las sabanas se encuentran por lo general sobre terrazas aluviales, secas y arenosas o guijosas, en tanto que los bosque se asientan en terreno rico, principalmente de roca ígnea descompuesta.

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(107) Por conveniencia, y de acuerdo con el uso Inglés, he llamado en mi manuscrito *casabe* (o cassava) a la planta y a su producto elaborado, pero, hablando con propiedad, la planta se denomina "yuca" (la cual, por supuesto, nada tiene que ver con la que en Norte América dicen "yucca") y solamente la raíz preparada se en verdad "casabe". Los Kamarakotos llaman a la planta *bɛ̃ɛra*, a la raíz *bɛ̃ɛr* y al pan cocido *ebɛ*.

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

Para preparar un conuco se talan los árboles y arbustos. Los arbustos se amontonan y queman, mientras que los árboles no incinerados completamente se suelen dejar donde cayeron. (Véase gráfica Nº 13). Este trabajo lo hacen totalmente los Indios varones, empleando hachas de acero y machetes. También la plantación es cosa de los hombres (108), pero el escaso cuido de las plantas y la recolección de todos los frutos corren a cargo de las mujeres. La yuca se planta en los declives, habitualmente en hileras toscas y con otras plantas esparcidas en torno, con la yuca o separadamente, más o menos al azar. (Véase la gráfica 14).

De ordinario, un conuco se abandona después de un año, aunque algunos productos, como plátanos y cambures, se siguen cosechando mientras producen las matas, a las cuales ya no se presta atención. Para la yuca y demás cosechas del año se prepara un conuco nuevo cada temporada seca.

La yuca es la base de la alimentación y, naturalmente, ocupa la mayor parte de los conucos. Los ajíes, de los que hay muchas clases, también son indispensables; y los cambures, variados igualmente, acaso ocupen el próximo lugar como víveres esenciales. Las siguientes plantas, incluyendo algunas no usadas en la comida, fueron vistas por nosotros, cultivadas en varios conucos de Kamarata:

Yuca.

Ñame, mapuey, (etc.), *Dioscorea*, tres variedades al menos.

Ocumo, *Xanthosoma*.

Batata.

Cambures (bananos), seis variedades al menos.

Plátanos, dos variedades al menos.

Auyama.

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(108) Esto no es corriente en tribus emparentadas con la Kamarakota, y nosotros no estuvimos allí en la temporada del plantío, pero los Indios nos informaron inequívocamente de que plantar es trabajo de hombres.

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

Caña de azúcar.

Lechoza (papaya).

Patilla (sandía).

Maíz (sólo vimos una variedad, pero nos dijeron que se dan dos o tres).

Ajíes, siquiera seis variedades.

Maní (cacahuete).

Caraota negra (frijol).

Pupu (véase más arriba).

Algodón.

Tabaco.

Kumi (planta que no se come, sino que se restriega en las heridas—cortaduras—para tener suerte en la cacería).

Todas estas plantas son con toda seguridad precolombinas en esta región y también, probablemente, en esta tribu, excepto los cambures, los plátanos, la caña de azúcar y la patilla. Parece haber lugar a una pequeña duda con respecto a los cambures y los plátanos. Se cree generalmente que fueron introducidos por los Europeos, pero, de ser así, se multiplicaron rápida y extensamente casi inmediatamente después del Descubrimiento, esparciéndose por el hinterland Americano antes de la actual penetración Europea. Las musáceas silvestres, de fruto no comestible, parecen ser autóctonas en América con mayor probabilidad. De todos modos, los bananos que se producen ahora son tan antiguos aquí que constituyen un aspecto integral y verdaderamente nativo de la vida India. Los Kamarakotos no tienen idea de que no sean naturales de su región y no tienen leyendas de tiempos en que no se conociesen (109).

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(109) Como puede verse en Koch-Grünberg, los Taurepanes, siquiera, tienen leyendas que, en conjunto, son precolombinas y en las que aparecen los bananos —acaso como intrusos, pero quizás porque aquellos Indios los conocían ya realmente?

Ilust. Nº 13.—Conuco Kamarakoto.
Uno de los huertos de Uruyén. Obsérvese el sistema de aclarar el terreno talando los árboles y quemando los arbustos, y el cultivo a la ventura.

[p. 388-A]

Ilust. Nº 14.—Conuco Kamarakoto.
Otro aspecto del huerto de la ilustración número 13. Muestra todo un tablón de yuca—la cosecha principal—ya madura. El hombre (Antonio Montesdeoca, kamarakoto) tiene una estatura de 1 metro 55.

[p. 388-B]

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

La caña de azúcar es también de importación añeja, aunque no tanto, probablemente, como los cambures. No puede decirse que sea un alimento esencial del Kamarakoto, pero le gusta mucho. La patilla, según saben los Indios, fué introducida recientemente. Lo mismo dicen de la auyama y la caraota, aunque estos son víveres indígenas y ellos los conocen con nombres puramente Caribes. Acaso quieran decir simplemente que las plantas particulares que ahora crecen allí son de semillas traídas de otras partes.

Aunque el maíz se conoce y se come, no abunda y no puede considerarse como alimento básico. Los Kamarakotos son Indios yuqueros, no maiceros.

Las otras raíces, *Dioscorea*, *Xanthosoma* e *Ipomea* se cultivan y pueden clasificarse después de la yuca como víveres esenciales.

La "papa" o patata verdadera, *Solanum*, no se conoce, y esta región es más baja y calurosa que todas aquellas donde la papa se cultivó en tiempos precolombinos.

Por más que se haya supuesto que el cacao es autóctono en esta parte general de Sur América, nadie lo ha visto y parece ser desconocido para los Kamarakotos. Otras omisiones notables de plantas cultivadas por tribus afines, por ejemplo, en la Guayana Inglesa, son varias frutas agrias, *Citrus;* y el aguacate, aún siendo planta indígena, es, por alguna razón desconocida, raro en Kamarata, donde, sin embargo, se daría bien casi seguramente.

Varias plantas silvestres útiles, como las especies de *Bromelia*, *Bixa* y *Genipa* se cultivan a veces, pero no de manera sistemática.

Alimentos animales.

A diferencia de los alimentos vegetales, todos los alimentos animales son silvestres. Una vez llevaron a Kamarata (no sé de dónde) un cochino solitario, pero murió ya y no ha habido

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más importación porcina. Los únicos animales domésticos son los perros, que nadie come, y las gallinas, que se introdujeron recientemente y andan escasas. En Uruyén, cuando estuvimos nosotros, todas las aves de corral pertenecían al sexo masculino, tema que se prestaba al comentario jocoso de los Indios, quienes tienen bastante desarrollado el sentido humorístico, aunque sea burdo. Algunos pájaros, especialmente pericos, periquitos y moriches, suelen tenerse como mascotas, pero no se reproducen en cautiverio ni se les cría para comer, por lo cual no pueden ser llamados animales domésticos o comestibles.

El animal comestible favorito es el báquiro (pecarí), particularmente la especie grande, llamada *po.inga*, siendo ésta la presa que más codicia el cazador. La otra especie de pecarí, el chácharo, *pakira*, también es apreciada, como lo son dos clases de venados, *waikin* y *kutsari*, la lapa (paca) *urana*, el acure (agutí) *akuri*, y la danta (tapir) *maikuri*. (Véase el Vocabulario para la identificación más exacta de estos animales). Estos son los principales animales comestibles o que los Kamarakotos comen. A veces comen también chigüire (capibara) *kapi:ba*, cachicamo (armadillo) *atsi:gamo*, *merun*, *maursima* y oso palmero, *warema'*, pero no se cazan específicamente. Monos, carnívoros, perezas, nutrias y roedores pequeños no suelen cazarse ni comerse excepto en tiempos de carestía. Algunos Indios afines, aun entre los Arekunas, comen monos regularmente, pero a la mayoría de los Kamarakotos le repugna la carne de simio.

A despecho de la variedad de mamíferos comestibles obtenibles, parece en realidad relativamente raro conseguir un ejemplar, y su carne, aunque gusta mucho cuando se logra, no es alimento corriente. Alrededor de las chozas se ven pocos huesos de animales y los Indios no presumen de darse a menudo hartazgos de esos (110).

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(110) Mencionaré de paso que los Indios frecuentemente incrustan la quijada del animal que han comido en el alero de una choza, dejándola allí. Afirman que esto no tiene otro significado que recordarles un acontecimiento grato. El número escaso de quijadas exhibidas hace suponer que el acontecimiento sucede raras veces, aunque debe consignarse en honor de la verdad que no todas las quijadas se guardan.

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Las aves se procuran más a menudo, pero no regularmente. Su tamaño varía entre la *okira* y la *karmaiba*, grandes, y la diminuta (*).

De los reptiles y anfibios sólo se comen habitualmente, aunque no a menudo, las tortugas y los lagartos grandes, *ayamaka* (iguana). Los huevos de iguana son exquisitez que los Indios buscan ávidamente cuando es el tiempo, y comen por así decirlo todos los huevos de las grandes aves salvajes. Casi todos los Indios comen también saurios (babas y caimanes) y la ausencia de éstos de la dieta Kamarakota acaso se deba más que al poco aprecio que hacen de su carne a su escasez y a lo difícil de su caza.

Entre los insectos que comen los Kamarakotos se cuentan el bachaco, *kaiba*, especie de hormiga grande, y ciertas larvas que se encuentran en las palmas, *tsiya'* e *iwo*. Podrán comer otros insectos en tiempos de necesidad, pero no son platos corrientes. La miel salvaje *tautsan-yeuku* se aprecia mucho, pero no abunda lo suficiente para figurar en la dieta del Indio. No oí de ningún ensayo de apicultura. La miel se emplea también para tatuajes y la cera de abejas para pegar los tubos de las cerbatanas, revestir los carcajes, etc.

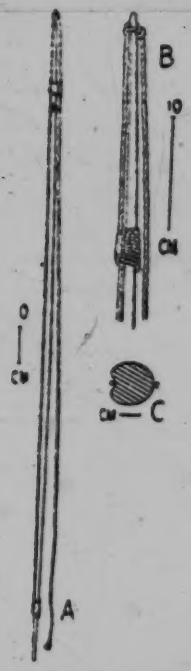
Cacería.

La cacería, efectuada solamente por hombres, es ocupación favorita de los Kamarakotos, por más que, probablemente, no sea muy productiva. Pudiera anticiparse que estos Indios habían de resultar hábiles cazadores y ciertamente todos los varones se dedican a este menester y para él disponen de armas y aparejos abundantes, menudeando los relatos de sus proezas, pero, por lo

(*) *Nota del Traductor.*—A la advertencia que hiciéramos al autor sobre el hecho de que el ave conocida en la región central de Venezuela con el nombre de "camata" es mayor que una "okira" (paloma), nos contestó textualmente el doctor Simpson: "No ví ninguna "kamata", pero los Indios llamaban así a un pajarito parecido a una pipoca, pero más pequeño todavía". Acaso aplicasen este nombre a un ave distinta de la llamada "camata" en el Centro de Venezuela.

Las principales especies comestibles de aves se encontrarán en el Vocabulario.

que pude yo comprobar, actualmente no hacen milagros. Por ejemplo, empleamos dos hombres considerados como los mejores cazadores de la tribu, arreglamos las cosas de modo que nada más



Ilust. Nº 15.—Arco Kamarakoto.
A, el arco entero visto de lado, (con la cuerda no armada. B, extremo, mostrando la atadura de la cuerda (a la derecha) y la cuerda de refuerzo (a la izquierda). C, sección transversal cerca del centro, con la cuerda a la derecha.

tuviesen que hacer sino prepararse para la cacería, les dimos cuantas municiones pidieron; prometímosles recompensas extraordinarias en caso de éxito insólito; y uno de ellos no consiguió una

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sola pieza, al paso que el otro se presentó con un acure nada más, trofeo menguado de capacidad venatoria. Ya hemos anotado el hecho de que la alimentación animal de los Kamarakotos es simplemente un asomo de realidad dietética. Tampoco nos impresionaron mayormente las demostraciones de pericia que les vimos hacer con sus armas y con las nuestras. En resumen, estos Indios son agricultores y sus cacerías tienen más bien aspecto de diversión que de ocupación lucrativa.

Afirmaron poseer unas quince escopetas en la tribu, pero la mayoría de ellas no habrán sido disparadas jamás probablemente. Nosotros vimos dos o tres armas antañonas de recámara llevadas del Brasil, las Guayanas o el Norte de Venezuela. En realidad, todos los Indios de esta región general adquirieron algunos rifles antes de que los visitasen gentes civilizadas, pero la pólvora y el plomo andan siempre escasos y son costosos, reservándose las armas de fuego para las grandes ocasiones o considerándoselas como artículos de puro lujo. Nunca han sido todavía armas corrientes.

El arma principal es aún el arco con la flecha y por así decirlo todos los varones de más de dos años tienen un arco de alguna clase. Los pequeñuelos improvisan el suyo con una ramita y, lo mismo que los niños blancos, *juegan a la guerra*. Los ya crecidos tienen arcos casi iguales que los de los hombres, pero más chiquitos. El arco "standard" (Véase gráfica 15) se hace habitualmente de araguaney (*urapadi*), *Tecoma* sp., madera pesada (más que el agua) de grano fino, de color pardo oscuro o rojizo, que se desbasta y pule cuidadosamente, resultando el arma bella por la forma y el acabado. Su tamaño, muchas veces cerca de dos metros, es usualmente mayor que la estatura del portador. Uno de nuestra colección mide 190 centímetros, o sea 10 más que la estatura del Indio más alto que vimos. Su diámetro máximo, en el centro, es usualmente menor de 2 cm. disminuyendo de grosor en los lados hasta terminar en punta. El diámetro anteposterior es mayor que el transversal. El frente tiene un rebajo para su distensión completa. En cada extremo tiene una atadura en espiral de 15 a 20 cm. y entre las dos ataduras están tendidas hacia el rebajo una o dos cuerdas cuyo objeto es reforzar el arco, haciendo que resista mejor la tirantez. La cuerda propiamente

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dicha del arco es continua, partiendo del extremo de una de las espirales y pasando después por encima del rebajo hasta el caño más próximo, donde está anudada permanentemente, para ir luego, por la parte de abajo del arco, hasta el otro extremo, donde se sujeta con una abrazadera, la cual se desata al dejar de usarse el arma. Cuando está distendido, el arco es perfectamente recto, y la cuerda es más corta sólo en la medida necesaria para la combadura del arco en la tensión. Los arcos pequeños, para muchachos o para cacería menor, muchas veces carecen de cordaje en el frente y de ataduras especiales, siendo la cuerda propiamente dicha considerablemente más corta, de manera que el arco se comba más definidamente al tenderse.

Aunque los arcos Kamarakotos son muy bellos y están construídos con esmero, carecen de resistencia a tirones fuertes (111) y la precisión y eficacia de sus disparos apenas alcanzan varios metros. La costumbre India, fomentada también por la escasez y el alto costo de la pólvora y el plomo, es no disparar hasta no tener la pieza muy cerca, de modo que el blanco sea, por así decirlo, seguro.

Una flecha de tamaño completo puede ser casi tan larga como el arco, o sea, de 130 a 190 centímetros. Se emplean flechas de muchos tipos, empezando por varas afiladas simplemente. Las más características son la *tarau*, la *panachika*, la *supalari* y la *waibakasi*. De éstas, la más sencilla es la *tarau* (Figura 16 B) como lo indica su nombre (= "simple"). Se usa para cazar pájaros y es un dardo de caña con una punta larga de madera. Esta punta, no afilada particularmente, es un tanto aplastada y tiene varios dientes tallados asimétricamente en sus dos lados. Se incrusta en el dardo y se amarra la junta con la hilacha de *kurawai*, haciendo después una soldadura con cera de abejas. El extremo de la cuerda carece por lo regular del obturador o tapón usual en otras flechas y puede hacerse simplemente comprimiendo y amarrando el dardo. Esta flecha suele ser emplumada, mientras que las otras no lo son. Un modelo típico mide 130 cm. (más

(111) Un miembro de nuestra expedición, al darse cuenta de este defecto, rompió fácilmente un arco.

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corto que la mayoría de los tipos de flechas), correspondiendo 14 cm. a la punta libre. El centro de gravedad se encuentra a 74,5 cm. del extremo posterior.

La *panachika* (véase figura 16 D), usada para cazar mamíferos y toda suerte de piezas menores, es más compleja teniendo una punta de acero dentada, asta anterior de madera (de *murun-ye'*) asta larga de caña (*purau-ye'*) y taco o mango corto de madera dura (*murun-ye'*). Las tres junturas están bien amarradas con hilacha untada de cera. El asta delantera suele estar pintada con goma rojiza en la que puede dibujarse con el dedo, mientras está aún húmeda, una serpentina tosca. Un modelo típico mide 155 cm. subdivididos así: punta 6,5, amarradura entre la punta y el asta delantera 7,5, asta delantera 21, amarradura entre el asta delantera y el cuerpo del asta 4,5, asta 107, y el mango y su amarradura 3,5. El centro de gravedad está a 92 cm. del mango, relativamente más delantero que en la *purau*, debiéndose recordar que este es emplumada, en tanto que la *panachika*, no.

La *supalari* (véase figura 16 A) es parecida a la *panachika*, pero algo más gruesa y con una punta mucho más pesada, también de acero más lanceolada, no dentada. Esta es la flecha que se usa para caza mayor. El asta delantera es corta, pero gruesa, y puede tener ataduras suplementarias entre las amarras de la punta y el asta delantera y la posterior. Un modelo de estas flechas mide 155 cm. subdivididos así: punta 6,5 amarradura entre la punta y el asta delantera 3,5, asta delantera 9,5, amarradura entre el asta delantera y la posterior 6, cuerpo del asta 126,5 mango y su amarradura 3. El centro de gravedad está a 100,5 cm. del mango, más alejado todavía que en la *panachika* (el asta delantera es más corta, pero más pesada, y la punta es más larga y más pesada también).

El cuarto tipo de flecha, la *waibakasi* (112) (figura 16 C), es mecánicamente, la más complicada. Consta de las mismas partes que la *panachika* y la *supalari*, pero tiene el asta delantera relativamente muy larga y el cuerpo del asta grueso, pero con la punta desmontable. La punta propiamente dicha es de acero y

(112) Conviene advertir que estos nombres se aplican en primer término a la punta y sólo secundariamente a toda la flecha.

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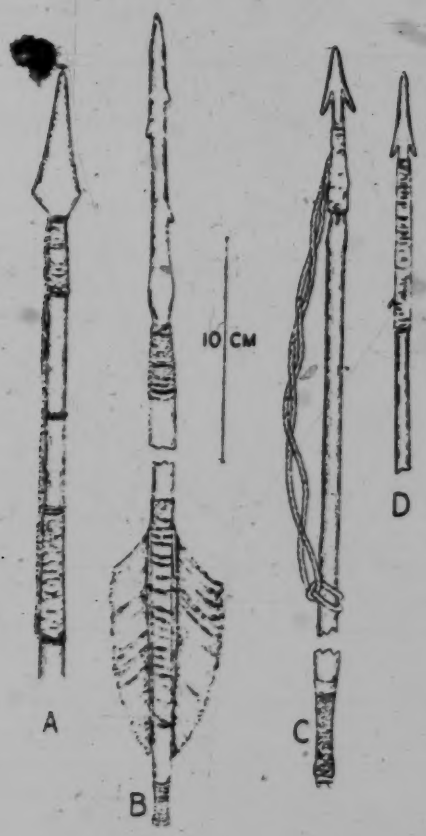

Ilust. Nº 16.—Flechas Kamarakotas.
A, extremo anterior de una *supalari*, mostrando el remate del asta y todo el dardo hasta la punta. B, una *tarau* con casi toda el asta cortada. C, una *waibakasi* con casi toda el asta y el extremo próximo del remate posterior del asta cortado. La punta y su cuerda enlazada son desmontables. D, *panachika*, punta y extremo anterior del dardo.

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tiene la misma forma que la de la *panachika*, pero se alarga en la parte posterior con dos púas, las cuales se abrazan con un cordel de *kurawai* y balatá, dejando en el medio una muesca. El extremo afilado del asta delantera pasa holgadamente por la muesca y se sujeta en ella con un cabo grueso inserto en la amarradura de las púas y enrollado al asta hasta unos 20 centímetros más abajo. Al ir a disparar la flecha se ata a este cabo grueso una cuerda más delgada de varios metros de largo, sujetando su extremo con la mano izquierda. Se usa esta flecha para disparar sobre peces grandes. Cuando la saeta penetra en la presa, el cabo se suelta del asta delantera, la flecha flota arrastrada por la corriente y deja la punta clavada en el pez y atada a la cuerda que sujeta al flechero. Un modelo de *waibakasi* mide de 173,5 con punta y 167,5 sin ella. La punta solamente mide 7,5 cm. desde el vértice hasta el centro de la base y 8 cm. hasta el extremo de las dos púas posteriores, teniendo 3,5 la parte desnuda, no amarrada, de la punta. El asta delantera mide 55,5, la amarradura entre ésta y el cuerpo del asta 6, el cuerpo del asta 101,5 y el mango y su enrolladura 4,5. El centro de gravedad (con la punta montada) se encuentra a 103 cm. del mango, relativamente más atrás que en la *panachika* o la *supalari*, pero más adelante que en la emplumada *tarau*.

La *waibakasi* es diferente de cuantas flechas he visto descritas como usadas por los Indios más vecinos o parientes de los Kamarakotos, y mis informantes Taurepanes jamás habían oído hablar del objeto ni su nombre, aunque sí lo conocen los Makuchis y está extendido en la Guayana Inglesa (Roth). Los otros tres tipos de flecha se usan corrientemente en las tribus Caribes vecinas (113). Hay cuando menos tres tipos de flechas usadas por tribus afines que yo no ví a los Kamarakotos: una de punta gruesa y chata de madera que se emplea para atontar aves, otra con punta de tridente para arponear peces (para ésta y la última véanse los especímenes Taurepanes que presentan Koch-Grünberg, Vol III, lámina 14, y Roth, 1924, gráficas 52 y 54) y la última con una punta desmontable y envenenada de madera.

(113) Koch-Grünberg dice no haber visto la *supalari* entre los Taurepanes, pero sí la tienen, y el nombre ("*sipélari*") figura y está definido correctamente en su vocabulario.

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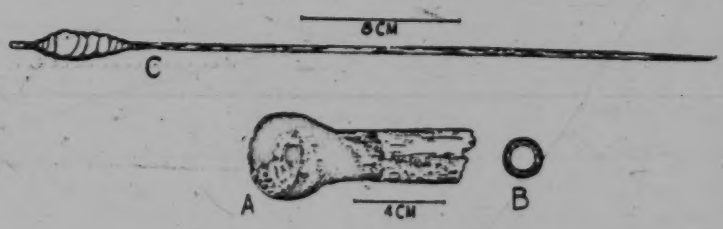
(Makuchi y Waiwai, Farabee, lámina XXXIII). Los Kamarakotos jamás usan veneno (curare) en flechas que han de ser disparadas con arco.

El empleo de puntas de acero es, por supuesto, postcolombino, y una comparación con flechas empleadas por tribus afines demuestra que anteriormente se usaban puntas de hueso y madera (especialmente bambú). No hay prueba fehaciente de que esta tribu ni ninguna de sus allegadas próximas usasen jamás puntas de piedra en las flechas y no he logrado averiguar si se encontró alguna en la Guayana Venezolana, donde sí se han hallado hachas de piedras. Puntas de piedra de lanzas (no de flechas) se ven al parecer en tribus afines más distantes. Los Kamarakotos no usan lanzas. El empleo de las puntas de acero se remonta indudablemente a los tiempos de la Colonia y los Kamarakotos no conservan el menor recuerdo de su introducción, afirmando que "siem-



Ilust. Nº 17.—Cerbatana y dardo Kamarakoto.
A, vista oblícua del extremo próximo de una cerbatana con boquilla. B, vista terminal del extremo distante, mostrando los dos tubos ajustados. C, dardo típico listo para el uso, con curare (negro) en la punta.

pre" las tuvieron. Estas puntas están hechas todas con pedazos de hojas de machetes viejos, trabajadas en frío con lima o con pedernal. Los Kamarakotos no saben batir el hierro candente.

Su arma favorita es la cerbatana, *kurai'* (Ilust. 17 A, B), pero les resulta más costosa y por tanto la usan menos que el arco, el cual puede hacerse completamente en casa. La cerbatana se hace con dos tubos de madera, siendo el interior (*sanwoto*) perfectamente derecho tanto por fuera como por dentro. Es tan liviano que se cimbra al apoyarse en un solo extremo y hasta se quiebra fácilmente. Debido a esto se le pone un forro de madera más dura (*yurwa*) que lo refuerza, pero que no puede usarse

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solo porque tiene junturas y tampoco puede prepararse con uno cuyo hueco sea liso. Los dos tubos se eligen cuidadosamente y se preparan de modo que ajusten con perfección y parezcan un solo tubo a menos que se examinen de cerca. Unicamente el tubo exterior o forro puede hacerse con madera de que disponen los Kamarakotos, quienes, por tanto, tienen que conseguirse o el tubo interno o la cerbatana como conjunto mediante trueque con los Maquiritares (*Pabanoton*), lo que eleva el precio del arma convirtiéndola en artículo de lujo. A veces pueden comprar solamente el tubo interno y, entonces, hacen el forro y construyen la cerbatana ellos mismos. Estos todos constituyen el renglón más importante del comercio de importación de los Kamarakotos, pues sólo se producen en tierras de Guinaus y Maquiritares de donde se transportan a distancias enormes, y es artículo de trueque con tribus muy esparcidas.

La cerbatana, como se usa a veces, consiste simplemente de los dos tubos embutidos, pero por lo regular se le pone una boquilla. Se hace ésta con la concha dura de una nuez de palma (probablemente de *awara*, pero no estoy muy seguro de esto), partida por la mitad, vaciada y taladrada, de manera que forma un hemisferio hueco con un agujero en el centro. Se solda al doble-tubo con cera. Algunas tribus afines le ponen al tubo miras, y los Kamarakotos me dijeron que ellos también usan a veces miras hechas con dientes de acure, pero yo no ví allí ninguna cerbatana que tuviera tal aditamento para la puntería. En realidad, o siquiera de acuerdo con mi experiencia personal, me parece siquiera tan fácil, por no decir más fácil, apuntar bien la cerbatana sin mira (114).

Las cerbatanas son habitualmente alrededor del doble de largas que la estatura del cazador. Un ejemplar de mi colección mide 272,5 centímetros. Es muy liviana y puede sostenerse fácil y fijamente con las dos manos colocadas cerca de la embocadura, no obstante lo largo del tamaño. Cerbatanas de un solo tubo o de tubo partido, como las que se ven en Río Negro y el Alto Amazonas, no las conocen los Kamarakotos.

(114) Farabee dice que estos dientes no son miras, sirviendo solamente para indicar la parte de arriba de la cerbatana, por donde debe apuntarse. A esto debo decir que, al menos con las cerbatanas Kamarakotas, da lo mismo apuntar por cualquier lado que sea.

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Los dardos (*kunwa*) (Ilust. 17 C) suelen tener de 38 a 40 centímetros de largo y se hacen de nervio de hoja de palma, vaciado hasta que se convierta casi en sector circular de 2 a 3 milímetros de diámetro, afilándolo mucho en uno de los extremos. El curare, *kunawara*, se aplica en unos 3 cm. más abajo de la punta, la cual se limpia muy bien de manera que un arañazo casual no inyecté veneno y las flechas puedan manipularse con absoluta seguridad.

Los Kamarakotos no preparan ellos mismos el curare, probablemente porque en su región no crece la planta necesaria, y tampoco saben cómo se prepara. Se lo compran a los Maquiritares en forma de una substancia sólida, negra o parda oscura, parecida a la pez. Disuelven al veneno sólido con agua o, mejor aún, con jugo de yuca (*kumachi*) (115) y embadurnan con la mezcla el extremo de las flechas. Como quiera que el veneno es de un color tan oscuro y las flechas son amarillas claras, la presencia del veneno salta a la vista.

Las flechas envenenadas, sin otra preparación, se cargan en una aljaba, *möiya*, hecha de labor de cestería e impermeabilizada con una capa espesa de cera, *moromba*. El carcaj lleva una tapa de piel bien ajustada, (véase Ilust. 67). Los Kamarakotos los hacen unas veces y otras se los compran—esencialmente de la misma forma—a los Maquiritares. A la aljaba, va sujeto otro cestillo, *tsimui'*, sin revestimiento ni tapa, que sirve para meter las hilachas de kapok o ceibo (véase Ilust. 67) y remata la tapa del carcaj una mandíbula de pescado pequeño (caribe o piraña - *tsiparai'*).

Para usar el dardo se amarra en su rededor una mecha de ceibo de unos 45 a 50 mm. de largo, dejando unos 15 mm. libres en el extremo superior. La mecha tiene forma de embudo, con la parte más gruesa cerca del extremo inferior, donde su diámetro es aproximadamente de 12 a 14 mm., es decir, algo mayor que el alma de la cerbatana que mide normalmente de 9 a 11 mm. La mecha de ceibo se coloca y ajusta con un atado en espiral hecho con una fibra muy fina de *kurawai*. El objeto que se persigue es,

(115) Este es el mismo jugo que los Indios le ponen a sus guisos y no es venenoso por sí. Los Indios creen que le da más eficacia al curare, pero yo no sé si esto es cierto realmente. El curare es sin duda completamente efectivo sin ese jugo.

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naturalmente, impedir que el aire se escape alrededor del dardo, de manera que la fuerza del soplo lo empuje a través del tubo.

Entre dos de los dientes afilados de la mandíbula de caribe se apoya una parte del dardo, al extremo posterior del veneno, y se le da vueltas para que los dientes se incrusten, quebrando luego la punta del dardo fácilmente (116). Esto hace que todo el dardo se quiebre y salte cuando se clava en la presa, dejando metida la púa con el veneno. Si cae un ave muerta o herida y se encuentra la púa, llamada *iporosa*', frecuentemente se saca y guarda en el cestillo que va dentro de la tapa del carcaj, como una parte del trofeo.

La cerbatana es un arma excelente. El esfuerzo de apuntar y disparar es leve, una vez que se haya aprendido la técnica sencilla de soplar como es debido, siendo extraordinariamente eficaz el impacto así como certero a distancia moderada. Su alcance efectivo es aproximadamente tan grande como el del arco y la puntería mucho más exacta. Hablo, claro está, de la cerbatana manejada por los Indios. Se usa casi exclusivamente para cazar aves. Los Indios dicen que el veneno no es fatal para animales de sangre fría y que, aunque mata mamíferos, la cantidad que lleva un dardo de cerbatana no bastaría para matar rápidamente a la mayoría de la caza de pelo. El veneno es completamente inocuo al entrar por vía bucal y la pequeña cantidad que puede contener un ave matada con él no surte ningún efecto nocivo. Por esto, y aunque una cantidad grande mataría indudablemente a un hombre, los Indios dicen que un dardo de cerbatana no puede, por su acción tóxica, dañar permanentemente a un ser humano y que el curare no se usa por esto en la guerra ni para ejecuciones. Esto se ve confirmado por relatos fidedignos de viajeros en otras partes de Sur América, de manera que los ataques de Indios armados de cerbatanas y los asesinatos cometidos con esta arma son fantasías de escritores de imaginación calenturienta.

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(116) Siquiera entre los Kamarakotos, la afirmación casi general de que esta mandíbula de pescado se carga con el propósito de afilar los dardos, es incierta. En realidad, afilar un dardo ya preparado equivaldría a quitarle todo o parte del veneno, haciendo inefica la saeta. Deben afilarse éstos antes de untarles el veneno y antes de ponerlos en el carcaj, de modo que la mandíbula de caribe que va sobre éste no puede tener tal fin.

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Farabee dice que los Makuchis acostumbran amarrar la parte exterior de la cerbatana con tiras de corteza o con bejucos que luego sujetan con pez; y Roth también menciona el empleo eventual de amarraduras adecuadas. Los Kamarakotos jamás hacen esto. Koch-Grünberg dice que el manejo de la cerbatana demanda extraordinaria habilidad y no escasa fuerza, pero mis experimentos me demostraron lo contrario. Mi esposa, poco musculosa, quien casi no puede apuntar con un rifle pesado, pudo manipular fácilmente una cerbatana, y ambos adquirimos bastante puntería y alcance considerable después de ensayar diez o veinte veces. La cerbatana es en realidad un arma de manejo extraordinariamente fácil, mucho más que el de las armas de fuego y las expresiones usuales de asombro ante la habilidad de los Indios con sus cerbatanas me parecen una exageración extravagante.

La caza mayor suele ser acosada con perros y matada con macana, flecha o escopeta. No ví perros cazando, sino rondando las chozas, y tenían un aspecto tan escuálido y enfermizo que parecían no servir para nada. Los Indios suelen tenerlos por mero capricho; los muchachos juegan con ellos y los adultos apenas les hacen caso. Ninguno de estos canes es de guarda ni muestra valentía ni apego. Se me dijo que los Maquiritares crían perros que son excelentes cazadores, y que a veces les compran algunos los Kamarakotos, pero yo no ví ningún ejemplar de esa raza aristocrática (117). El hecho curioso de que los Kamarakotos emplean una palabra Española para designar a los canes (pronuncian *peró* y no *perro*) aunque haya para ellos un vocablo Caribe extendido, indica que estos Indios no tuvieron perros hasta recientemente, por más que otras tribus Caribes los tienen al parecer hace mucho tiempo, probablemente desde antes del Descubrimiento. Sea como fuere, los perros desempeñan papel muy escaso en tierra de Kamarakotos, donde abundan menos y son menos útiles que entre muchos Indios afines.

La mayoría de los Indios de la Guayana y el Amazonas parecen haber usado antes macanas o porras de madera, frecuente-

(117) Koch-Grünberg menciona lo mucho que abundan los perros en tierra de Maquiritares, afirmando que son bravos y buenos cazadores, lo cual está de acuerdo con la fama de que gozan entre los Kamarakotos, subrayando la inferioridad de los de estos Indios.

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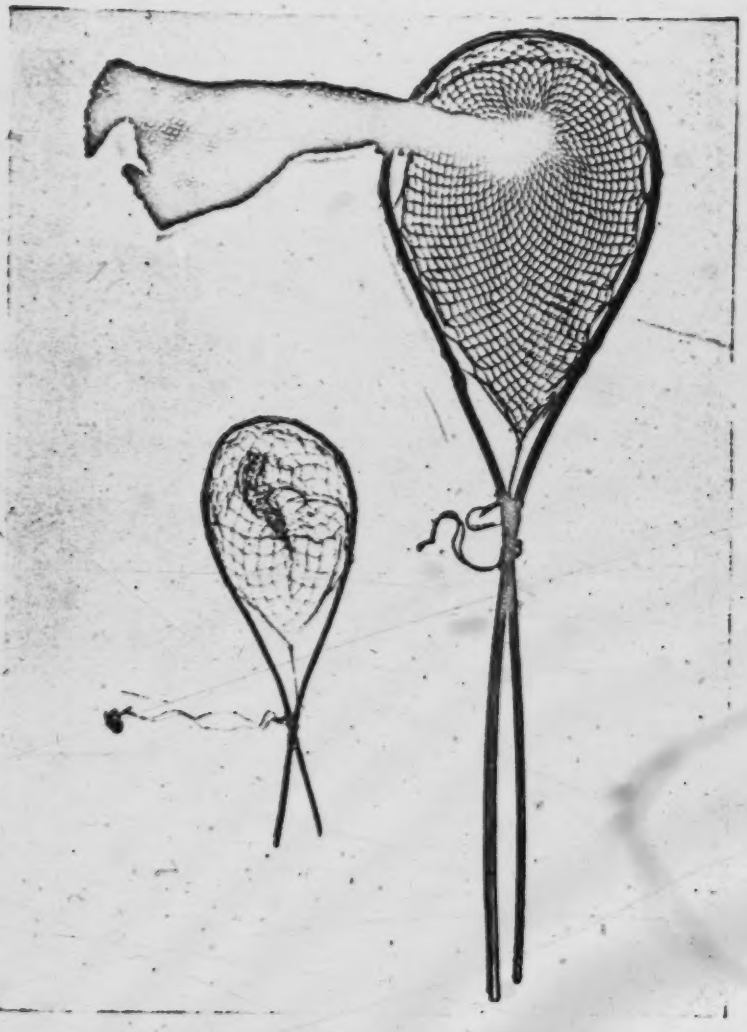
mente talladas y decoradas y de forma característica para cada tribu (véase Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth y, en suma, casi todos los relatos detallados de viajes por esta región general). Empleadas principalmente para la guerra, ocupación desusada actualmente, estas macanas parecen arrumbadas ya en todas partes. Los Kamarakotos también las usarían antes indudablemente, pero yo no les ví ninguna ni obtuve datos de que las hiciesen ni las empleasen, aunque sólo fuese como accesorios de ceremonias o danzas.

Pesquería.

El pescado es manjar predilecto de los Indios, y la pesquería un deporte favorito, llegando a constituir, cuando se efectúa con barbasco, un acontecimiento social. Los derechos de pesquería están bien definidos y se defienden celosamente: la única guerra India seria que recuerdan los Kamarakotos surgió por conculcación de estos derechos y tal conculcación constituye aún, siquiera sea en teoría, un delito grave.

Los peces se atrapan con arco y flecha, anzuelo y cordel, red de mano, nasa y barbasco. La pesquería con lanzas o arpones así como con esparavel y trasmallo parece desconocerse. La flecha principal de pesca, la *waibakasi*, ya ha sido descrita. La flecha de tridente que usan para pescar algunas tribus afines, no la vimos en tierra de Kamarakotos, quienes actualmente no emplean sino rara vez ese procedimiento para atrapar peces, teniendo sobre todo en cuenta que ahora escasean los grandes. Cuando se envenena el agua con barbasco, algunos peces no mueren, sino quedan atontados nada más. Entonces se rematan con flechas o de ordinario, con varas afiladas meramente. Sin embargo, ello es más deporte de muchachos (o de adultos entusiastas) que sistema serio de pesquería.

Todos los Indios de las Guayanas y de Venezuela y la mayoría de los del Brasil disponen actualmente de anzuelos de acero de manufactura extranjera, artículo favorito de comercio que ha penetrado en la región más profunda y rápidamente que los exploradores. Los anzuelos tienen un nombre vernáculo, *kunoi'* en



Ilust. Nº 18.—Redes Kamarakotas de pescar.
A, *iru'*. B, *pond* (para el uso se amarra en el extremo de un palo, que no figura en la ilustración).

[facing p. 404]

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Kamarakoto, e indiscutiblemente los de acero han reemplazado a los indígenas de madera o hueso, por más que estos sean completamente desconocidos para los Kamarakotos, quienes consideran que *siempre* los han tenido de metal. Los Kamarakotos emplean un recurso ingenioso para impedir que los peces corten el cordel, recurso análogo al que representa el sedal corto de tripa en pesquería más civilizada. La cabeza del anzuelo se incrusta en una varita de varios centímetros de largo, la cual se reviste luego con balatá. He visto cabos de éstos con huellas profundas de dentelladas de peces, siendo evidente la conveniencia del procedimiento. El cordel es de algodón trenzado y se ata simplemente al extremo de una vara o caña sin dispositivo alguno para carretel ni demás complicaciones. Las redes de mano son de dos clases. La grande, *iru'*, se emplea solamente para recoger los peces ya muertos o atontados; es una red de desembarque meramente. Se hace con fibra de *kurawai* gruesa y de trenzado doble anudando las mallas en cuadrado grande (el tejido está descrito en el capítulo "Textiles") y ya montada mide aproximadamente 50 cm. de profundidad por 20-30 cm. de diámetro en la boca. El centro es más angosto y el extremo inferior se ensancha nuevamente para rematar en cuadro (véase Ilust. 18 B), sistema tendiente a evitar que salten fuera los peces todavía vivos. Esta red se monta en un cerco de bejuco, cuyos dos extremos, juntados, forman un asa (118).

La otra red, *pendɔ*, se usa para peces vivos y es mucho más pequeña que la *iru* (véase figura 18 A). Mide tan solo 15 cm. de profundidad cuando está plegada y la boca abierta tiene 10-15 cm. de diámetro. Es también de *kurawai* dobletrenzado, pero de malla más pequeña y de tejido más abierto que la *iru'* (véase "Textiles"). Se le pone una armadura de bejuco delgado y muy liso, de modo que pueda plegarse y abrirse fácilmente. La armadura tiene un asa corta y se amarra a una vára o caña. Cuando un pez se mete en la red, ésta resbala hacia el extremo de la armadura, cerrándose así la boca automáticamente.

La nasa o trampa de pescar, *muroi'* (Ilust. 9) se hace con pequeños juncos o mimbres cilíndricos (trozos pelados de un beju-

(118) El único ejemplar que los Indios quisieron desprenderse procedía de la Gran Sabana, pero era de hechura idéntica a la Kamarakota.

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co menudo y correoso, *tsimo'*) que atados entre sí forman una malla rectangular (véase "Textiles"). El cuerpo de la nasa es un cilindro irregular, uno de cuyos extremos termina en un cerco rígido, desde el cual se dirigen libremente hacia atrás, o sea, el interior del cilindro, unos juncos flexibles, formando un centro que cede y se abre cuando entra un pez, pero que inmediatamente retrocede e impide que la presa escape. El otro extremo del cilindro se deja abierto al tejer el aparato, pero al usarlo se cierra con una tapa, la cual se quita para sacar el pescado. La nasa se amarra en el hueco de una represa parcial del río cuya corriente arrastra a los peces al interior de la trampa. Así caen solamente pequeños.

El método favorito y más productivo de pesquería es con veneno, vale decir, con barbasco. (Véanse Ilust. 19-22). Hay varias clases de veneno para pescar, pero el más usado, el único que vimos emplear nosotros, es *ine*, (119). Se trata de un bejuco cuyo tallo y cuya raíz son venenosos, aunque ésta más que aquél. Se recogen grandes cantidades del citado bejuco, se cortan en trozos de unos 50 cm., se astillan y desmenuzan y finalmente se atan en haces. El día señalado todos los Indios de la vecindad se reunen en el río que van a envenenar y cuya corriente remontan hasta la punta de la zona de pesca. Algunos van más lejos todavía y enturbian el agua, indicando a sus compañeros hasta dónde llega el cardume. En cuanto llega el agua turbia, los Indios empiezan a sacudir los fajos de bejucos contra las peñas metiéndolos en el agua de vez en cuando, de manera que el jugo se mezcle con la corriente, la cual adquiere un tono ligeramente lechoso. Las mujeres y los muchachos se sitúan en la parte baja del río y siguen las briznas de barbasco que arrastra la corriente, recogiendo los peces atontados con redes (*iru'*) o con las manos. Cuando los hombres terminan de sacudir el veneno, se juntan con las mujeres, ayudándolas a recoger el pescado. A veces, por

(119) Koch-Grünberg identifica el *ine'* de los Taurepanes como *Lonchocarpus densiflorus*, pero el *ine'* Kamarakoto difícilmente puede ser esa especie si la descripción de Pittier es correcta. Es más probable que *Lonchocarpus* sea el aya que Koch-Grünberg identifica como *Clibedium*. La clasificación o identificación de los diversos venenos para peces parece encontrarse en condición caótica, y la investigación de ellos sería útil e interesante. Hasta el excelente sumario de Roth deja sin aclarar innumerables puntos dudosos.

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mera diversión, pues resulta innecesario, asaetean a los peces grandes. La faena de recoger el pescado es propiamente de las mujeres. En caso de necesidad, especialmente en los grandes remansos, se riega más veneno en la parte baja del río.

El efecto del tóxico se atenúa rápidamente, y hasta gran cantidad de barbasco concentrado tiene escasa o nula eficacia un kilómetro más abajo del punto en que comenzó la batida. Pocos peces mueren del todo, quedando la mayoría de ellos atontados solamente, nadando en vorágine y panza arriba; y, si no se atrapan, los menos atacados por el veneno, parecen reponerse al cabo de un tiempo. El barbasco no tiene en absoluto efecto sobre las personas. Los Indios se bañan y nadan en agua muy envenenada con él y hasta la beben (120). Nuestro depósito de agua potable también contenía barbasco y, no obstante, ninguno de nosotros sufrió la más leve indisposición.

La práctica de envenenar los ríos para pescar se ha censurado acremente como derroche extravagante y porque acaba con los peces. Yo tengo la impresión de que no es dispendiosa ni determina el exterminio. Efectivamente, la grave inculpación resulta absurda si se considera que los Indios vienen envenenando estos ríos hace siglos, milenios acaso, y que todavía abunda en ellos la pesca. Contrariamente a lo que se supone, el barbasco no esteriliza los ríos, pues el pequeño sector donde son batidos los peces y algunos de ellos atrapados se repuebla rápidamente desde la parte de arriba y por la de abajo. No deja de ser cierto que los peces grandes ya no abundan en esta región, pero debe tomarse en cuenta, por un lado, que las piezas voluminosas y raras no se matan con veneno sino con flecha o se atrapan con anzuelo, y, por el otro lado, que la conrtante pesquería impide que ningún ejemplar llegue a edad considerable, por más que le dejen tiempo sobrado para su reproducción. Cuanto al supuesto derroche, hay que consignar que raro es efectivamente el pez envenenado que no sea recogido y comido. Hasta los más menudos se aprovechan. Los envenenados levemente y que escapan nadando no parecen dañados de manera definitiva.

(120) El presunto peligro del agua envenenada en esta parte de Sur América puede catalogarse de consiguiente entre los trampantojos de la imaginación, siendo más absurdo todavía que el riesgo de los ataques con cerbatanas.

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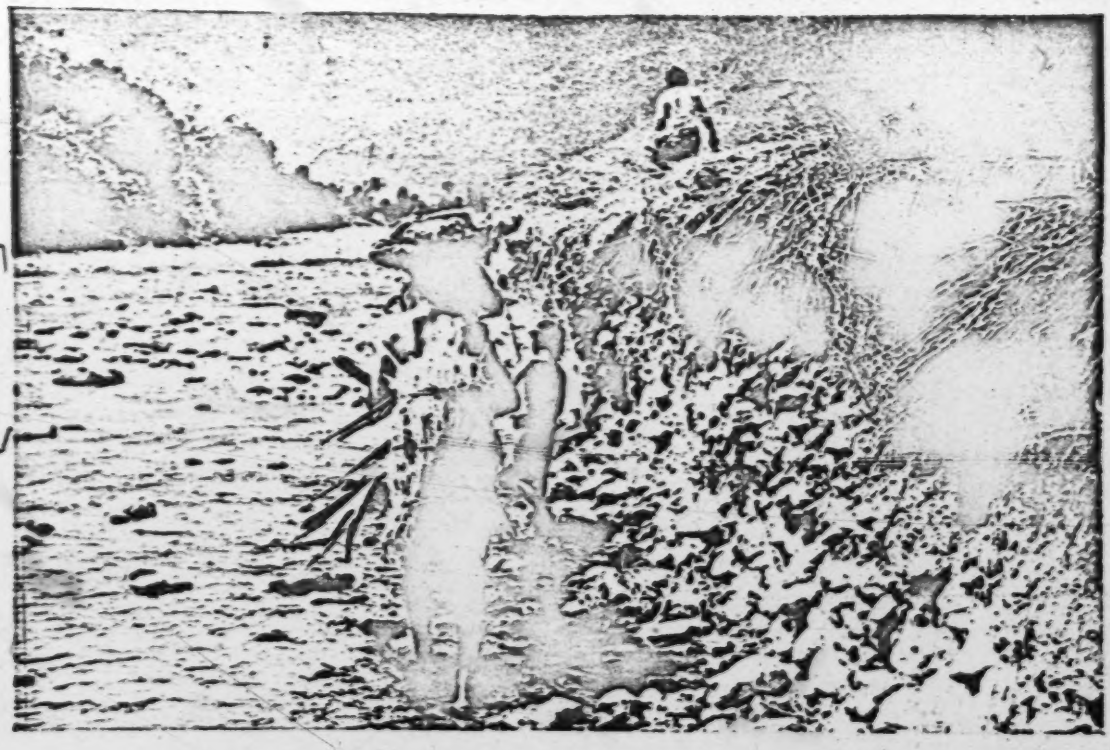
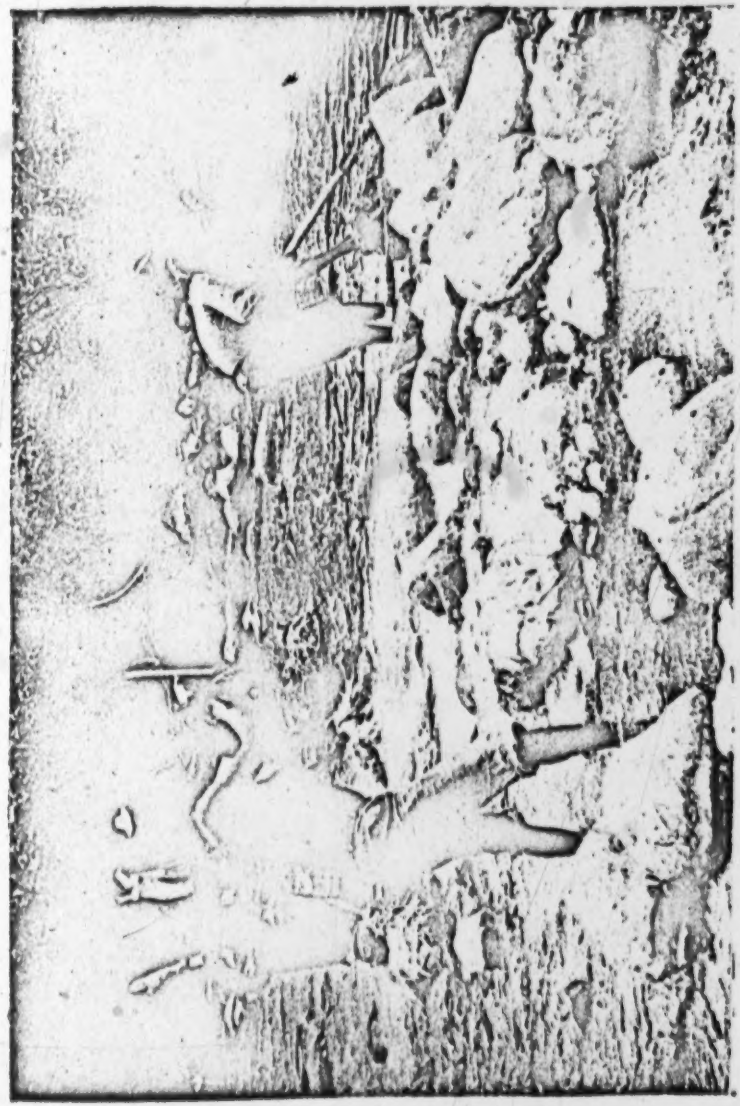


Ilust. Nº 19.—Pescando con Barbasco.
Transportando el veneno preparado para los peces (*ia₄'* en este caso) río arriba (el Yuruán), que en este lugar está bajo ahora, por ser verano.

[P.496-A]



Ilust. Nº 20.—Pescando con Barbasco.
Hombre revolviendo el barbasco para que el veneno se disuelva en el agua.

[p. 406-B]

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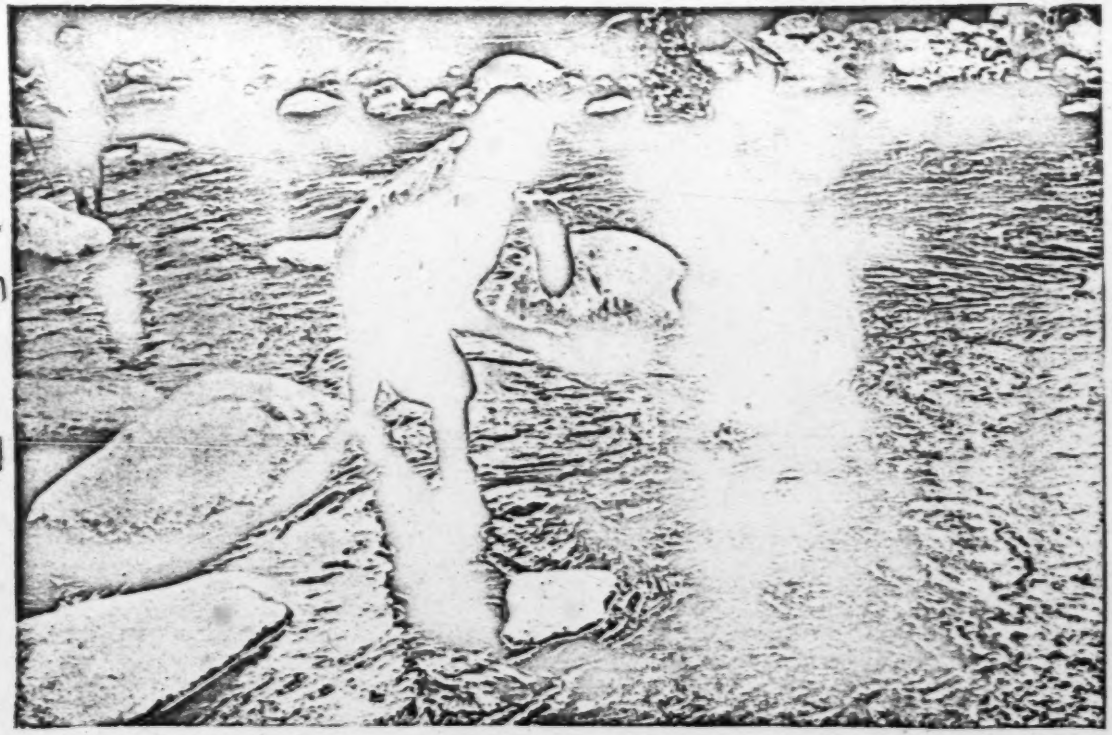

Ilust. Nº 21.—Pescando con Barbasco.
Mujer recogiendo con una red (*iru'*) los peces que emergen atontados.

[p. 406-a]

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Ilust. Nº 22.—Pescando con Barbasco.
Mujeres recogiendo con redes los peces asfixiados.

[p. 70c-D]

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Una pesquería con barbasco constituye también un gran acontecimiento social, y la ribera se anima con juegos y risas—evento feliz que no deja dolor de cabeza como otras ceremonias y festejos de los Indios.

Gran parte del pescado se salcocha y come inmediatamente. El sobrante se seca al sol, guardándose para peores tiempos.

Preparación de los alimentos.

Los Kamarakotos cocinan todos los alimentos que nosotros cocinamos regularmente. No comen cruda la carne, ni el pescado ni los vegetales, sino muy pocos, con excepción de la fruta, siendo ésta parte menor de su dieta. El único alimento crudo importante es el cambur, y aun éste suele cocinarse o se machuca o maja, haciéndo una pasta que se come con casabe.

Se hace el fuego con pedernal y acero (Ilust. 23). Algunas tribus afines (especialmente los Makuchis) prenden candela, o la prendían hasta hace poco, con un rolo de madera, haciéndolo girar entre las palmas de las manos. No ví ningún Kamarakoto que hieciera ésto ni que supiera siquiera que podía hacerse. Lo mismo que los machetes y los dardos acerados, el pedernal y el acero son actualmente tan viejos en la tribu que los Kamarakotos se los imaginan indígenas completamente. El "pedernal", *kakon*, es habitualmente un pedazo de jaspe (o arenisca jasperizada) que abunda en la región; y el acero, *kulü-kulü* (literalmente "lima") una escofina pequeña. La mecha, *wato-dapon*, es una trenza de algodón amarrada con cabuya e inserta en un pedazo de bambú. Puede hacerse fuego con este aparato casi tan rápidamente como con un fósforo. Se usa principalmente en los viajes, ya que la candela rara vez se apaga en el hogar. Para incrementar el fuego se usan ramitas o astillas. La misma palabra, *apoi*, se aplica al fuego y a la leña, mientras que el vocablo Caribe más corriente para "fuego", *wato* sirve solamente para designar el aparato—pedernal, acero y mecha—de prender candela.

La candela puede hacerse simplemente en el suelo, sin hoyo de ninguna especie, sobre todo si se trata de asar. El fuego pa-

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ra cocer casabe y otros usos similares también se coloca por lo regular en la superficie del suelo, rodeándolo de piedras, tres por lo común, de la misma altura, que sirven para asentar la olla o *puitari*. El fuego para los hervidos y guisados se hace más frecuentemente en un hogar simple pero característico llamado *apoi' piapo'*. Se trata de un mero hoyo cavado en el suelo, no redondo, sino elíptico o en forma de canoa, de modo que los extremos queden libres, apoyándose así firmemente en el centro la olla, cuyo fondo es cóncavo.

La comida se prepara habitualmente dentro de la vivienda, donde pueden funcionar varios fogones, pero simultáneamente, cuando hace buen tiempo, la cocina se traslada a la enramada o pabellón-taller o al aire libre, cerca de los ranchos.

El casabe, el alimento simple más importante, se prepara esencialmente lo mismo que en todas partes de Sur América, así que no hace falta describir detalladamente la operación. Las raíces, *kösa*, se raspan primeramente con un cuchillo y después se rallan dentro de una batea, *moru*, (Ilust. 24). El rallo, *sama:ri*, no lo hacen los Kamarakotos sino lo adquieren de los *pabanatones* (Maquiritares y tribus afines). Los Kamarakotos disponen de todos los materiales necesarios para hacerlo, pero la manufactura es engorrosa y prefieren comprar el utensilio. Koch-Grünberg ha descrito e ilustrado esta manufactura hablando de los Yekuanás, tribu Maquiritare (1923, Vol. III, págs. 347-349 y lámina 61) y la identidad absoluta entre los rallos que él describe y los que usan los Kamarakotos confirma las declaraciones de su origen Maquiritare. En resumen, el rallo es una tabla plana, uno de cuyos lados está erizado de innumerables piedrecitas afiladas o fragmentos de acero (de cuchillos, navajas, anzuelos, etc.), incrustados en agujeros y sujetos con pez.

La masa rallada se coloca en una prensa llamada "sebucán" en Español-Venezolano y *tangöi'* en Kamarakoto, (Ilust. 25). Se trata de un cesto largo y cilíndrico (véase "Textiles"), tejido de manera que pueda ensancharse, abierto por un extremo y cerrado por otro. Cada extremo tiene un cincho fuerte de fibra tejida. El *tangöi'* se llena y el cincho del extremo abierto (el de arriba) se cuelga de un horcón de los que nunca faltan en las viviendas

Ilust. Nº 23.—Haciendo fuego.
Para esta operación emplean los Kamarakotos pedernal (jaspe de la localidad), acero (una lima triangular) y mecha (un rollo grueso de algodón indígena).

[P. 408-A]

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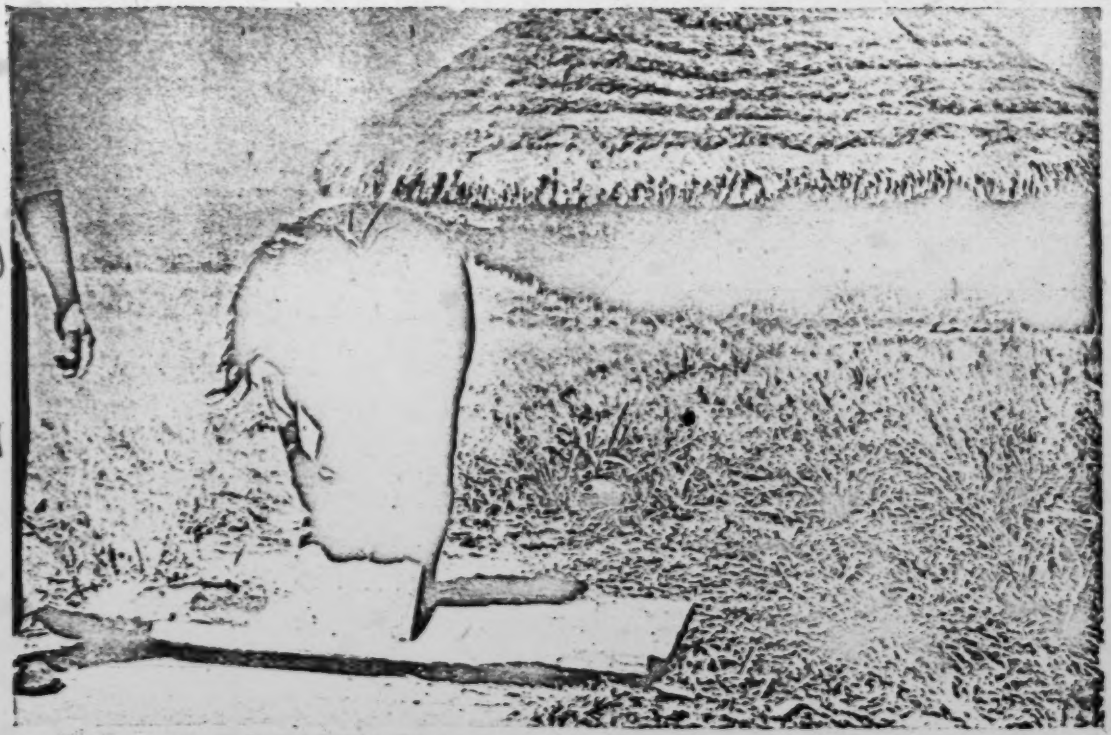

Ilust. Nº 24.—Rallando yuca.
Mujer Kamarakota de Uruyén rallando la raíz con un *mama:ri*, sobre una *batea* (*moru*).

[B-408-P]

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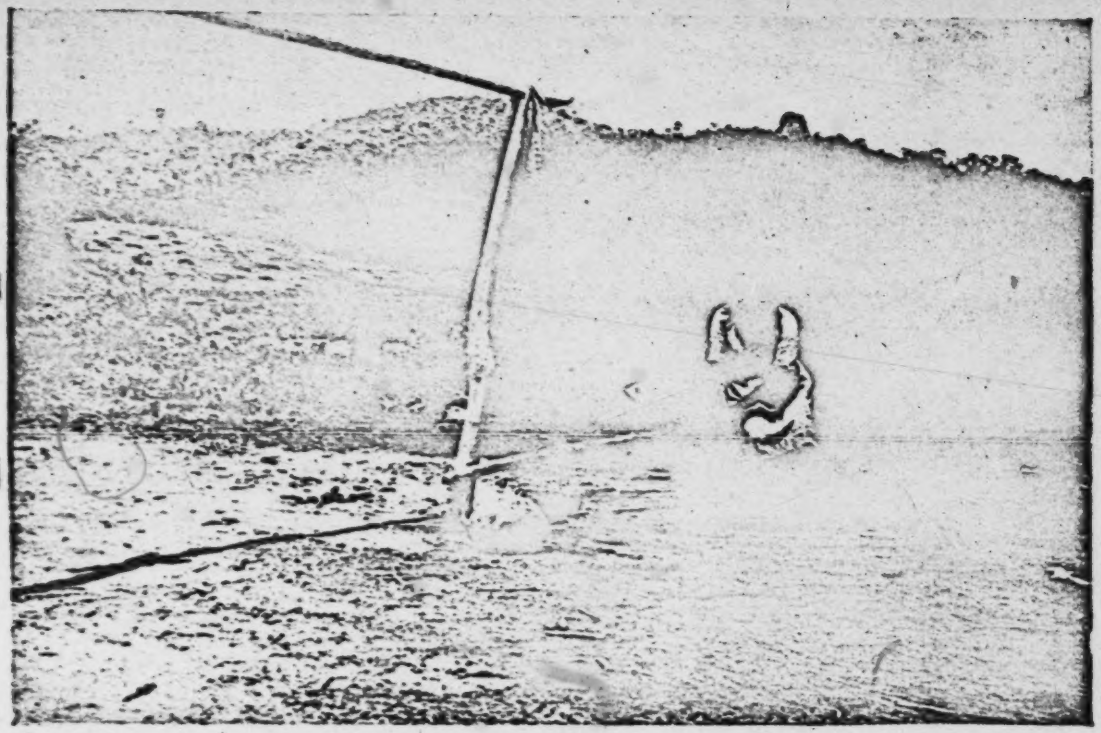

[D-807 'd]

Ilust. Nº 25.—Prensando yuca.
Uso típico de la prensa de yuca Arekuna, *tangõi* (Español-Venezolano "sebucán"). Esta mujer es Taurepana, pero la prensa y su uso son idénticos entre los Kamarakotos.

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ni en las enramadas. Después se pasa una verada por el cincho inferior amarrándose un extremo de éste a un poste recto. Quien hace el casabe (siempre una mujer) se sienta luego en el otro extremo y estira el *tangöi'* exprimiendo así el jugo de la yuca rallada. El líquido que sale por el fondo se recoge.

La harina casi seca se pasa por un cedazo rectangular de cestería, *pangai'*, (véase "Textiles") y seguidamente se amasa en tortas delgadas que se ponen a cocer en una gran cazuela plana, *puitare*, ("budare") debajo de la cual arde la leña. La galleta resultante, grande, delgada y redonda es el casabe propiamente dicho o *eke*. Es un tanto blando recién cocido, pero suele dejarse secar para conservarlo y entonces se pone muy duro. Para el paladar no acostumbrado tiene un gusto insípido y como de aserrín, pero quienes lo comen regularmente afirman que tiene sabor agradable. Es el alimento básico de los Kamrakotos.

Algunas de las tribus más al Sur tuestan la harina de yuca cernida y así la conservan sin cocer, tapada con hojas de cambur o plátano, pero los Kamarakotos no hacen esto.

Entre las demás viandas debe dársele el primer lugar a una especie de sopa o menestra caldosa, *kumasa*, en Español-Venezolano se dice "hervido" o "sancocho", y que los viajeros llaman "*pepper-pot*" u olla picante", plato universal entre los Caribes. La *kumasa* se cocina en una olla sobre un fogón más o menos rudimentario. Este guiso admite variaciones innumerables, pero la base es siempre agua y ajíes, añadiéndosele cuanto se tiene a mano: trozos de carne o pescado, huesos, harina de yuca, plátanos y cambures, mapüeyes, ocumos, etc.

Se le agrega como condimento, lo mismo que a las demás viandas cocidas, *kumachi* o sea zumo de yuca (121). Las varie-

(121) Es creencia o afirmación casi general que este jugo es un veneno mortal y que el fin que se persigue con su extracción mediante la prensa de la yuca rallada es eliminar esta substancia tóxica. Tal creencia o afirmación es errónea. Seguramente el veneno perdería fuerza al cocerse la harina, pero de todos modos la compresión de la yuca rallada no es para extraer el veneno, sino para obtener una harina más seca, de modo que el pan tenga mejor cochura. Este zumo —"veneno mortal"— lo consumen los Indios en cantidades enormes, sin que por ello se enfermen, y es su aliño favorito y el más común, no teniendo otro rival que el ají. Sin embargo, nunca deja de hervirse previamente, lo cual indudablemente destruye cualquier cualidad tóxica, caso que la tuviera.

dades de platos en que predominan otros ingredientes que los ajíes tienen denominación esencial, por ejemplo, *kuratano-kumasa*, "sopa o papilla de plátano", como nosotros decimos sopa de tomate, sopa de ajoporro, etc. La hortaliza, en especial tratándose de raíces de variedades de *Dioscorea*, se hierve frecuentemente entera o en grandes trozos, en vez de machucarse como para la *kumasa*. Este plato se llama *putosa*, por ejemplo, *napüei-putosa*, mapüeyes sancochados. Las raíces y los plátanos también se asan en la brasa y entonces se llama el plato *pusa*, verbigracia, *piricha pusa*, ñames asados.

Aparte el uso que se le da en la *kumasa* a los huesos y desperdicios principalmente, la carne puede hervirse, *woto-erindasa*, o asarse en una especie de trípode sobre el fuego, *woto-kambwö*.

No hay mina de sal en la zona y pueden pasarse largos períodos sin usar ese aliño, pero los Kamarakotos son muy dados a él y así se lo agencian mediante trueque con las tribus vecinas. Sin embargo, por grande que sea el abasto, los Indios usan la sal con parsimonia, y la mayoría de nuestras comidas las encuentran saladas hasta lo incomible. En cambio, su comida es tan picante que nosotros no la podemos pasar. Es indudable que el uso abundante de ají contrarresta la insipidez de la comida sin sal. Por lo demás, tampoco cabe duda de que las raíces que comen los Indios contienen sales suficientes para el sustento humano.

El maíz, de muy escasa importancia para los Kamarakotos, suele rallarse cuando está todavía verde, "jojoto" en Español-Venezolano, haciéndose con él una sopa. Los Kamarakotos están familarizados con la manera Aruaca de preparar el maíz, actualmente general en Venezuela, majándolo o *pilándolo* en un mortero grande o *pilón*, remojándolo y volviéndolo a machucar hasta hacerlo miga y finalmente cociéndolo en torticas o *arepas;* y según me dijeron, a veces lo preparan así. No vimos, sin embargo, pilones ni nos dieron de comer arepas, de lo que infiero que emplean muy poco tal sistema, el cual no es esencialmente Kamarakoto sino tomado de los vecinos Aruacos o de los Venezolanos-Españoles, quienes lo aprendieron de esos Indios.

La caña de azúcar se pela habitualmente y se chupa y masca cruda, pero el zumo también se exprime y se toma solo o con

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agua, o bien se agrega a la artesa para hacer bebidas alcohólicas. No se hierve ni con él se hace azúcar (122). El uso de la prensa o *trapiche* está extendido, con algunas variantes, en muchas tribus del Orinoco, el Amazonas y las Guayanas. Como la caña de azúcar, es indudablemente postcolombina, debido especialmente a que no sirve para nada más y no pudo usarse para preparar ningún alimento indígena de antes del Descubrimiento, pero, como he dicho, está muy difundido y acusa algunas variantes locales distintivas. Consiste en un poste vertical, uno de cuyos lados está cortado excepto en la parte en que sobresale un brazo o caño, teniendo sobre éste, y a través del poste, un agujero. La caña se coloca sobre el brazo o caño, se pasa un tronco por el agujero, y la presión del tronco revienta la caña. El zumo corre a un punto del extremo inferior del brazo o caño y cae en una vasija (véase Ilust. 28).

Nordenskiöld (1930) ha demostrado que tales prensas de caña están difundidas por todo el Norte de Sur América, declarando de modo casi concluyente que el aparato representa un verdadero invento Indio realizado después del Descubrimiento y para beneficiar una planta importada. La opinión alternativa de que el trapiche fué introducido por los negros, se ve rebatida ampliamente por el hecho de que tal aparato no se encuentra en Africa, como puntualiza Nordenskiöld, y también por su distribución típicamente India y porque únicamente lo emplean los negros que pudieron tomarlo de los Indios, especialmente de los Caribes, mientras que lo usan muchos Indios que difícilmente pudieron tomarlo de los negros.

El hecho de que no se difundiesen con la planta extranjera prensas de tipo extranjero para su adecuado beneficio puede atribuirse a dificultades de material y técnica. Una rueda hubiese podido hacerse perfectamente sin hierro, pero hubiese sido engorroso el trabajo, y el principio de la rueda es tan extraño para

(122) Uno o dos de los Indios más corridos á "sofisticados", quienes habían visto y probado el pan de azúcar sin refinar (*papelón*) Español-Venezolano, trataron de imitarlo, pero este esfuerzo esporádico todavía no ha tenido éxito.

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los Indios que difícilmente lo pueden concebir y menos efectuar (123).

Tóxicos y narcóticos.

Los Kamarakotos no conocen licores destilados ni vinos de frutas, pero preparan con cierta variedad y gran abundancia bebidas de almidón fermentado. Lo esencial para estas bebidas es algún vegetal rico en almidón, especialmente la yuca, pero también varias clases de *Dioscorea* y maíz que se rallan, mezclan con agua y déjanse fermentar. El gusto y los grados de estas bebidas pueden variarse con procesos intermedios, reforzarse mediante adición de caña de azúcar y aromatizarse con otros ingredientes. El nombre genérico de estos brevajes elaborados de la manera más rudimentaria es *kachiri*, cuya base corriente es zumo de yuca y cuyas variedades se derivan de adición o substitución de los otros componentes. A una de las variedades más comunes de *kachiri* se le añade batata (*Ipomea*) rallada, la cual le presta un color rojizo.

La *paiba*, que se distingue usualmente del *kachiri* propiamente dicho, se hace con el casabe demasiado cocido o quemado, el cual se envuelve en hojas y se deja enmohecer hasta que se pone negro, desmenuzándolo después y empapándolo con agua caliente para que fermente mejor. El color de este brevaje es oscuro y por esto se llama a veces *"kachiri negro"*.

El *parakari* se hace también con casabe, como la *paiba*, pero menos cocido o chamuscado. El casabe se ensopa con agua y después se embojota o envuelve en hojas por algún tiempo antes de majarlo. Después fermenta, pero no se pone negro.

Otras especialidades del Bar Kamarakoto llevan el nombre de sus principales ingredientes. Citaremos simplemente:

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(123) Suministra al efecto una anécdota divertida al caso del Taurepán que quiso imitar un molino de rueda introducido por los Misioneros de Santa Elena. Nos enseñó su "invento" con resplandeciente ufanía, pero terminó por confesar que no podría funcionar, como probablemente se lo habría dicho de antemano cualquiera que hubiese comprendido el principio mecánico que implica el molino.

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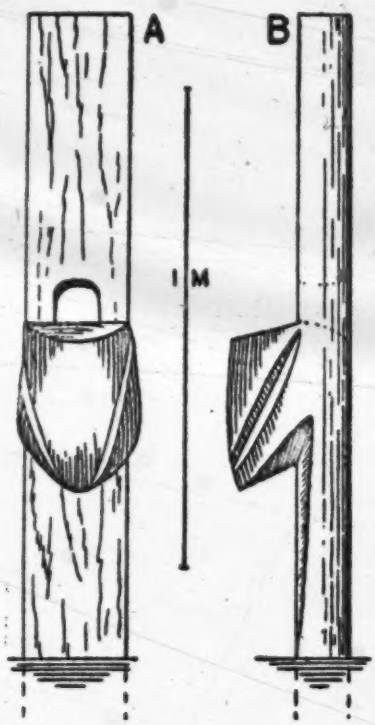
napuey-yeuku o jugo de mapuey.
piricha-yeuku o jugo de ñame.
icha-yeuku o jugo de batata.
anai-yeuku o jugo de maíz.

Todos estos jugos han de comprenderse fermentados.



Ilust. Nº 26.—Trapiche de caña Kamarakoto.
A, frente. B, perfil.

El kachirí tiene un gusto algo amargo y gaseoso, pero grato. Es un tóxico suave, acaso como una cerveza fuerte o como un vino ligero, pero en las festividades se trasiega en cantidades tan

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enormes que el anfitrión y los convidados se embriagan efectivamente como si hubiesen tomado aguardiente. La opinión general de cuantos viajeros han probado y saboreado esta bebida coincide en que es refrescante y suave, siempre que se tome con mesura.

El único narcótico que conocen los Kamarakotos es el tabaco, que usan ambos sexos y en todas las edades, exceptuando las criaturas (124). El tabaco, indiscutiblemente precolombino en esta zona, se cultiva en todos los conucos. Las hojas se amarran con una tira de corteza delgada y se guindan en el rancho para que sequen. Cuando alguien desea fumar, toma una hoja o dos, enrolla un cigarro y sin más le prende candela. Los Kamarakotos están familiarizados con la pipa, a la que dan el nombre Español-Venezolano de "cachimba", pero la usan muy poco y a decir verdad es de importación reciente. Ellos mismos la improvisan con palma u otra madera blanda que ahuecan, metiéndole después por uno de los lados un junco o canuto. Los cigarrillos no se usan normalmente, ni el tabaco se masca ni se absorbe su polvillo por la nariz. Los "piaches" (véase "Magia y Religión") usan una infusión acuosa de tabaco, pero no por placer ni nadie más que ellos.

UTENSILIOS DEL HOGAR

Herramientas y armas.

Las principales armas han sido ya descritas suficientemente al tratar de la cacería en capítulo anterior. Un arma Caribe típica, la maza de madera de guerra—*macana*—no fué vista entre los Kamarakotos, aunque por su distribución general no cabe duda de que anteriormente la conoció esta tribu. Acaso se encuentre alguna todavía, pero ya no es de uso corriente allí y no se hacen en la actualidad. En las tradiciones de guerras entre las tribus, tal como yo las escuché, no se mencionan las macanas y

(124) Durante nuestra permanencia se interrumpieron las costumbres de los Indios en este respecto, debido al hecho de que gastamos gran cantidad de cigarrillos en regalos y salarios, pero tengo la impresión de que el llamado vicio de fumar, aunque está extendido, no es intenso, ya que nadie fuma constante o excesivamente.

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los combates se desarrollaron, según dicen, exclusivamente con arco y flecha. Esto parece inverosímil, pero vale siquiera como reflejo de la actual falta de conocimiento o interés respecto a la maza como arma de guerra.

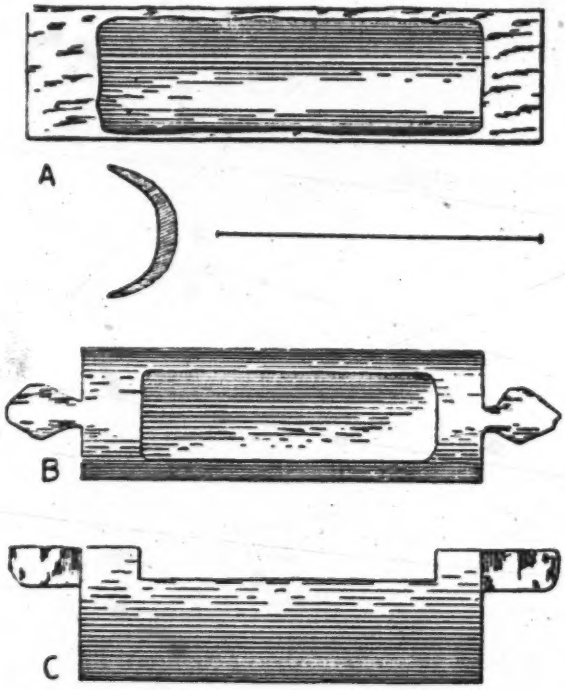
Las herramientas generales son hoy en día machetes, hachas, cuchillos y limas, todo ello de acero y de fabricación extranjera (de Estados Unidos y Alemania en su mayor parte). Aunque no sean precisamente herramientas, acaso conviniera añadir en esta lista las agujas. Antes de llegar nuestra expedición no se conocían martillos ni sierras. Tampoco se conocían los clavos en su uso ordinario, pero casi todas las mujeres tenían uno de que se sirven para una labor de ganchillo (véase "Textiles"). También tenían los Kamarakotos cuando nosotros llegamos unos cuantos picos de aceros recién adquiridos para trabajos de minería.

Actualmente no emplean herramientas estrictamente indígenas, exceptuando el uso eventual de mazos de madera y picas de lo mismo. Las herramientas esenciales de acero fueron introducidas mediante trueque mucho antes de la penetración blanca en esta región y son ya tan viejas en la tribu que se ha perdido completamente el recuerdo de las indígenas análogas. El arte de labrar la piedra es desconocido hoy en día, y, a juzgar por las tribus Brasileñas, no tan bien surtidas de acero, así como también por los escasos vestigios arqueológicos hallados en la Guayana Venezolana, el uso de la piedra nunca se desarrolló hasta un grado superior. Los implementos precolombinos eran principalmente, al parecer, de madera y hueso, suplementados con hachas de piedra (las cuales, sin embargo, acaso se usarían más bien para hendir y cavar que para cortar) y con el uso del fuego más extendido que actualmente.

La cocina.

Hemos mencionado ya en "Preparación de los Alimentos" los objetos principales necesarios para la elaboración del casabe. Son el rallo, la prensa o "sebucán", la artesa o "batea", el cedazo y la cazuela grande y plana, *puitari*, llamada en Español-Venezolano "budare". En la mayoría de las viviendas hay dos artesas, una relativamente simple, llamada *moru*, para la harina de yuca,

y otra más acabada, *watea*, para hacer el Cachirí. Ambas son de madera: troncos vaciados. El *moru* es un tronco longitudinalmente cortado por el medio y con una sección rebajada simplemente. La *watea* es el tronco enterizo al que se le hace un hueco profundos en los lados y cuyos extremos se labran de manera que



Ilust. Nº 27.—Bateas Kamarakotas.
A, batea usada para la yuca rallada, *moru*, vista desde arriba y en sección transversal. B, batea usada para preparar *kachirí*, *watea*, vista de arriba y de perfil.

hagan oficio de asas (véase Ilust. 27). Las maderas preferidas para estas artesas son *waidawau-yɛ'* y *kopei-y'ɛ* (véase "Vocabulario"). Mientras el kachirí fermenta, la *watea* se suele cubrir con una plancha de corteza de árbol.

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Varios de los cestos enumerados en lista aparte se usan para preparar y servir la comida.

La vasija primitiva, y que todavía se usa corrientemente para cocinar, es una olla de barro, *o.ina*. Son muy simples y sin ningún adorno de pintura o relieve, aparte una serie fortuita de tres o cuatro entalladuras que aparecen a veces toscas debajo del borde y que difícilmente pueden denominarse decoración (125). Sólo vimos dos modelos básicos con variantes considerables de tamaño y diseño. El tipo común—"cazuela"—es más ancho que hondo, con un borde saliente debajo del cual se constriñe el cuello, ensanchando después hasta llegar al diámetro máximo, que se encuentra aproximadamente en el medio de la altura de la olla. La mitad inferior es casi cónica, pero el fondo tiene una pequeña superficie plana o ligeramente cóncava. Esta le da un asiento, aunque no sea muy estable. El otro modelo, no corriente,—"múcura" o "pimpina"—es más hondo que ancho, esencialmente ovoide, con el extremo inferior de radio pequeño y el superior grande, teniendo un borde sobresaliente en el gollete (Ilust. 28).

Aunque de forma tan simple, estas vasijas están bien hechas; su contorno es suave y casi tan perfectamente circular como si estuvieran moldeadas en rueda de alfarero (aparato que, por supuesto, no conocen los Kamarakotos). Están hechas completamente a mano; la base modelada con una pella de barro y los lados construídos gradualmente de abajo hacia arriba. El material para los lados se va sacando de un rollo grueso de arcilla, pero no sería exacto decir que la hechura es en espiral. El rollo es simplemente un modo adecuado de añadir dedadas de arcilla blanda a la vasija y no se aplica realmente como espiral. Después de modeladas, las vasijas se secan bien al sol y luego se cuecen en una hoguera simple de leña al aire libre. Se ponen inmediatamente negras y así quedan.

(125) Cuando yo les pregunté si no pintaban nunca las ollas, los Kamarakotos me explicaron prolijamente que sería ridículo hacer tal, puesto que el dibujo quedaría tapado por el hollín el primer día que se usase la vasija. Las ollas se emplean únicamente para cocinar, usándose calabazas o "taparas" o "totumas" y cestos para los demás menesteres del hogar indígena.

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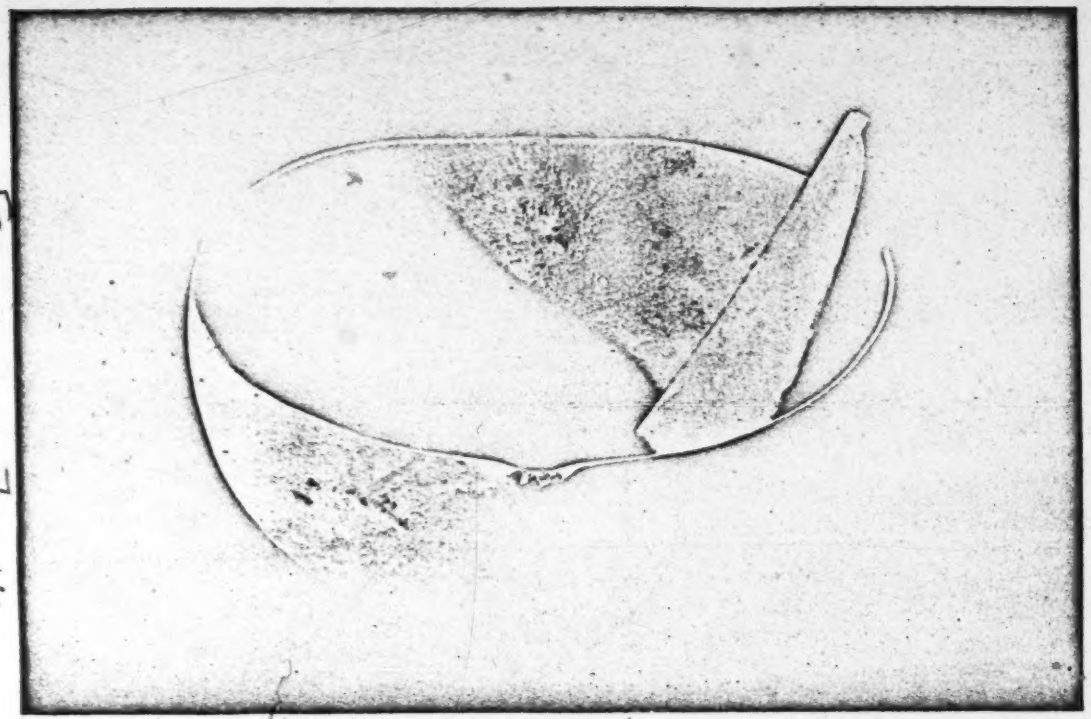

[facing p. 418]

Ilust. Nº 29.—Totuma y cuchara Kamarakotas.
Una *kamo'* con una *koikera* dentro (tanto la escudilla como la cuchara son de calabaza).

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Ilust. Nº 28.—Ollas Kamarakotas.

Tres formas características, A y B, variaciones del modelo común. C, tipo poco usado.

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Las vasijas, hechas exclusivamente por mujeres, no se manufacturan en todos los lugares de esta región, pues requieren una combinación de ingenio y arcilla adecuada que no se dan en todas partes. Se hacen en Uruyén, pero la mayoría de los Kamarakotos no las fabrican, como tampoco algunas tribus enteras del área. Vimos una olla de Uruyén en la maloca (aldea India) de Santa Elena, a varias semanas de camino de Uruyén.

Para todos los líquidos que no han de ponerse directamente sobre el fuego, los Kamarakotos usan calabazas o taparas (Ilust. 29). Una totuma grande y esférica cortada por la mitad y llamada *kamo'* es el recipiente más común para servir o guardar la sopa, las menestras y otras viandas caldosas que se toman, sorben o comen con cucharas, *koireka*, hechas con segmentos de una calabaza alargada. Las calabazas enteras se usan como botellas, *wai*, tapara en Español-Venezolano, haciéndoles un pequeño corte en un extremo. Los alimentos sólidos se sirven en esterillas y se comen con los dedos.

Las varias expediciones recientes proveyeron a los Kamarakotos de un repuesto considerable de platos y cazuelas de porcelana y peltre, botellas de vidrio y latas grandes, así como de algunos cuchillos de mesa, tenedores y cucharas de metal. Este repuesto no es aún suficiente para reemplazar los objetos indígenas, y, según me enteraron, no eran artículos de trueque antes del arribo de estas expediciones. Las ollas de peltre que substituyen a las ollas indígenas rompibles y de difícil manufactura son muy solicitadas, pero a los demás objetos Europeos de esta categoría no se les da gran valor, y algunos de ellos, adquiridos de expediciones anteriores a la nuestra, habían sido desechados ya en favor de los indígenas. Incluso las latas vacías de gasolina, que tienen un valor casi incalculable en muchos pueblos primitivos, no parecían ser apreciadas extraordinariamente. Con la sola excepción anotada, sus propios artículos son actualmente más adecuados para los usos de los Kamarakotos y no serán reemplazados a menos que cambie completamente su modo de vivir.

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El mobiliario.

El único mobiliario, aún hablando con amplitud, consiste en bancos, hamacas o chinchorros y cunas. El banco indígena, *aponoi'*, está labrado en un bloque de madera, dejando usualmente cuatro patas en los ángulos, no añadidas sino talladas en el mismo tronco como el asiento (véase Ilust. 30). Estos bancos son siempre muy bajos, por lo general sólo de 5 a 10 cm. de altura, porque los Indios encuentran incómodos los asientos más altos. Hay, sin embargo, un banco más alto y más complicado, *murei*, pero éste únicamente lo usan los piaches (véase "Magia y Religión"). Fuera del rancho, y frecuentemente dentro de él también, los Indios se sientan en cuclillas mejor que en bancos, o bien en el suelo, pero en toda vivienda hay uno o dos bancos. No los usan para descansar, cosa que hacen en los chinchorros, tendidos o sentados (véase Roth, 1924, figura 81 y texto acompañativo, para datos intresantes sobre la evolución y variedades de los bancos en esta extensa área).

Ilust. Nº 30.—Banco Kamarakoto.
Un *aponoi'* labrado en un solo bloque.

Como en toda la América tropical del Sur, los Indios duermen en hamaca. Cada individuo tiene su chinchorro, *kami*, que carga consigo cuando viaja o va de visita, y nunca se acuesta de otra manera. Los chinchorros se hacen de torcidos de algodón y el tipo de manufactura se describe detalladamente en el capítulo "Textiles".

Las criaturas se acuestan a veces en una cuna, *paka:ri*, que consiste en un cerco de madera (o de bejuco) suspendido de una viga del rancho con cuatro cuerdas. Se sujeta una tira de tela a través de la armadura para que sostenga el niño y sobre la armadura se amarra una vara transversal para que el peso no deforme el cerco. Cercos parecidos, sin tela ni vara transversal, se emplean a veces para guindar ollas y objetos similares, y estos cercos se llaman igualmente *paka:ri*.

Cestos.

Los cestos diversos y sus tejidos correspondientes están descritos más al detalle en el capítulo "Textiles". Enumeramos a continuación los que forman parte del ajuar necesario o normal, indicando sus servicios:

tangöi'. — prensa de yuca o "sebucán", ya descrita (Ilust. 64).

pangai' — cedazo para yuca (Ilust. 56 A).

o:apa — estera grande circular, de tejido cerrado, usada para secar y solear cosas diversas (algodón, legumbres, etc.) y para servir el casabe y otras viandas (Ilust. 56 B).

matu:tu — estera cuadrada con un reborde vertical, levantada del suelo con cuatro patas. Usos similares a los de la *o:apa* (Ilust. 57, 58).

o.olori — estera pequeña de tejido simple que se emplea para soplar el fuego y como bandeja (Ilust. 56 C).

wariсha, warakapi, wapa y *soko*, — estas cuatro labores, descritas detalladamente en el capítulo "Textiles" son cestillos portátiles o de guardar cosas, cargándose en la mano (Ilust. 59, 60).

ama:tu — cesto rectangular y relativamente hondo con tapa y dos tirantes de fibra tejida, (frecuentemente con hojas inter-

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medias). El tejido de este cesto es muy tupido, a veces impermeable, y se usa para guardar la ropa y toda clase de prendas valiosas, como collares, zarcillos, etc. (Ilust. 62).

akai' y *koatai'* — variantes del cesto o armadura que las mujeres cargan a la espalda y cuya denominación corresponde al tejido empleado en su confección.

wakawa' — tipo basto y relativamente poco común de cesto para carga pesada (Ilust. 55).

no-saramba — cesto pequeño y hondo de tejido muy abierto, que se usa a veces para cargar objetos, como la *waricha*, etc., pero especialmente como jaula para pájaros. La tapa está reforzada por una línea recta y en el interior lleva un travesaño horizontal.

kumara-katsa' — estera grande y plana de hojas de palma usada con puerta y eventualmente como alfombra.

La aljaba para las flechas de cerbatana y el receptáculo para el kapok o hilacha de ceibo también son labores de cestería, lo mismo que la nasa o trampa de pescar.

Es evidente que los cestos son esenciales para los Kamarakotos, cuyas viviendas los requieren, y se caracterizan por el gran número de tipos y tamaños diferentes. En un rancho habrá de 25 a 30 cestos, o quizás más, de siquiera diez clases distintas.

VESTIDO Y ADORNOS

Adopción del vestido Europeo.

La mayoría de los miembros del grupo central y algunos de lugares alejados usan algunas telas Europeas, pero no todos las poseen y la vestimenta de la tribu es actualmente un batiborrillo

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curioso. Si los Camaracotos del Padre Ramón Bueno, a quienes nos hemos referido en el introito de esta monografía, eran realmente esta tribu, fueron vestidos hasta cierto punto, y con cierta resistencia, por supuesto, por los Misioneros para el año de 1800, pero, aunque esto sea verdad, es tan probable como virtualmente cierto que el vestido (Europeo) se descartó después de irse los Franciscanos. Todos los Kamarakotos convienen en que sus antecesores inmediatos no cargaban ropa Europea, pero resulta interesante que la mayoría de ellos sitúe la fecha de la introducción de tal vestimenta "poco antes de nacer yo" o "cuando yo era chiquito". Así, un hombre que ande por la treintena se imagina que el vestido Europeo se importó hace cosa de 30 años, y un anciano fija la fecha en unos 60. El cacique, Alejo Calcaño, me dió esta cifra, diciéndome que anteriormente los Kamarakotos no llevaban en absoluto ropa (ni siquiera indígena) pintándose en cambio todo el cuerpo de color rojo vivo, declaración que debemos tener por completamente improbable (126). No cabe duda de que los Kamarakotos tuvieron noticia de la vestimenta Europea hace cuando menos 25 ó 30 años, por tendencia natural al tráfico y por haber ido en expediciones comerciales. Ya desde entonces debieron poseer ocasionalmente ropa de la nuestra algunos miembros de la tribu. Aún hoy, no puede decirse que la adopción sea general ni que haya reemplazado el vestido indígena. Mr. y Mrs. Angel dicen que para 1934 sólo un hombre de la tribu tenía pantalones y que la mitad, o algo menos, de las mujeres carecían de ropa. Después de esto, varias expediciones les proveyeron de grandes cantidades de vestidos y telas, de manera que hoy hay repuesto suficiente para vestir a la mayoría del grupo central. No obstante, cuando nosotros nos fuimos, en los lugares más alejados de Uruyén muchos hombres y algunas mujeres portaban aún el sumario atavío indígena (127).

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(126) Aunque convinieramos, y no convenimos, en que los Caribes no cargaban vestido de ningún género antes de entrar en contacto con Europeos, la fecha fijada por Alejo Calcaño tiene un retardo de un siglo o dos, siendo virtualmente imposible que ningún recuerdo auténtico de la tribu sea tan viejo.

(127) Las mujeres jamás van de visita sino vestidas de arriba a abajo. Más adelante demostraré que esto lo hacen por orgullo, dignidad y autoridad, más que por pudor o miedo. O bien no se movieron de sus ranchos en los lugares remotos a donde no llegamos, o bien, vinieron a vernos con vestidos propios o prestados. Los hombres cargaban pantalones quienes los tenían, pero no se recataban de visitarnos sin ellos.

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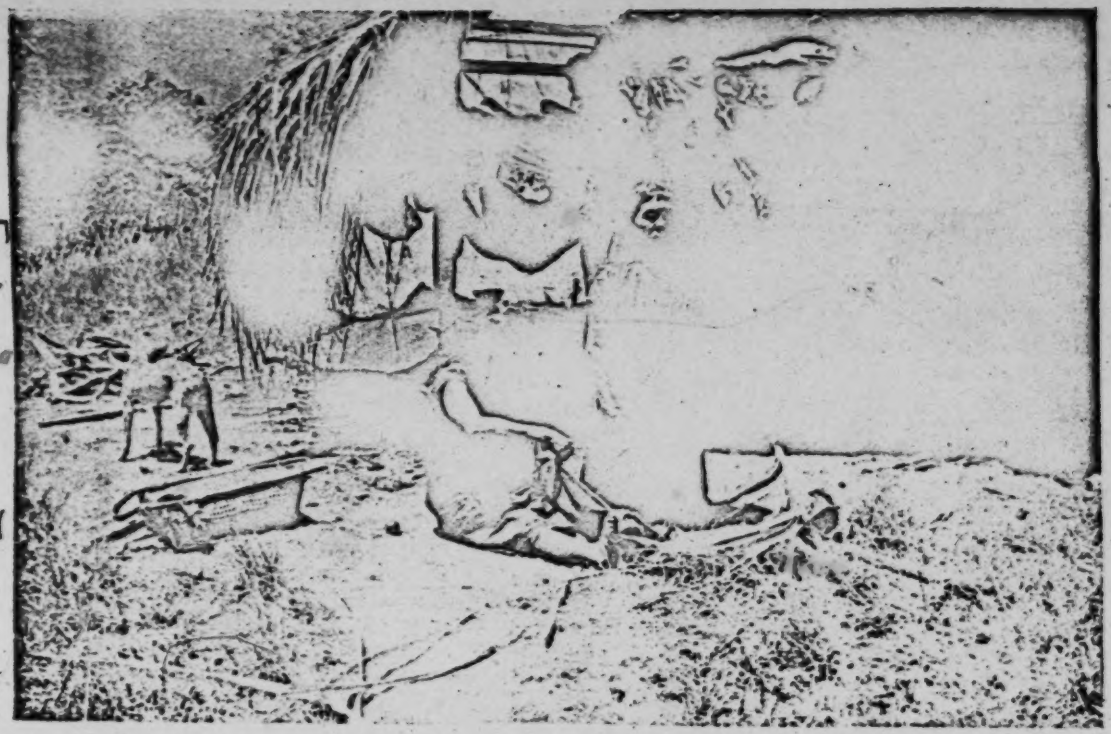

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Ilust. Nº 31.—Mujeres Kamarakotas con vestido Europeizado.
Estas dos mujeres llevan túnicas de color rojo vivo hechas por ellas mismas. (La de la derecha está arrodillada). La de la izquierda está haciendo una costura de manera característica, sujetando la tela con los dedos del pie y cosiendo en la dirección del cuerpo.

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La primera ropa extranjera que adoptan los hombres son los calzones. Las mujeres se los hacen (a ellos) holgados y cortos, hasta las rodillas aproximadamente—verdaderos "shorts" modernistas—de tela comercial, pero ellos prefieren por regla los pantalones largos de confección. Completan esta vestimenta, una camisa, un par de alpargatas y quizás un sombrero—porque la mayoría de los Indios andan descubiertos (128).

Aparte las alpargatas, que algunas de ellas habían adquirido, la única vestimenta Europea que usan las mujeres es una especie de batola o "túnico" que se hacen ellas mismas con tela comercial de algodón o "zaraza" de preferencia rojo vivo (129).

Las batolas en cuestión se hacen de piezas de algodón plegadas, dobles cosidas a lo largo de la orilla (130). Se dejan aproximadamente seis pulgadas sin coser cerca del pliegue, para pasar los brazos, y se recorta un círculo para el cuello en el medio del pliegue. Los dobladillos están cosidos hasta con primor y el descote se remata frecuentemente con una cinta que casi siempre suele ser de otro color. Se usan agujas de acero e hilo comercial. Todo cosido se hace con hebra doble y muy larga, lo cual tiene el inconveniente de que se enreda con frecuencia y las Indias gastan mucho tiempo y paciencia en deshacer los nudos. La tela se sostiene habitualmente con un pie, entre el dedo gordo y el siguiente, estirando la tela hacia adelante, en línea recta con el cuerpo y el pie, cosiendo en dirección del cuerpo (Ilust. 31). Los puntos son largos y de tamaño irregular. Los orillos del costado se cosen con pespuntes medio vueltos. Solamente presenciamos una variación: las dos piezas sobrecosidas juntas como un tejido doble. Los dobladillos se cosen con un pespunte semivuelto, o con un simple pespunte corrido, siendo más usual el último.

(128) Poco antes de nuestra partida, el cacique Alejo vestía más correctamente que nosotros y no hubiese llamado la atención en la calle de ninguna ciudad. Ningún otro Indio alcanzó no obstante tal grado de esplendor sartorial.

(129) Nuestra expedición les regaló a las damas algunos vestidos de confección, pero la moda pasará con ellos. Todas las Kamarakotas están adoptando la batola hecha en casa que hemos descrito, la cual será dentro de poco una especie de uniforme femenino.

(130) Este párrafo y el próximo son de mi esposa, la Doctora Anne Roe.

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Las tiras de tela que se usan para bordear el escote son de una pulgada de ancho más o menos, rectas, cosidas con pespunte seguido y vueltas hacia adentro con un dobladillo también pespunteado. Los escotes son de varias formas, redondos, simplemente ovalados, redondos con un corte hacia abajo, etc. Para madres lactantes el escote debe ser bastante amplio para que la criatura pueda tomar el pecho, aunque eventualmente las aberturas de los brazos suelen dejarse más anchas para este menester. Si las telas son de doble ancho, pueden hacerse pliegue bastos e irregulares en el escote. Estos vestidos suelen llegar hasta justo debajo de la rodilla.

Son algo distintos, por la forma y la costura, de los que se usan en el campo de Venezuela, y representan el fenómeno interesante. tan bien ilustrado por las tribus de Norte América en tiempos históricos, del desarrollo de los rasgos culturales indígenas sobre la base de materiales importados.

El vestido indígena.

Los vestidos ya descritos son completamente indígenas en la acepción cabal del término, pero, en este capítulo nos referiremos especialmente al atavío más antiguo o, por así decir, clásico, todavía en uso, y que se encuentra aún en vías de ser suplementado parcialmente o en parte reemplazado por ropas Europeas de modelo standard.

El traje masculino consta simplemente de cinturón, o taparrabo y, a veces, sandalias. El cinturón, *tien-aka: mii* (palabra que se aplica también a los cinturones Europeos) consiste por lo general de un simple cordel de algodón blanco amarrado al talle. A veces, en ocasiones especiales, los hombres portan un cinturón más complicado, hecho de sartas de cuentas trenzadas (Ilust. 33 A). El taparrabo es una tira larga de tela roja, ahora de fabricación extranjera, pero antes de algodón tejido en casa, que se pasa entre las piernas y luego se amarra al cinturón, y corrientemente, aunque no siempre, rodea el talle, de manera que forma

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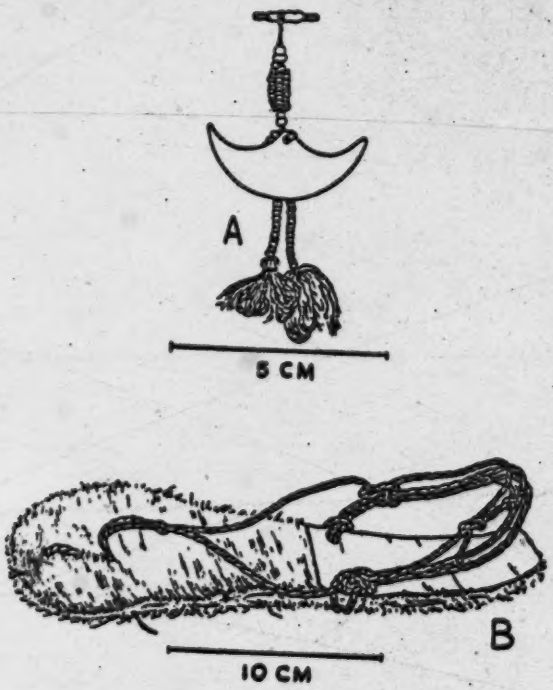
una especie de bolsa cerrada sobre el pene y los testículos, colgando uno de los extremos de la tira por delante y el otro por detrás.

La sandalia indígena (Ilust. 32 B.) es casi idéntica por la forma a uno de los tipos más bastos que usa la gente pobre en el Norte de Venezuela, pero parece seguro que esta última sea vestigio



Ilust. Nº 32.—Zarcillo y sandalia Kamarakotos.

A, zarcillo, media luna de plata, colgante de abalorios rojos, blancos y azules y borlitas de algodón rojas. B, sandalia típica de hoja de moriche. Las ataduras son de cuerda de fibra de moriche.

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del difundido modelo precolombino, vale decir, indígena y no importada entre los Kamarakotos y tribus afines (131). La suela casi plana se corta de la base gruesa, fibrosa y casi inflexible de la hoja de la palma moriche. En la parte superior (la de los lados del pie), se monda el extremo delantero, en tanto que el talón se cubre con la superficie suave de la corteza. Varias cuerdas de fibra de moriche sirven para amarrar la sandalia desde agujeros hechos en los costados a la parte trasera del talón, y después, al usarse, se atan con varias vueltas por debajo y por encima del tobillo. Una cuerda doble pasada por tres agujeros (en fila longitudinal) sujeta la parte delantera de la sandalia al intercalarse entre el dedo gordo y el segundo del pie. Los cabos de esta cuerda gruesa se separan luego, atándose cada uno de ellos en las ligaduras del talón por el lado correspondiente. Sandalias esencialmente similares a ésta portan casi todos los Indios sabaneros de toda esta área, hasta los que se adentran en el Norte del Brasil. Constituyen un indicio más, por si no hubiera ya suficientes, de que los Kamarakotos son decisivamente Indios sabaneros, ya que las tribus selváticas rara vez o nunca usan sandalias, las cuales se desconocen, por ejemplo, en la hoya propiamente dicha del Amazonas, cubierta en su mayor parte de bosques. A decir verdad, los propios Indios sabaneros, incluso los Kamarakotos, rara vez se calzan, no siendo para marchas largas durante el verano, quitándoselas para caminar cerca de los ranchos o en terreno blando y resbaloso. Estas sandalias se llaman "*purai*", en tanto que las importadas de Venezuela conservan su nombre Español, "alpargata".

El atavío femenino primitivo consta solamente de un excusalí o delantal cuya largura llega justamente a tapar el pubis y cuyos cordones se anudan después de rodear el talle. Este excusalí, *mosa* o *motsa*, es actualmente, y en todos los casos de tela fabricada con abalorios o cuentas. Lo mismo que el vestido, es una adaptación del material extranjero al uso indígena, pero esta adap-

(131) En realidad muchos rasgos culturales comunes a estos Indios y a una parte civilizada de Venezuela no son prueba de influencia Española-Venezolana sobre los Indios, sino viceversa.

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tación es mucho más vieja que la otra, empleándose meramente el material extranjero para la confección de una prenda modelo exclusivamente indígena. Estos delantalitos son muy vistosos y se hacen en gran variedad de modelos, tanto que, por así decirlo, yo no he visto dos completamente iguales. Los colores favoritos son el blanco y el azul oscuro y corrientemente la parte principal es completamente de uno de esos dos colores, con franjas geométricas del otro color arriba y abajo. Aunque no es muy usual, puede ser de un solo tejido bicolor o con una banda en el medio, y también se emplean colores distintos de los anotados, pero en todos los que yo ví predominaba el blanco o el azul (132). Algunas mujeres llevan siempre la *mosa*, aun debajo del vestido. Así, pues, el vestido Europeo ha suplementado pero no suplantado al viejo atavío; y este es un ejemplo interesante y absolutamente literal de estratificación cultural.

Se cree comunmente que todas las tribus Caribes, expresión que incluye a los Kamarakotos, andaban sin vestido de ningún género, hasta sin taparrabo ni excusalí, antes del Descubrimiento y que la práctica de tapar la región pudenda es producto de influencia Europea. Koch-Grünberg, por ejemplo, asienta positivamente esta afirmación refiriéndose al taparrabo y aporta como argumento decisivo el que hasta su nombre (Taurepán, no Arekuna en general) *kamisa*, es extranjero. De Goeje se muestra igualmente terminante respecto a los Caribes de las Guayanas Holandesa y Francesa y cita a Barrére cuando dice que para 1743 andaban completamente desnudos. Roth cita a numerosas autoridades en lo referente à los Indios de la Guayana Inglesa y se inclina al parecer por el consenso, aunque no expone categóricamente su propia opinión. A despecho de ese despliegue de ortodoxia yo me aventuro a disentir hasta el extremo de creer que

(132) Excepto en una mosa Taurepana, no hecha para usarla, sino como curiosidad para un Misionero y a cambio de abalorios. Estos ejemplares hechos de encargo incurren en veces a error; y yo puedo afirmar que no he descrito ningún objeto que no usen actualmente los Indios ni coleccionado objetos que no estuviesen ya usados, o bien, cuando esto resultase imposible, recien hechos y para usarse, no dejando nunca de compararlos detenidamente con los ya usados. En el terreno de sus habilidades especiales, principalmente en cestería, pueden hacer y harán casi cuanto desee un coleccionista, pero si éste encarga algo y el encargo se ejecuta conforme à su deseo, el objeto resultante no será en definitiva Indio ni por la forma ni por el dibujo.

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tanto el taparrabo como el excusalí son aborígenes, aunque su distribución haya sido alterada indudablemente desde la invasión Europea y acaso debido en parte a ella.

Nadie puede o debe dudar de que muchos Indios tropicales anduvieran totalmente en cueros, y algunos lo hacen así todavía, pero es generalización viciosa concluir de antiguas observaciones sobre el particular que el taparrabo y el excusalí no son aborígenes. En realidad, muchos o la mayoría de los antiguos autores que dijeron que los Indios andaban desnudos, convinieron después en que portaban taparrabo o excusalí o ambas cosas. Esto es así en Barrére, en quien se apoya principalmente De Goeje, y un autor tan viejo como él (Gumilla, 1745) consigna también el uso de taparrabos. Harcourt (en "Purchas his pilgrimes") autoridad más añeja todavía, dice, lo mismo que Barrére, que los Indios andan "completamente desnudos", pero también, como Barrére, añade de seguidas que algunos de ellos cargan taparrabo. Lo que se deduce de los autores más antiguos no es realmente que el vestido fuese desconocido, sino simplemente que algunos Indios se dispensaban de él, hecho que no es sin duda privativo de aquel tiempo ni de ninguno de los subsecuentes. Las referencias del uso de tapados de las partes pudendas son efectivamente tan viejas como las de la completa desnudez y frecuentemente tienen los mismos orígenes. En primer lugar, los primeros observadores decían que un Indio estaba desnudo, aunque, siendo varón o hembra, llevase cubierto el pubis y lo demás no; y en segundo lugar subrayaban la desnudez verdadera de algunos individuos o tribus sin indicar o afirmar que todos los Indios anduviesen en cueros o punto menos. La evidencia precaria, pero absolutamente histórica y definida, es de consiguiente opuesta a la conclusión harto frecuente e indica de manera indubitable que *algunos* Caribes u otros Indios tropicales portaban taparrabos, siquiera, y también, pròbablemente, excusalíes, la primera vez que se toparon con ellos los Europeos.

Sea como fuere, yo no veo francamente la consistencia que puede tener el razonamiento de que estos tapados son producto de influencia Europea. La idea raya en lo ridículo, porque es completamente obvio que ningún visitante Europeo portaba na-

da semejante. Acaso recomendaran y urgieran e impusieran esos visitantes el uso de atavío indígena *faute de mieux*, es decir, a falta de otra cosa mejor, aunque aun esto carezca de evidencia clara, pero sus esruerzos, tal como ellos lo contaron, tendieron por lo general naturalmente a que los Indios adoptasen la vestimenta Europea, o sea, batas las mujeres y pantalones los hombres. A decir verdad, para un misionero o viajero Europeo el excusalí indígena como ropa de mujer es tan indecente como la desnudez absoluta, y contrario al sentido común, lo mismo que los relatos que suponen que fueron ellos quienes introdujeron vestimenta tan precaria.

El argumento etimológico de Koch-Grünberg también carece de valor. Contrariamente a su afirmación (asentada también por Roth y otros) hay un vocablo Caribe indígena para taparrabo: *wayiku* (y sus numerosas variantes) que no se aplica solamente, como suele suponerse, a la prenda femenina. En algunas tribus sí es así, pero en otras sirve para designar tanto el cinturón de los varones como la faldilla de las hembras, mientras que algunas otras, incluso entre los Kamarakotos, significa solamente el taparrabo masculino. Es razonable suponer que el vocablo se aplicase en su origen tanto al indumento masculino como al femenino, diferenciándose la denominación más tarde. El excusalí, como distinto del taparrabo (tal como usaban éste las mujeres) no es un *wayiku* entre los Arekunas y otros Caribes, sino una *mosa* (*motsa*, etc.), y *wayiku*, como vocablo Caribe en general, casi seguramente no significó en su origen "excusalí", sino simplemente "taparrabo", masculino o femenino. Donde aparece la palabra "camisa", en varias formas, el vocablo indígena ha sido desplazado, no porque la prenda de vestir fuese nueva para los Indios, sino porque el material de que se confeccionaba era nuevo. "Camisa" sirvió primeramente para designar este material extranjero, la tela comercial, y *wayiku* hecho con ese tejido. En realidad, este argumento etimológico contra el origen indígena del taparrabo se torna abruptamente en contradicción porque confiesa que existe un vocablo nativo para el excusalí femenino, de donde lógicamente se infiere su principio aborigen, pero el testimonio de los primeros exploradores y estudios comparados demuestran que el taparrabo es anterior al excusalí.

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Finalmente, el empleo de materiales extranjeros (tela comercial y abalorios) en la confección de estos atavíos no es prueba contraria a su antigüedad, ya que ello implica claramente una mera substitución de materiales indígenas por extranjeros en la hechura de un objeto puramente indígena. De hecho, tanto taparrabos como excusalíes confeccionados completamente con materiales indígenas encuéntranse todavía hoy entre las tribus más remotas y misérrimas, mostrando la base sobre la cual fueron adaptados los materiales nuevos preferibles.

El hecho, según lo interpreto yo, de que los tapados púbicos sean aborígenes entre los Kamarakotos y grupos de cultura afín puede también correlacionarse con la circunstancia de que los adultos de ésta tribu son pudorosos en extremo (más que los Europeos) en lo tocante a la ocultación de los órganos genitales, aunque su recato no llegue a nada más, ni siquiera a las funciones fisiológicas o las de maternidad, que los Europeos tienen por igualmente vergonzosas.

Los muchachos muy chiquitos andan desnudos, pero se les pone taparrabo antes de la pubertad. A veces, antes del taparrabo suelen llevar cinturón, el cual nada tapa, teniendo solamente un significado casi simbólico del ingreso en la adolescencia. Aunque haya calzones sobrantes en la casa, rara vez se los ponen los varones antes de la pubertad. Las niñitas van a veces desnudas, pero ahora, en ciertos casos, se las viste más o menos casi en cuanto nacen. En todos los casos, cuando ya caminan solas y sin la madre, no dejan de ponerse el excusalí, empezando por un tamaño muy corto, el cual se va alargando a medida que crecen hasta llegar a la talla "standard.

Adornos.

Excepto en ocasiones señaladas, danzas particularmente, los varones no suelen llevar adornos de ningún género, por más que accidentalmente porten zarcillos, collares y ajorcas.

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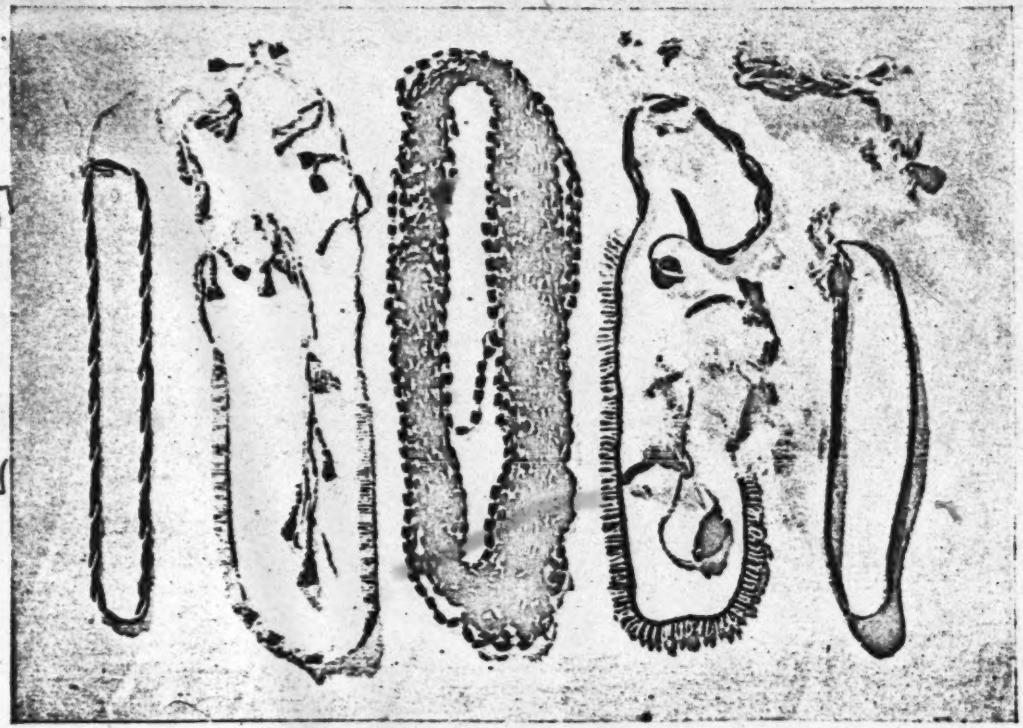

[Facing p. 432]

Ilust. Nº 33.—Adornos personales Kamarakotos.
A, cinturón de hombre hecho con sartas de cuentas rojas, blancas y azules trenzadas. B, collar plano de cuentas blancas con guirnaldas y borlas. C, collar sencillo de varias vueltas hecho con cuentas blancas y semillas marrones. D, collar festoneado de cuentas blancas con borlas y colgantes. E, tocado femenino de baile hecho con algodón tejido; guirnalda con colgantes en la parte posterior.

Las mujeres, por lo general, pero no siempre tampoco, usan unas especies de ligas apretadas en los brazos y piernas. La mayoría lleva cuatro pares, pero otras, dos, uno o ninguno. Un par, acaso el más común, se coloca en el antebrazo, encima del bíceps, y el otro, quizás el menos corriente, en la muñeca. Los de las piernas van, el uno justo debajo de la rodilla, y el otro en el tobillo. Estas ligas son tejidas (o de labor de punto, lo mismo que la *pakara;* (véase "Textiles") de hilo de algodón, simples o con un ribete de abalorios, aunque a veces son completamente de cuentas. No tienen costura y están tejidas sobre la carne, de manera que no pueden quitarse sin romperse. Las muchachas suelen empezar a usarlas en cuanto saben caminar o poco después, y, como son muy apretadas, causan una deformidad, particularmente en la pierna, donde hacen que la pantorrilla se hinche en la parte de abajo o se sepulte justa[illegible]ma del tobillo, efecto de admirar y muy admirado realme[illegible] liga del antebrazo también tiende a producir una ranura definitiva y estas pequeñas deformaciones son visibles hasta en mujeres que ya no portan ajorcas tales (133). Demás está decir que estas ligas deben reemplazarse de cuando en cuando, pero a veces se alarga el plazo más de lo debido o, si la mujer pasó ya la edad de los perifollos, renuncia definitivamente a ellas, pero todas las Kamarakotas, por las muestras, las llevan alguna vez.

Aparte las ligas, que pueden considerarse casi como parte integrante del vestido femenino, los adornos más corrientes con mucho son los collares, los cuales son usados de hecho por todas las mujeres, solteras y casadas, muchos muchachos y algunos hombres. Se establece una diferencia entre un collar propiamente dicho, por lo regular de cuentas *pɔ̃rega:nsa* "collar" o *kasu:rupɔ̃rega:nsa,* "collar de cuentas", y un cordón que se ata al cuello, *yaichi',* con colgantes variados. También suelen portar las Kamarakotas sartas largas y dobles de cuentas que rodean el cuello, pasan por debajo de los brazos y se cruzan por delante,

(133) Si entiendo bien lo que dice Roth (este pasaje no me resulta muy claro), este autor opina que la producción por tales ligas de ranuras permanentemente enterradas en piernas y brazos, resulta "ridícula", "fisiológicamente absurda" y "desencantadora". No obstante es un hecho, plenamente demostrado por los efectos que saltan a la vista hasta, o sobre todo, cuando se quitan las ligas.

entre los senos, y por detrás, entre los omoplatos. Las cuentas son por lo común blancas y azules, lo mismo que las de la *mosa*, siendo al parecer el blanco el color preferido para los collares. Los collares sencillos, de una sola sarta, rara vez se usan, y los tipos más corrientes son de seis sartas en banda ancha con una serie de festones o guirnaldas de abalorio (Ilust. 33 B, D). También hay maneras especiales de ensartar las cuentas por pares o en plantillas, como en los *okü̈i- yeupə* ("espina de serpiente") y otros (Ilust.38, 48 y 49). Las sartas sencillas también se usan, pero siempre son múltiples. También se ensartan semillas pardas, planas y un tanto cuadrangulares, llamadas *tsiriruka*, alternándola con abalorios blancos, lo cual hace vistoso efecto (Ilust. 33 C). Estos collares de semillas se llaman también *kasu: ru-pə rega: nsa*. Los collares suelen hacerse más complicados toduvía con colgantes de borlas tejidas, trencillas y campanillas de algodón, cápsulas de frutas pequeñas que suenan como cascabeles, etc.

El *yaichi'* es un collar más variado aún que el *pə rega: nsa* por la gran heterogeneidad de los objetos que lo integran. Por así decirlo, todo fragmento reluciente o coloreado y toda chuchería de previas expediciones fueron recogidos amorosamente y ensartados en los *yaichi'*. Las cápsulas descargadas de rifles y revólver gozan particularmente del aprecio popular y efectivamente resultan decorativas cuando se ensartan en serie. Un muchachito cargaba un *yaichi'* que contenía cinco cápsulas del 22, dos dientes de chigüire, un sacapuntas de lápiz, la perilla de la tapa de una tetera y un trocito cuadrado de pez seca u otra materia plástica de origen desconocido. El *yaichi'* estrictamente aborigen suele adornarse con borlas y trencillas de algodón, plumas de colores y dientes y uñas de animales. Las monedas chiquitas de plata—"reales" y "medios"—se buscan ávidamente para este uso. Dos mujeres habían conseguido no sé cómo unas medallas piadosas, aunque ignorasen completamente su significado.

Tanto el *pə rega: nsa* como el *yaichi'* son indudablemente objetos aborígenes y la inserción en ellos de materiales extranjeros es un fenómeno normal e inevitable. El *kasu: ru-pə rega-nsa* aborigen acaso fuese de semillas (134).

(134) Sin embargo, los Kamarakotos pueden haber hecho collares de concha como los hacían, según es sabido, algunos Caribes. Es probable, no obstante, que los Ka-

Las Kamarakotas no usan zarcillos (135), como tampoco muchos varones del grupo central, aunque los carguen muchos Indios que nominalmente pertenecen a esta tribu, pero que moran en lugares apartados del núcleo. Esta puede ser una prueba más de la llamada influencia civilizadora del grupo central, influencia ejercida por uno o dos miembros evolucionados de la tribu, mas en realidad no es así, ya que el taladrarse el lóbulo de las orejas es cuestión de gusto personal y no costumbre obligatoria ni siquiera entre los Indios afines que no han gozado de tal influencia. Incluso los hombres que tienen las orejas taladradas suelen ponerse adornos en ellas solamente en ciertas ocasiones, por ejemplo, para los bailes. El taladro de la oreja consiste en una incisión horizontal, notablemente larga, en la parte superior del lóbulo, incisión que debe constituir una operación quirúrgica seria y peligrosa. Digo esto, porque un muchacho perdió el lóbulo entero de una oreja de resultas de taladros infructuosos, mientras que la otra se la agujerearon perfectamente. Por estos orificios auriculares suelen meterse los Indios canutos o trozos de caña, en los que embuten por lo regular varias plumas de colores que asoman por el frente, y también pueden amarrase a estos canutos, por la parte de atrás, zarcillos o pendientes. El tipo más apreciado de zarcillos, *panaidaino'*, Arekuna típico, aunque acaso no sea de origen precolombino, consiste en una doble sarta de abalorios rematados con borlitas de colores y una medialuna de plata, hecha con una monedita partida y limada que cuelga del medio (Ilust. 32 A). Koch-Grünberg muestra unas arracadas Taurepanas casi idénticas. (1923, Vol. III, lámina 5, Fig. 4). Los zarcillos suelen sujetarse en la parte anterior del lóbulo con un pequeño vástago de madera, pero los dos pendientes no se unen entre sí con un hilo grueso que se pasa por debajo de la barbilla, como, según Farabee, estilan los Makuchis.

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marakotos no dispusiesen de materiales adecuados para ello. Sea como fuere, también usaban semillas y cuentas indígenas, si las tenían a mano, pero éstas han sido reemplazadas completamente por las extranjeras, mucho más bellas y suficientemente abundantes.

(135) La única excepción que vimos fué una mujer que cargaba zarcillos Europeos, pero estaba casada con uno de los hombres que habían vivido en ciudades de Venezuela, por lo cual eran un exotismo de dama "snob".

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No vimos nosotros ningún hombre con la nariz o los labios horadados, aunque estas operaciones sean todavía muy corrientes en tribus afines, hasta en aquellas más Europeizadas que los Kamarakotos. Con la escasez relativa de orejas agujereadas y tatuajes, los Kamarakotos muestran una tendencia marcada contra mutilaciones de todo especie, cualesquiera que fueran sus costumbres ancestrales. Siendo esto cierto hasta en los individuos más viejos de la tribu, nacidos algunos de ellos, indiscutiblemente, antes de que se manifestase ninguna imitación consciente de usos Europeos, resulta evidente que en esto no han intervenido influencias extrañas, siendo más verosímil la hipótesis de que la evolución sea un reflejo del carácter suave, fácilmente medroso y enemigo del dolor de los Kamarakotos y de su aversión profunda a infligir padecimientos, sean cuales fueren, a los niños.

Algunas danzas, particularmente la *parichara*, requieren ornamentos o vestiduras especiales. El *parichara-pon*, traje masculino para este baile, consta de una diadema, *aro'*, y un camisón, *imaripadai*, de hojas de *maripa*. Las mujeres, quienes de otra forma no usan tocado alguno, pónense para este baile en la cabeza una banda de algodón tejido, *inimokatsa'* (al pie de la letra, simplemente "tejido de trenzas finas de algodón"), de cuya parte posterior pende una cadeneta de borlitas o campanillas de la misma fibra (Ilust. 33 E). En otra danza, *waepan*, los participantes se envuelven en telas, según dicen, pero nosotros no presenciamos tal baile y no he hallado su descripción en los relatos referentes a las tribus afines, aunque todas ellas practiquen al parecer esta danza.

Los adornos de varios géneros en la espalda parecen haber sido peculiares de los Caribes centrales en otra época, pero quién sabe por qué están desapareciendo, siquiera sea en algunas regiones, por más que otros tipos de adornos indígenas sean hoy tan populares o más que nunca. Yo no ví ni oí hablar de ningún adorno en la espalda entre los Kamarakotos.

Tatuaje y maquillaje.

El tatuaje se conoce y a veces se practica, pero actualmente no es muy popular y la mayoría de los miembros de la tribu no

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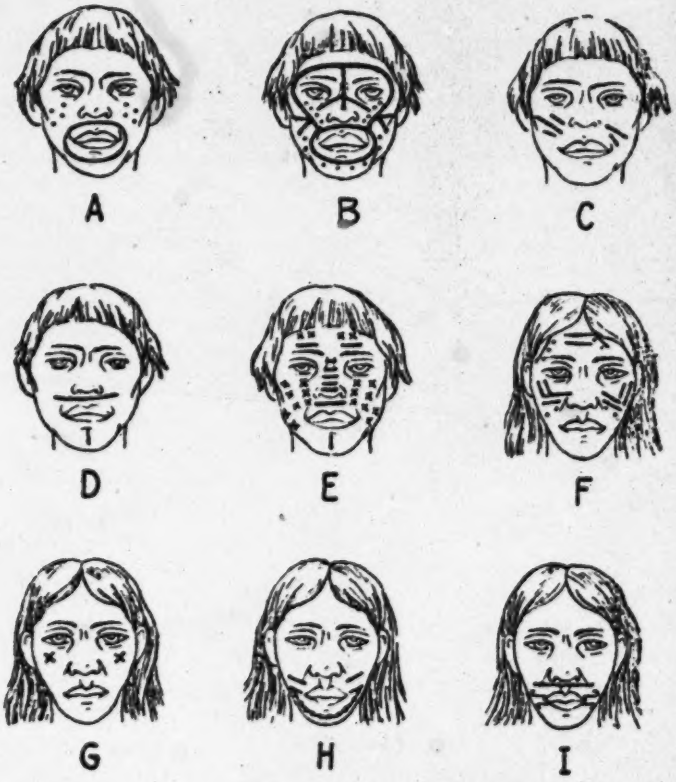

Ilust Nº 34.—Maquillaje y Tatuaje Arekunas.

A-H Kamarakotos. A, muchacho con la cara pintada (caruto). B, adolescente pintado con caruto. C, muchachito pintado con onoto. D, varón adulto pintado con caruto. E, varón adulto pintado con caruto (pintura especial de quien toca el tambor en la danza). F, muchacha con toda la cara embardurnada de onoto y dibujo hecho sobre este fondo con caruto. G, tatuaje de mujer adulta. H, tatuaje de mujer adulta. I, tatuaje Taurepán de mujer adulta con una muestra del típico garabato Taurepán que no se ve entre los Kamarakos.

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están tatuados (136). El pigmento es una mixtura de hollín raspado de las ollas, *ainatoron*, y miel silvestre que se aplica, parte por parte, con una astilla de madera o una viruta de hoja de palma. A veces se usa también para esta labor una aguja de acero, si es que se tiene a mano. La marca que la mixtura deja en la piel es azul negra. Los dibujos no son simbólicos (conscientemente al menos) ni indicativos de ningún estado social, ya que todo individuo puede usar el diseño que se le antoje, cosa que también ocurre con el maquillaje. Los dibujos tatuados no ocupan gran superficie y son por lo general sencillos, consistiendo frecuentemente en una marca o cruz en ambas mejillas. En casos excepcionalmente complicados, se trazan varias líneas y puntos alrededor de la boca (véase Ilust. 34). Koch-Grünberg demostró que las líneas en forma de garabato alrededor de la boca son típicas, pero no generales, en las mujeres Taurepanas (véase 1923, Vol. III, lámina 12), como también lo observamos nosotros, y se ven igualmente entre los vecinos de esta tribu Arekuna, pero no vimos este motivo decorativo, ni pintado ni tatuado, a los Kamarakotos.

A diferencia del tatuaje, el maquillaje facial y el de otras partes del cuerpo—aunque este último no tánto—es general entre los Kamarakotos. Algunos individuos, particularmente los muchachos y las féminas más coquetas, suelen pintarse siempre, mientras otros, especialmente los varones más asentados, lo hacen tan solo para las danzas y otras ocasiones sociales. Sin embargo, todos se pintan alguna vez. Nadie usa exclusivamente un dibujo determinado, sino que todos evidencian gran dosis de fantasía al variar constantemente de diseños.

Para el maquillaje, especialmente de bailes, se emplea hollín y arcilla blanca o tiza, pero los pigmentos corrientes son de colorantes vegetales azulinegros y rojos. El azulinegro es *karöi*, o sea el conocido colorante *Genipa*, llamado "caruto" en Venezolano coloquial (palabra de origen Indio y probablemente afín de *karöi*). El árbol *Genipa*, frecuentemente plantado con este propósito, aunque haya especies silvestres (*rana*) que también se

(136) Estoy seguro de que esta aseveración es cierta en general, pero en casos individuales fué a veces imposible determinar si un dibujo estaba pintado o tatuado.

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emplean, tiene una fruta pulposa cuyo jugo se torna negro con la exposición al aire. Se usan dos colorantes rojos: *anonda* y *karaberö*. El primero se conoce más por *Bixa*, "onoto" en Venezolano coloquial (vocablo de origen Indio igualmente y afín de *ononda*). Este arbusto tiene un fruto espinoso con innumerables semillas pequeñas que se desmenuzan en agua, cociéndose hasta formar una pasta o pelota dura, y después se mezcla, para el uso, con aceite extraído de la *mausa -yu'*, palma perteneciente con toda probabilidad a una especie del género *Elaeis*. El segundo colorante rojo, *karaberö*, se prepara con las hojas de un bejuco, *Bignonia* (clasificación exacta incierta) hirviéndose también y mezclándose con aceite de palma. Los Kamarakotos adquieren de los Maquiritares otro colorante muy similar, *kurawöri*, el cual es probablemente, lo mismo que su nombre, una simple variedad de *karaberö*.

Los colorantes rojos se emplean algunas veces para trazar líneas, pero con más frecuencia se untan simplemente en el rostro y a veces también en el cuerpo, sobre toda la superficie o en grandes manchas (137). El colorante negriazul se aplica sobre el rojo, o sin él, en líneas, motas, cruces y, rara vez, círculos. Algunos ejemplos típicos de los innumerables modelos pueden verse en la ilustración Nº 34.

(137) Nos interesó observar que en la Venezuela civilizada algunas mujeres pobres con gran porcentaje de sangre India y definida herencia aborigen en su cultura, se aplican el colorete en la cara exactamente lo mismo que los Indios salvajes se pintan de rojo; en grandes chafarrulones no atenuados a posta. Claro es que estas mujeres no tratan de imitar a los Indios, sino de presumir de cutis rosagante.

[p. 439]

TEXTILES

La palabra "Textiles" se toma aquí en el sentido más amplio para incluir todos los objetos hechos, de un modo u otro, con fibras flexibles entrelazadas. Englobamos así cosas tan diversas como telas de algodón, tejidos de sartas de abalorios, cestos y nasas, para mencionar algunas nada más, pero teniendo en cuenta que todas ellas tienen elementos comunes y muestran una serie escalonada de técnicas afines pertenecientes a un complejo cultural unificado. De aquí la conveniencia de la agrupación.

Definidos de este modo, la manufactura y el empleo de los textiles constituyen quizás el elemento simple más importante y llamativo de la cultura Kamarakota. Junto con el cultivo de la yuca y la construcción de viviendas semipermanentes, el elemento textil puede servir para definir una extensa área cultural que incluye la mayor parte del Nordeste de Sur América. Las artes textiles de un sector de esta área, especialmente de la Guayana Inglesa, son ya conocidas y tienen puntos de contacto con las Kamarakotas, aunque éstas, naturalmente, poseen variantes propias de técnicas y formas y una selección peculiar de las diversas esparcidas entre las diferentes tribus Guayanesas. Aparte esto, en Venezuela no se han hecho, hablando en términos generales, estudios explícitos de estas artes, y debe llamarse la atención no solamente acerca de su importancia en las tribus salvajes, sino también sobre su valor potencial para el país como comunidad civilizada (138).

(138) No quiero decir con esto que no se conozcan las labores textiles de los Indios Venezolanos ni que no hayan sido mencionadas en varios estudios excelentes, sino

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Los textiles en general y particularmente los de los Indios Americanos (en especial de los Estados Unidos) han sido estudiados y clasificados minuciosamente. Su clasificación y tratamiento dependen en primer lugar de los materiales empleados, en segundo lugar de las técnicas de manufacturas y en tercer término de las formas y usos de los objetos acabados. En este capítulo consideraremos las tres fases.

Materiales.

Casi todos los materiales textiles que conoce el hombre entran en la siguiente clasificación, en la cual se señalan con los tipos empleados por los Kamarakotos:

°I. Fibras textiles hiladas o trenzadas para el uso (principalmente materiales de telas).

A. Animales.

a. Las diversas lanas (Los Kamarakotos no usan ninguna).

b. Las diversas sedas. (Los Kamarakotos no usan ninguna).

°B. Vegetales.

°a. Fibras lanudas, algodonosas y análogas, hiladas para el uso. (Los Kamarakotos usan algodón y tienen "kapok" o lana de ceibo, pero no lo hilan).

°b. Fibras filamentosas análogas, trenzadas para el uso. (Los Kamarakotos usan dos de éstas, especificadas más adelante).

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que casi no se han publicado descripciones minuciosas de sus detalles, nomenclatura, etc. Los mismos estudios voluminosos de Koch-Grünberg se limitan meramente a describir de manera sumaria las diversas manufacturas textiles, sin entrar o entrando apenas en detalles tan importantes como tipos de tejidos, etc.

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c. Sintéticas (necesarias para completar la clasificación, aunque, naturalmente, no las emplean razas primitivas).

9II. Materiales flexibles (o relativamente inflexibles, pero largos) usados sin trenzar (principalmente materiales de cestería).

A. Animales—nervios, tripas, tiras de pellejo, etc. (relativamente sin importancia y no usadas por los Kamarakotos). Cabe incluir aquí las plumas de aves y otros materiales menos importantes todavía.

9B. Vegetales.

9a. Redondos.

1. Haces de hierba y demás briznas, material flexible. (No usados por los Kamarakotos).

92. Juncos, mimbres, bejucos, sarmientos, bambúes, etc, (los Kamarakotos hacen uso limitado de un sarmiento).

9b Planos.

91. Hojas o segmentos de ellas, énea, palma, etc. (Los Kamarakotos emplean hojas de palma).

92. Materiales fragmentados. Tiras de bejuco, corteza y madera. (Los Kamarakotos hacen uso amplio de tiras de bejuco, pero, hablando con propiedad, no emplean corteza ni madera).

9III. Materiales rígidos que unen un objeto manufacturado con material flexible, el cual pasa por ellos a través de agujeros. Cuentas y piezas análogas de materiales de todo género, animales, vegetales y minerales. (Los Kamarakotos emplean cuentas de cristal y semillas horadadas). Estos materiales no se clasifican frecuentemente como textiles, pero muchos textiles verdaderos no pueden manufacturarse sin ellos, por ser parte integrante del tejido, el cual, sin ellos no tendría consistencia ni duración.

De las fibras trenzadas o hiladas, la más importante para los Kamarakotos, y la única que hilan, hablando con propiedad, es

el algodón. Se cultiva extensamente, tanto en los conucos como alrededor de los ranchos, en parcelas diminutas. Este último pudo crecer espontáneamente de las semillas botadas, pero las matas se cuidan y la cosecha se aprovecha bien. Hay que advertir que el algodón se daría perfectamente en las sabanas de relativa esterilidad. Madura al final de la estación seca ("verano") y cuando se desprenden las semillas del arbusto son recogidas, secadas y blanqueadas al sol en bandejas de cestería, desmotándose y cardándose a mano. Para cardar no se usa peine ni ninguna clase de instrumento. El algodón se despinza pacientemente con los dedos, haciendo con él un largo rollo cuyo grosor depende del peso que se le quiera dar a la mecha.

De las fibras que se trenzan en vez de hilarse, solamente dos son importantes y parecen ser verdaderamente indígenas y emplearse regularmente: una de una *Bromelia* y otra de la palma moriche, *Mauritia*. Las hojas de la *Bromelia*, *kurawai* en Kamarakoto y *curagua* (vocablo afín) en Venezolano coloquial, se quiebran y retuercen dentro de un agujero por el cual se pasan, secando después cuidadosamente los filamentos con la mano, lavándolos, secándolos y blanqueándolos al sol en canastas. Las fibras toscas, pero fuertes y lustrosas, de *Mauritia* se extraen de las hojas tiernas, partidas en trozos y después quebradas con los dedos, a fuerza de doblarlas y estirarlas, hasta que pueden secarse los manojos de hilachas. Estas hilachas se remojan bien en agua, limpiándose y volviéndose a desmenuzar a veces, para después secarlas y blanquearlas.

Las fibras de tipo *Agave* y *Fourcroya*, "cocuiza", "cocuy", "maguey", etc., profusamente empleadas en el Norte de Venezuela, no las usan los Kamarakotos, por más que uno de los "modernistas" preconice su introducción. Como quiera que no sirven sino para los mismos fines de las fibras curagua y moriche, siendo francamente inferiores a éstas, no es de esperar que prospere el plan del "reformador".

Entre los materiales textiles no trenzados que se usan para hacer cestas, esteras, nasas, etc., los corrientes son tres: hojas de palma, un bejuco pequeño y flexible y tiras de la corteza de otro bejuco grande. Toda hoja de palma puede emplearse eventual-

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mente, pero las de uso regular son dos: la de moriche (*Mauritia*), *kwai-yare*, y la de seje (*Oenocarpus*), *kunwada-yare*. La hoja de moriche, palmeada, necesita rajarse, y la hoja de seje, pinada, no, pero en los dos casos las tiras no se desprenden de la costilla de la hoja, la cual forma parte del objeto acabado.

Cualquier bejuco flexible puede usarse para amarrar, como cuerda, pero el único empleado corrientemente para labores textiles (nasas y algunas cestas) es el *tsimo'*, "bejuco de alambrito" en *Venezolano coloquial, aunque conviene advertir que este término* se aplica a varios bejucos pequeños; y yo ignoro el nombre botánico de esta especie particular (139). Este bejuco se pela, y a veces se raja y alisa, proveyendo así el material de cestería de la Clase II-B-a -2 de la clasificación preinserta.

Sin embargo, el material de cestería más común e importante es, con mucho, una tira de corteza, probablemente de la *Ischnosiphon sp.*, llamada en Venezolano coloquial "tirita" o "tiriti" y *manare* en Kamarakoto (140). Estos bejucos se rajan y parten longitudinalmente en segmentos (ocho por lo regular) quitándosele a cada uno la corteza. La epidermis verde se quita también corrientemente, pero puede dejarse. La superficie exterior (convexa) se pinta algunas veces de negro, con hollín, para hacer tejidos, pero casi siempre se deja del color natural: amarillo pálido, que se torna pardo pálido en los segmentos pelados, y verde pálido, que se torna pardo oscuro, en los segmentos sin pelar.

Aparte éste, el único material de importancia en la cestería es un bejuco (en realidad, una palma con hábitos de bejuco) llamado *wadapi*, especie de *Desmoncus*, "camuare" en Venezolano coloquial, íntimamente emparentado con el conocido "albarico" del Norte de Venezuela. Convenientemente rajado y estirado, este

(139) Hablando de las nasas tejidas con este material por los Indios Adoles, del Orinoco, dice Roth que "están hechas con una especie de mimbre (—dice "osier" Inglés—) llamado bejuco (de la palabra española)"; pero, naturalmente, el bejuco, planta enredadera o *liana* que dicen los galiparlantes, no es un mimbre ni un junco.

(140) El vocablo Caribe *manare* también ha pasado al Venezolano coloquial, con el cambio usual en el acento, pero se aplica solamente al cedazo para la yuca, utensilio que se hace con *manare*, pero que no es "un" *manare* en Caribe. Este es un Yenó mero etimológico común. Compárese, en dirección opuesta, la adopción de la palabra Española "camisa" no para la pieza de vestir sino para la tela de algodón, como acostumbran algunos Caribes (no los Kamarakotos).

bejuco hace como un junco excelente, de color pardo oscuro. No ví cestas hechas completamente con este material en Kamarata, donde comunmente se usa, por el contraste de color, como franja ocasional en cestas hechas por lo demás de *manare*.

Hilado y trenzado.

En la gran área textil de Sur América las variaciones técnicas son numerosas y características, habiendo sido objeto de una importante monografía original de Frödin y Nordenskiöld. (1918). En este capítulo describiremos brevemente las variaciones Kamarakotas de estos procedimientos, sujetándonos a la clasificación establecida por los citados autores.

Para hilar algodón, los Kamarakotos emplean un huso verdadero, como sucede en todo Sur América, excepto en la punta meridional y en algunas regiones aisladas (por ejemplo, en la parte alta del Río Negro y en Yapura). Dentro de un área más limitada. Im Thurn y otros autores han demostrado que casi todos los Caribes emplean husos e hilan el algodón, en tanto que los Aruacos no hacen esto, usando en cambio fibras trenzadas, excepto cuando, aparentemente, se hallan bajo influencia Caribe.

Frödin y Nordenskiöld dividen los husos Sur Americanos en dos tipos: el Bororó, en los Andes y el extremo Sur o Sureste de la cuenca del Amazonas, y el Bakairí, en, por así decirlo, todas las demás partes del Continente. El huso Kamarakoto pertenece, naturalmente, al segundo tipo, pues su extremo inferior es abultado y redondeado tan solo toscamente, teniendo el contrapeso metido o acuñado en el extremo inferior y adaptado para hilar verticalmente, atándose la hebra al extremo giratorio, o sea, encima del contrapeso.

El contrapeso es discoidal, sin adornos, siendo por lo regular un trozo grueso, aunque liviano, de calabaza, con la parte convexa hacia arriba. El contrapeso se encuentra bastante más cerca del extremo inferior que del superior. El extremo superior, giratorio, no tiene un gancho sino una cabeza, es decir, un saliente doble hecho con muescas o ranuras. Este es un tipo común de

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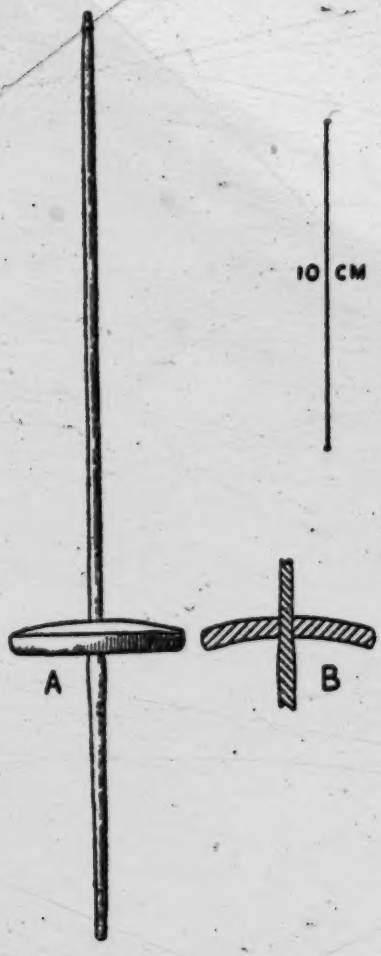

Ilust. Nº 35.—Rueca Taurepana.
A. la rueca vista de perfil. B, sección transversal (parcial) mostrando la colocación del contrapeso de la rueca.

Ilust. Nº 36.— Mujer Kamarakota hilando.
Se ha retirado el huso giratorio. La hebra se sostiene con la mano izquierda y el algodón sin hilar se va pasando con la mano derecha hacia el huso.

[facing p. 446]

huso entre los Caribes de la Costa y los Motilones, resultando curioso su parecido con muchos husos Bolivianos, pero también, cosa igualmente curiosa, es distinto del huso Taurepán, el cual, según Koch-Grünberg, tiene el contrapeso, por lo regular decorado, cerca del medio, y un gancho. Se parece menos aún al tipo Maquiritare, que es mucho mayor y se manipula horizontal, no verticalmente.

Al trabajar, el algodón no hilado se sostiene con la mano izquierda; se comienza a girar, dando vueltas al asta por la parte inferior, apoyándole en el muslo derecho, con la mano derecha, y se deja caer luego, girando todavía. Este es también el procedimiento de los Taurepanes, no obstante lo diferente del huso, y de la mayoría de las otras tribus de la región, pero no, como ha sido anotado, de los Maquiritares.

En todo hilado de algodón Kamarakoto examinado por mí las fibras se tuercen a la izquierda, o, dicho de otro modo, cuando la hebra se sostiene en posición horizontal, las fibras (en el hilo básico simple) van de izquierda (en alto) a derecha (hacia abajo). Del mismo modo operan los Taurepanes y Maquiritares y probablemente los Caribes en general, según ha podido determinarse hasta ahora; pero los Bakairis—no Caribes—quienes han dado su nombre a este tipo general de huso, hilan hacia la derecha y así lo hacen muchas otras tribus. Hilar hacia la izquierda no es exclusivo de los Caribes, pero sí una de sus notables características.

La hebra de un solo hilo resultante de una pasada por el huso es, si está bien hecha, muy fina y más bien endeble, por lo cual casi nunca se usa en tal forma. Por lo general se atan dos hilos y se trenzan juntos en otro huso, haciendo así un torcido doble. Esta operación se hace siempre en dirección opuesta, es decir, hacia la derecha, de manera que esta operación mantiene firme el primer trenzado. Los hilos de torcido doble frecuentemente se vuelven a trenzar, esta vez hacia la izquierda, para hacer un torcido cuádruple o doble torcido doble. Un torcido triple, cuádruple, quíntuple y hasta óctuple (o más todavía) puede hacerse también recto con un trenzado, hacia la derecha, desde los hilos básicos, siendo posibles varias combinaciones. Un cordón grueso de 21 torcidos hecho con tres hilos de 7 vueltas no es na-

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da extraordinario, y yo he visto un trozo de cuerda de 93 vueltas, tan fuerte como un mecate, hecha de tres torcidos de 31 hilos cada uno, pero no estoy seguro de que fuese obra de los Kamarakotos, aunque ellos así me lo dijeron. Este torcido supergrueso no se hace en el huso, sino que se enrolla sobre el muslo con la palma de la mano.

Todos estos torcidos indígenas son notablemente finos y uniformes, resultando a veces difícil distinguirlos de un torcido de algodón hecho a máquina.

Los torcidos de moriche y curagua no se hacen con un huso, enrollándose más bien sobre el muslo derecho con la mano derecha, mientras que las fibras van pasando de la izquierda, que es la que mantiene regulada la tensión. Cordeles largos más finos y fuertes que estos de algodón pueden hacerse así, y, lo mismo que los torcidos de algodón, suelen tener más de una vuelta y, poco más o menos, la misma variedad de tipos. Sin embargo, con estas fibras, y especialmente con la curagua, el número de filamentos individuales del hilo básico puede controlarse más exactamente y los filamentos son por separado mayores, de modo que puede hacerse un hilo casi microscópico de pocos filamentos o un solo hilo grueso de simple-torcido cuyo diámetro sea hasta de 3 milímetros. Así, un cabo de 3 vueltas que sirve de cuerda para el arco se hace con tres hilos gruesos iniciales, cada uno de 2 milímetros de diámetro. El torcido básico se hace en esta forma hacia la derecha frecuentemente, pero los dos procedimientos son habituales, y yo creo que el torcido a mano Kamarakoto puede ser clasificado como mixto, predominando el derecho. Frödin y Nordenskiöld demostraron que el torcido hacia la derecha es mucho más común que el de hacia la izquierda y clasificaron los torcidos Arekunas (y probablemente los Taurepanes, dentro de la familia) como ejecutados hacia la derecha, aunque excepcionalmente se hagan con la izquierda, e incluyeron los hechos por los Indios de la Costa de Guayana entre los mixtos. En efecto, algunos Indios, incluyendo a los Kamarakotos, ejecutan el torcido a mano con una técnica que lo hace factible por el medio en ambos sentidos; y, por regla general, la dirección del torcido cuando se efectúa a mano no es reflejo claro ni permanente de una base técnica, como sucede en el hilado.

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Para hacer torcidos de moriche, como los usados para amarrar las sandalias, se emplea una técnica curiosa y rápida. Las fibras se separan en dos rollos y se devanan en el muslo, ambos inmediatamente, pero de manera que permanezcan separados, produciendo así hilos trenzados hacia la izquierda. La mano se desliza después inmediatamente hacia el muslo, trenzando estos dos hilos juntos y formando así un torcido doble de un trenzado hacia la derecha.

Por lo que respecta al torcido conviene recordar que las tiras de corteza y bejucos de todo género y tamaño se usan frecuentemente como torcidos o cordeles. Así, las hojas de tabaco se atan con una tira de corteza para curarlas, las armaduras de las casas se amarran con bejucos, etc. Aparte de su uso para tejidos, las fibras hiladas, torcidas y trenzadas se emplean comunmente también para amarrar cargas, cestas, etc.

Tejidos de fibra.

Los tejidos hechos con hebras (o torcidos) muy flexibles en todas las direcciones, requieren naturalmente técnicas distintas y sirven para fines diferentes que los hechos con materiales más rígidos, por ejemplo, los empleados en cestería. Estos tejidos de hilos y los otros de materiales más rígidos están relacionados y las técnicas respectivas acusan una tendencia hacia la asociación en un solo complejo cultural. Esto es particularmente cierto en casos, como el de los Kamarakotos, en que la cestería es de trenzado, torcido y tejido—técnicas empleadas también para los textiles de hilo—y no hecha en espiral,—técnica que no puede aplicarse a los textiles de hebras.

Los hilos de algodón y los de hojas filamentosas tienen muchas propiedades idénticas, pero difieren lo bastante para que en toda tribu un tipo determinado de tejido se haga invariablemente con uno y no con otro. Claro está que en las diferentes tribus un hilo pueda ser reemplazado por otro y viceversa. Así los Kamarakotos y la mayoría de los demás Caribes hacen las hamacas con hilos de algodón, mientras que muchos Aruacos, quienes por lo general están menos adelantados en técnica algodonera,

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fabrican sus chinchorros con filamentos de palma (141). Hay comunmente un elemento de división sexual de trabajo en estas diferencias. Entre los Kamarakotos y varias otras tribus, el hilado del algodón y la manufactura de tejidos de lo mismo son tarea femenina, mientras que el trenzado de fibras de palma y la manufactura de tejidos con ellas, aunque eventualmente la hagan las mujeres, es por lo general faena masculina.

En esta tribu, no obstante, no es más corriente hacer tejidos con fibras filamentosas. Las fibras y trenzados filamentosos se suelen emplear como tales, y el único tejido que se hace con ellos es el (de punto o ganchillo) hecho con nudos para redes de pescar.

Los Kamarakotos dicen que ellos hacían antes largas piezas de tela no muy diferente de la "zaraza" o género comercial que ahora usan para taparrabos y vestidos. Todavía no han olvidado una técnica textil capaz de producir tela verdadera, no ciertamente idéntica a la "zaraza" pero sí parecida, y tales tejidos los conocen tribus afines. (Por ejemplo, Roth, 1924, Lámina 10, Fig. C, muestra un cargador de criatura Akawai que incluye un gran cuadrángulo de tela indígena). Sin embargo, ahora la oferta de tejidos comercial es casi igual a la demanda y esta verdadera técnica textil se usa solamente para manufacturar cintas largas y angostas.

Los Kamarakotos conocen y emplean actualmente tres técnicas de tejer hilados, cada una de ellas íntimamente relacionada con artículos acabados diferentes. A éstas deben agregarse las varias técnicas para empatar cuentas y semillas, en las cuales también se usan hilos, pero que son tan distintas que aquí se tratan por separado. Las cinco técnicas de tejido de hilos son las siguientes:

1. Tejido verdadero con el cual se hacen cintas largas y angostas para tocados, tirantes de cargar, etc.

2. Tejido de hilos torcidos dobles, con el cual se manufactura un género de malla abierta hecho en forma de hamaca.

(141) En vista de esta diferenciación resulta interesante que en la Venezuela civilizada la hamaca tejida a mano, "chinchorro", que usa el pueblo, está hecha con filamentos de palma, de cocuina, etc., en tanto que la "hamaca", más aristocrática a veces y corrientemente hecha en fábrica, sea de algodón.

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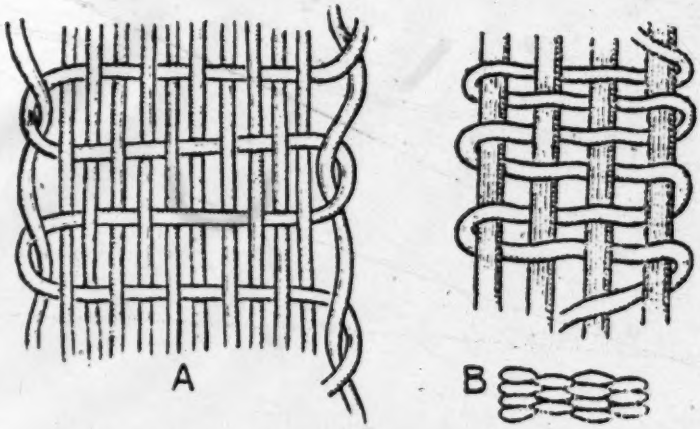
3. Tejido trenzado, con el cual se hacen cintas anchas y circulares empleadas para cargar criaturas.

4. Labor de punto de una aguja con la cual se hace un género cerrado, por lo general en cintas pequeñas y circulares para brazaletes, tobilleras, bolsas (*pakara*), etc.

5. Mallas de nudos empleadas principalmente para redes de pescar.



Ilust. Nº 37.—Textiles Kamarakotos. Hilados y tejidos.
A, tira tejida con trama y urdimbre igualmente flexibles. Cuando el tejido es cerrado, la cara es la urdimbre. B, cinta para la cabeza tejida con urdimbre relativamente inflexible. Siendo el tejido tupido, la cara es la trama, como se ve abajo. Estos son diagramas para mostrar el tejido. En el objeto que tenemos a la vista las hebras están, naturalmente, trenzadas y el tejido es cerrado y tupido. La cinta para la cabeza de la ilustración 33 E está tejida como la B de esta gráfica y los tirantes portantes de la ilustración 43 A lo mismo que la A de esta página.

El tejido verdadero es la única técnica textil que no presencié y su descripción no me resultó completamente clara. Poseo, no obstante, buenos ejemplares de tejidos hechos con ella. La urdimbre se compone de pocos hilos relativamente, por lo regular de cuatro cintas o bandas para la cabeza, pero de hasta treinta y dos para los tirantes de transporte, los cuales se ponen estirados so-

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bre una armadura simple o se sujetan entre sí con palos o varas (este es el punto que no comprendí claramente en la descripción del procedimiento de fabricación). La trama se teje después dentro de la urdimbre con la mano, empleando una vara plana para separar y estirar. (Los Kamarakotos no emplean lizos ni lanzaderas para ninguno de sus tejidos, por más que se conocen ambos útiles en algunas tribus afines pero un tanto distantes de la Guayana Inglesa). La trama entera es un solo hilo contínuo que le da la vuelta al último hilo de la urdimbre por cada lado.

Aunque la técnica textil sea básicamente la misma para ambos tejidos, siguiendo este procedimiento se elaboran dos productos de apariencia completamente distinta (figura 37). En el uno, usado para cintas o bandas de cabeza, cada cabo de la urdimbre es un haz grueso de hebras separadas (cada una de las cuales es, a su vez, un doble torcido). Una urdimbre de seis hilos es común, pero el número no es fijo. Estos cabos gruesos de la urdimbre permanecen rectos y los cabos de la trama se tuercen simplemente en su rededor. La superficie del tejido acabado está formada completamente por la trama y consta de cierto número de hileras longitudinales, casi siempre cuatro, compuesta cada una de cabos transversales. En el otro tejido, con el cual se manufacturan cintas algo más anchas y mucho más lisas, empleadas como tirantes de carga y transporte, por ejemplo, los de la *pakara*, la trama y la urdimbre tienen el mismo carácter, casi siempre de hilos dobletrenzados simples. En este tejido acabado la trama es esencialmente recta y la urdimbre forma la superficie, la cual tiene numerosas hileras transversales compuestas de cabos longitudinales.

El procedimiento usado para hacer hamacas es fundamentalmente distinto del verdadero tejido, aunque se emplee un telar tosco, y el nombre de torcido de telar parece más apropiado para él. El telar es lo más simple que se puede concebir y apenas merece esta denominación, pues consta simplemente de dos postes verticales empotrados en el suelo. El cabo contínuo de la urdimbre se enrolla alrededor de los postes en una espiral alargada hasta que se llega a la anchura necesaria. Así, pues, la urdimbre es horizontal y, como recta en principio, tiene una serie de cabos delante de los postes y otra serie detrás. La trama cons-

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ta de grupos de cabos que corren con intervalos atravesados en las otras fibras transversales la urdimbre y que se trenzan alrededor de los cabos de la urdimbre para sujetarlos. Por consiguiente es más bien una especie de trenzado y amarrado transversal que una trama en el sentido más corriente de la palabra.

Cada amarrado transversal simple o de grupo de cabos de la trama que han de ser trenzados consta de cuatro hebras separadas. Para comenzar se atan juntas las hebras en un extremo, dejando que las puntas sobresalgan como un floco. Después se juntan un cabo de urdimbre de la parte delantera y otro de la parte de atrás y se pasan dos cabos de la trama por delante y otros dos por detrás. Los dos últimos se llevan después al frente, pasándolos por la parte exterior, (a izquierda y derecha) de los cabos delanteros de la trama y luego los cabos delanteros sirven para trenzar el próximo par de cabos de urdimbre. Así, no se trenzan juntos los cuatro cabos de la trama, sino que cada amarrado en cruz forma esencialmente dos trenzas separadas, de dos cabos cada una, atadas en los extremos. Es sin embargo, común y probablemente usual, cruzar el par de cabos en cada punto por donde pasan desde la parte delantera a la trasera, lo cual equivale a trenzar los cuatro cabos juntos, de modo que, por ejemplo, un cabo de trama que se encuentre en el extremo derecho detrás de la urdimbre en un punto determinado se encontrará después por delante, en el extremo izquierdo del tercer grupo de la urdimbre (Ilust. 38). Esto es distinto y superior a todos los amarrados en cruz que expuso Roth como correspondientes a las tribus de la Guayana Inglesa. También lo usan los Taurepanes, a quienes Roth adjudica solamente un simplísimo y relativamente defectuoso amarrado en cruz de dos cabos, que yo no ví en ellos ni en los Kamarakotos. Sin embargo, el amarrado en cruz que he descrito es probablemente el que exhibe Koch-Grünberg como obra de los Taurepanes, aunque no lo describe adecuadamente y su diseño no es claro, aparte el mostrar un atado de cuatro cabos (142).

(142) Las hijas del Dr. Peña, en Santa Elena, me mostraron un atado más bien defectuoso de tres cabos, distinto de cuanto he visto descrito como peculiar de esta región, pero acaso no fuera realmente Taurepán, desde luego que aquellas señoritas son cultas, en sentido Europeo, no obstante su profundo conocimiento de los Taurepanes entre quienes viven y cuya sangre tienen por parte de la madre, igualmente culta.

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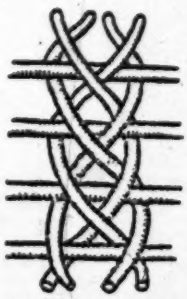
Cuando un amarrado en cruz está terminado sus cuatro cabos se atan también en el extremo inferior, dejándoles un fleco corto. Cuando están hechos todos los amarrados en cruz, los extremos sueltos de la urdimbre se trenzan en grupos y se enlazan en cabos gruesos, juntando después éstos en una sola lazada a cuyo extremo se ata la cuerda colgante de la hamaca, "colgadero" o, más propiamente, "hico" (Ilust. 39-40).

Aunque se conocen chinchorros más toscos, éstas hamacas sencillas son muy inferiores a las complicadas y frecuentemente



Ilust. Nº 38.—Diagonales de un chinchorro Kamarakoto. Este diagrama muestra cómo sujeta la transversal de cuatro cabos a los que forman la urdimbre del chinchorro. En este chinchorro los hilos de la urdimbre aparecen simples para mayor claridad del dibujo, pero siempre son dobles.

bellas de urdimbre vertical que hacen algunas tribus (véanse, por ejemplo, las ilustraciones de Roth para los ejemplares de la Guayana Inglesa) que son a veces objeto, como el mismo Roth dice, de especulación escandalosa, llegándose a vender hasta por 400 dólares.

La técnica que Roth denomina "enlazado de telar" (en el inglés de Roth "frame-looping"), pero que yo llamo "trenzado de telar" (en inglés "loom-plating") por parecerme término descrip-

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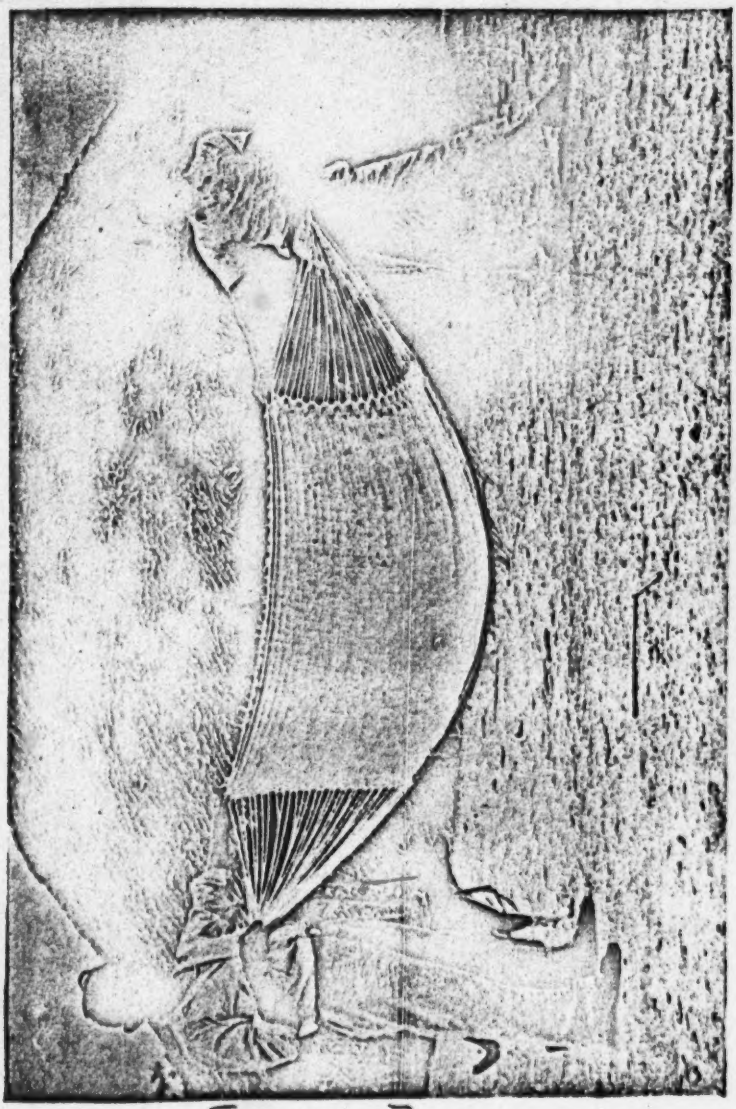
tivo más exacto, es uno de los trabajos más peculiares, característicos e interesantes de esta región. Lo saben hacer no sólo los Kamarakotos, sino también los Taurepanes (y por tanto, sin duda alguna, los Arekunas, como agrupación étnica), los Maquiritares (siquiera la tribu Yekuaná), los Akawais (siquiera la tribu Patamona), los Makuchis y algunos Aruacos vecinos (siquiera las tribus Wapishana y Atorai), efectuándolo todos ellos esencialmente del mismo modo. Es un elemento de cultura regional no distribuído tribual ni racialmente.

Nordenskiöld denomina esta técnica Tumupasa, por el nombre de un grupo de Indios de lengua Tacana que viven al N. E. del lago de Titicaca y emplean esta técnica, la cual, según el mismo autor, tiene esta distribución curiosísima: en la región Guayanesa que estamos estudiando nosotros y en el extremo S. O. de la Hoya Amazónica (Nordenskiöld 1924, Mapa 26). Se concibe a duras penas que técnica tan compleja haya podido surgir independientemente en estas dos áreas, y no se ha dado explicación satisfactoria de su aparición en dos regiones tan separadas geográfica, cultural y racialmente.

En esta técnica no hay distinción entre urdimbre y trama. Todos los cabos se colocan en el telar en la misma dirección y todos se tratan del mismo modo, torciéndolos unos con otros, de modo que el procedimiento es puramente de trenzado y no de tejido, aunque se emplee un telar. Este telar consta de dos palos cruzados, como una X grande, con un palo transversal amarrado en cada extremo (Ilust. 41). Se improvisa otro telar en caso de necesidad y en la manufactura sólo se cuida de que las barras transversales sean lisas o bien pulidas a fin de que la hebra se deslice entre ellas fácilmente. La hebra se amarra apretada en espiral larga alrededor de los dos extremos de la pieza, del mismo modo que se ata, aunque en proporción mucho mayor, la urdimbre de la hamaca. Cuando se trabaja en este telar, uno de los extremos de él se sujeta con los dedos del pie y el otro extremo descansa en las rodillas o en los muslos, quedando las manos libres para trenzar (Ilust. 42).

Para hacer el modelo más sencillo, uno sobre uno, la primera hebra (a la izquierda del obrero) se pasa por debajo de la segun-



Ilust. Nº 39.—Chinchorro Kamarakoto.
Hamaca de algodón acabada.

[p. 454-A]

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B-454 P

Ilust. Nº 40.—Chinchorro Kamarakoto.
Detalle de un extremo de hamaca (en uso) mostrando el trenzado y el amarre del remate de los hilos de la urdimbre (hico).

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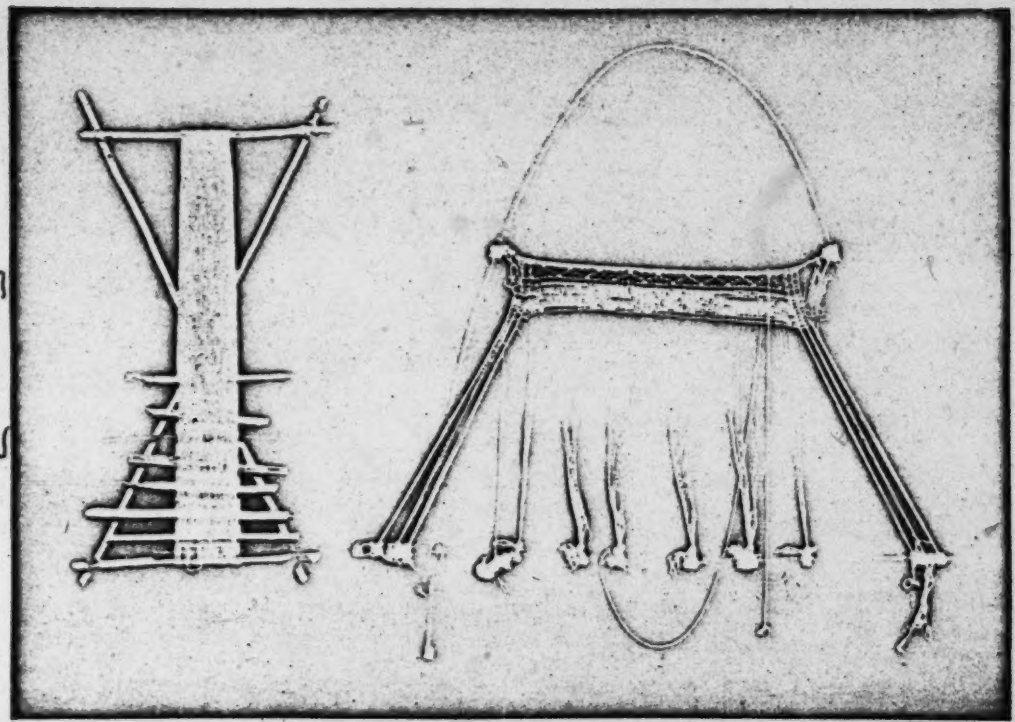

[p. 454-G]

Ilust. Nº 41.—Telar Kamarakoto.
A, telar de plegar. El plegado se hace con los dedos en el extremo superior, donde puede verse un trozo de tejido acabado (es mucho más estrecho que las tiras que pueden hacerse en un telar de éstos). B, telar para hacer guayucos de cuentas; la orilla superior y una parte del guayuco están ya terminados.

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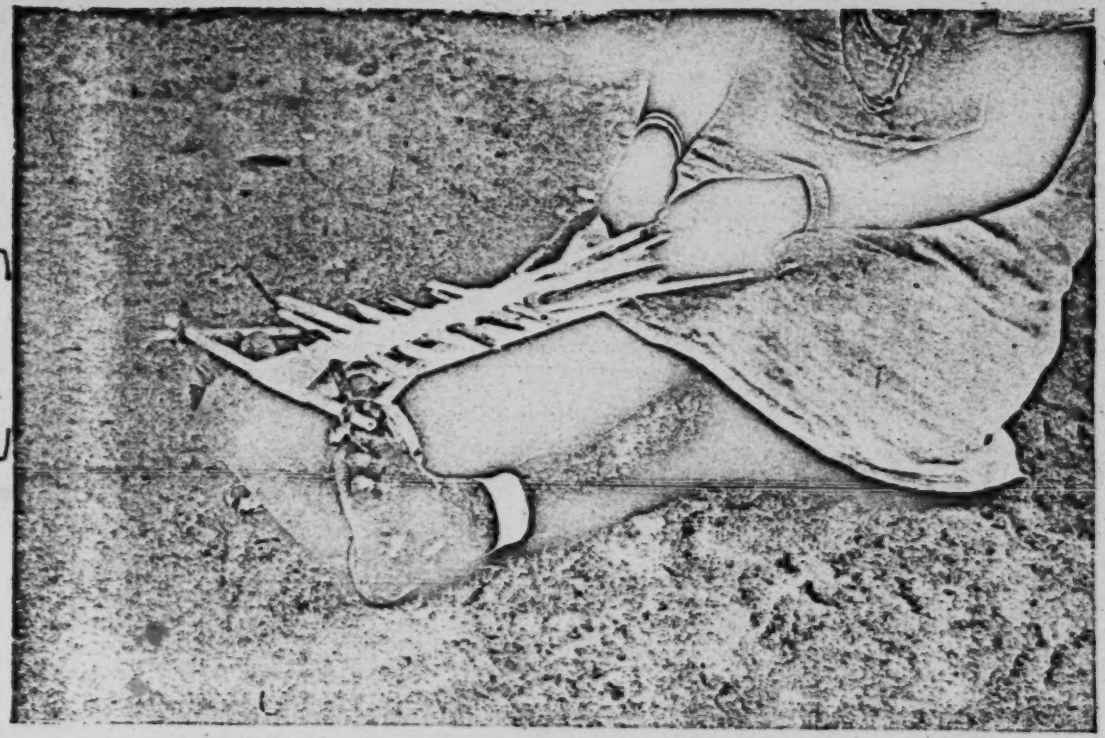

Ilust. Nº 42.—Telar de plegado Kamarakoto.
Aquí se muestra el telar de la gráfica 41 A durante su empleo.

[p. 454-D]

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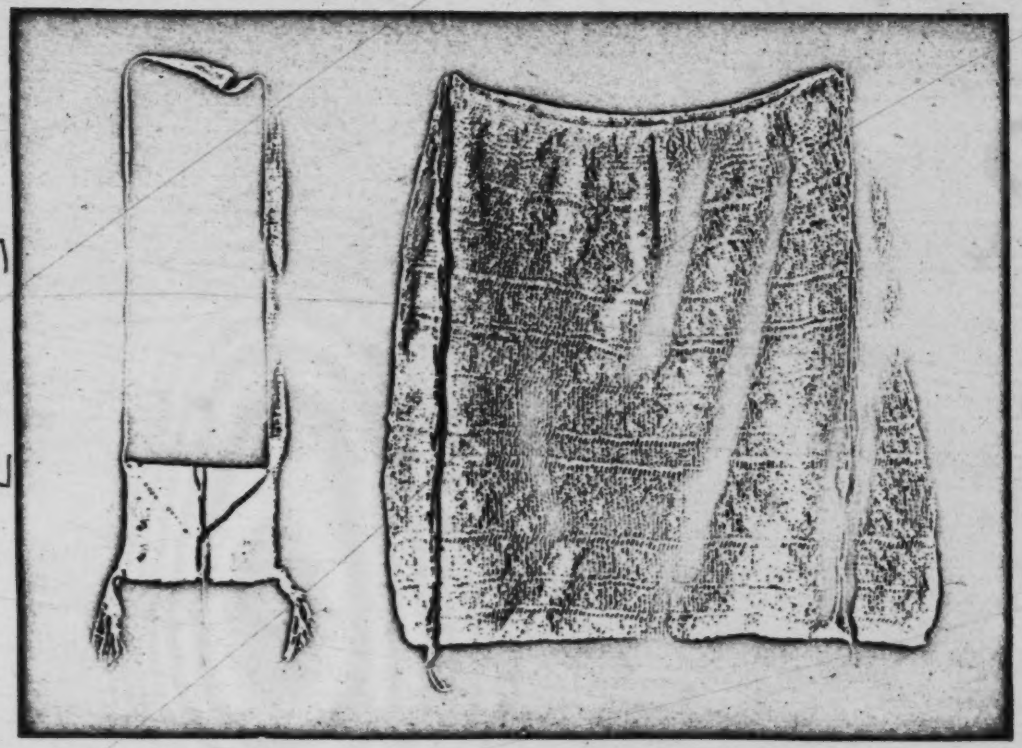

Ilust. Nº 43.—Bolsa y tirantes Kamarakotos para cargar criaturas.
A, bolsa de algodón, *pakara*. B, tirantes de algodón para cargar criaturas.

[P. 454-E]

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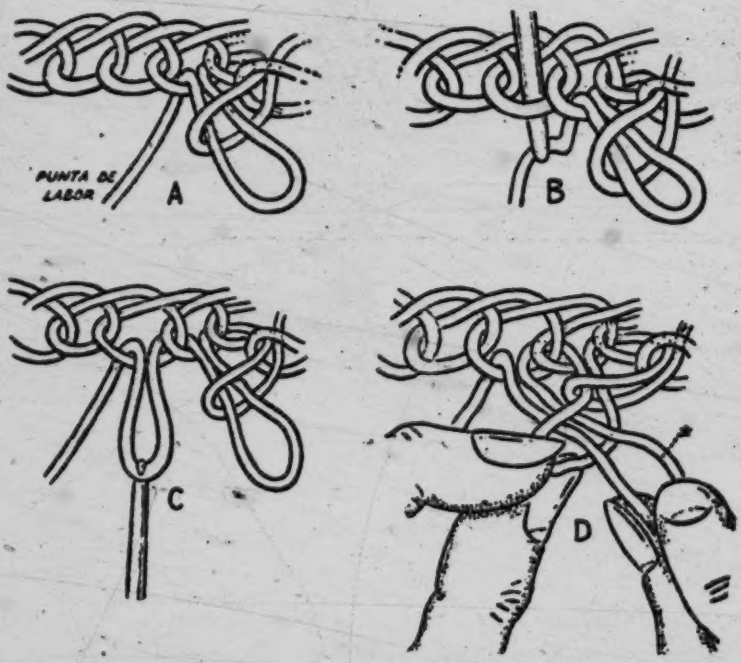

Ilust. Nº 44.—Labor Kamarakota de ganchillo con aguja.
Tal como se muestra la labor, la cadeneta inicial (remate superior) está ya hecha y comienza el crochet de la segunda hilera. A, la labor con la malla que quedó abierta en la operación precedente. B, la aguja pasa por la cadena (o última malla) y agarra el extremo del hilo que se está trabajando. C, la nueva malla se atraviesa con la aguja. D, la nueva malla se desliza por la anterior con los dedos. Tirando el hilo por el punto marcado con una estrella, la malla se cierra, apareciendo nuevamente el aspecto A, un punto más a la izquierda. El cuerpo de la bolsa de la figura 43 A se hace de este modo, así como también las ligas o ajorcas que llevan las mujeres Kamarakotas según se ve en varias fotografías.

da y después por encima y se enlaza sobre los dedos (el pulgar o el pulgar y el índice o el pulgar, el índice y el del corazón) de la mano izquierda. Después, la tercera hebra se trenza igualmente con la cuarta, la quinta con la sexta y así sucesivamente hasta llegar al lado de la mano derecha. Claro está que tiene que haber un número preciso de cabos para este modelo, y, en efecto, el número usado es siempre un múltiplo de cuatro para permitir variaciones trabajando con dos cabos al mismo tiempo.

Cuando se llega al borde, se inserta un pedazo redondo y liso de madera en el lugar de los dedos y se estira hacia el extremo próximo del telar para cerrar el tejido. Después se introducen los dedos entre los cabos delanteros y los de atrás por el lado más próximo del palo. Los cabos delanteros, comenzando ahora por el borde derecho, se van deslizando sucesivamente fuera del dedo, mientras que los cabos de atrás se van cogiendo uno por uno, colocándose en los dedos de la mano derecha, de manera que cada cabo de la parte de atrás se trenza cruzando y después se le pasa por encima un cabo delantero, justo como se hizo la primera vez en el través, pero ahora trabajando en dirección contraria. Al llegar al otro lado (ahora el izquierdo), se inserta otro palo y la operación se repite de arriba para abajo, de un lado hacia el otro.

Cuando el número de palos se hace tan grande (por lo regular diez o doce) que resulta exagerada la tensión, el palo más alejado se empuja a lo largo de la derecha hacia el extremo del telar y se alza su otro lado hasta que el trenzado de los cabos que empuja hacia adelante llegue al extremo próximo, hasta penetrar con el trenzado hecho no con el palo sino con los dedos, quitándose después el palo. El segundo palo, el tercero, etc., se deslizan igualmente, a lo largo y se quitan, dejando solamente dos o tres en su sitio, y el trenzado prosigue como antes. Así, por el lado de atrás, o sea al revés del telar, los palos van tejiendo al mismo tiempo que los dedos por la parte delantera, o sea la cara, siendo una superficie calco de la otra. Para que el lugar que se está tejiendo quede convenientemente cerca del cuerpo, la parte ya completamente tejida puede deslizarse, de vez en cuando a lo largo hacia el extremo del telar.

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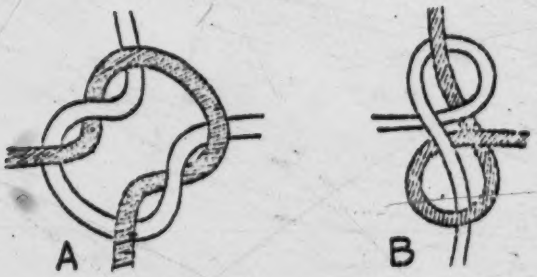
Cuando los dedos han trenzado así lo equivalente a la largura completa de un extremo del telar, los palos han producido cantidad igual y la labor se completa trenzando en franja circular contínua. En caso de que se quitasen ahora los últimos palos, las dos mitades invertidas irían montándose una sobre otra y el trenzado se deshilaría rápidamente. Es por esto necesario insertar una junta o cierre entre las dos mitades. Ello puede hacerse reemplazando los últimos dos, tres o cuatro palos por cuerdas trans-



Ilust. Nº 45.—Nudos Kamarukotos de redes.
A, B, dos tipos corrientes de nudos empleados para hacer redes como la de la gráfica 18. Uno de los hilos está sombreado para que se comprenda mejor la labor. Claro está que todos los hilos son idénticos en esta labor y que el nudo se aprieta.

versales o, más finamente, con un amarrado en cruz parecido al trenzado de amarras en cruz para hamaca que hemos descrito anteriormente. En cualquiera de los dos casos los cabos transversales que cierran están atados juntos en el borde de la banda y sus largas puntas se dejan colgantes. No es raro que estas puntas colgantes se adornen con borlas, hileras de abalorios, semillas, etc.

El modelo simple de uno—sobre—uno descrito se usa muy poco en realidad. Los modelos más corrientes son de uno—sobre—dos o de dos—sobre—dos. En el modelo de uno—sobre—dos se trenza una sola hebra por debajo o por encima de las siguientes dos, etc., a través de la banda. El dos—sobre—dos es exacta-

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mente lo mismo que uno—sobre—uno, sólo que en vez de las hebras simples se emplean cada vez dos hebras, o un par. Alternando los modelos puede hacerse un dibujo variado, cuyo efecto es frecuentemente muy artístico. Un modelo favorito se teje principalmente en uno—sobre—dos con numerosas bandas transversales angostas de dos - sobre - dos, muchas veces enlazando por el cierre o amarre en cruz con franjas más anchas de tejido cerrado dos—sobre—dos.

Los tirantes para cargar criaturas (Ilust. 43 B), ya tejidos, se dejan a veces blancos (o del color del hilo) y a veces se tiñen rojo vivo o rojo oscuro. Los Taurepanes consiguen bellos efectos de color deshaciendo las hamacas fabricadas a máquina que traen del Brasil e insertando hilos de ellas en su propio material blanco, y así confeccionan tirantes para cargar criaturas con franjas diagonales policromas; pero los Kamarakotos no hacen tal cosa, siendo ésta probablemente otra neomorfosis derivada de la adaptación de un material extranjero a una técnica indígena.

La cuarta técnica de trenzado textil puede denominarse labor de punto de una sola aguja, porque se compone de lazadas intercerradas de hilo hechas con ayuda de una sola aguja de gancho (143). Este arte, no menos peculiar que el trenzado de telar, también está extendido, aunque al parecer menos, y, aparte los Arekunas, lo conocen los Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribes" (probablemente Kaliñas) y varias otras tribus. Los artículos que hacen los Kamarakotos son de malla más lisa y cerrada y están diseñados con más habilidad que cuantos he palpado o visto en ilustraciones de otros Indios, y puede afirmarse que los Kamarakotos han llevado este arte hasta su desarrollo máximo.

La aguja que se usaba antes de ahora era indudablemente un alfiler de madera con un gancho o diente tallado en el extremo. Actualmente se prefiere un clavo largo de hierro cuya punta se aplasta y lima hasta convertirla en un gancho suave y muchas mujeres tienen agujas de éstas. (Un kilo o medio kilo de clavos abastece a la tribu para tiempo indefinido, pues no se usan

(143) Mi esposa me entera de que esta técnica no se parece básicamente a ninguna "civilizada", pues no es labor de punto ni ganchillo, de manera que el término difícilmente se le puede aplicar.

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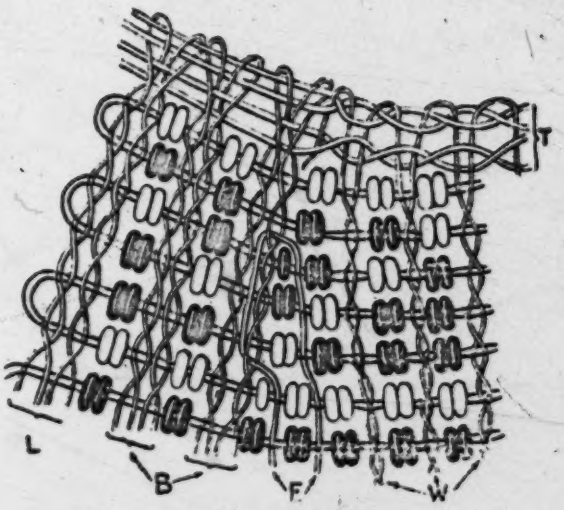
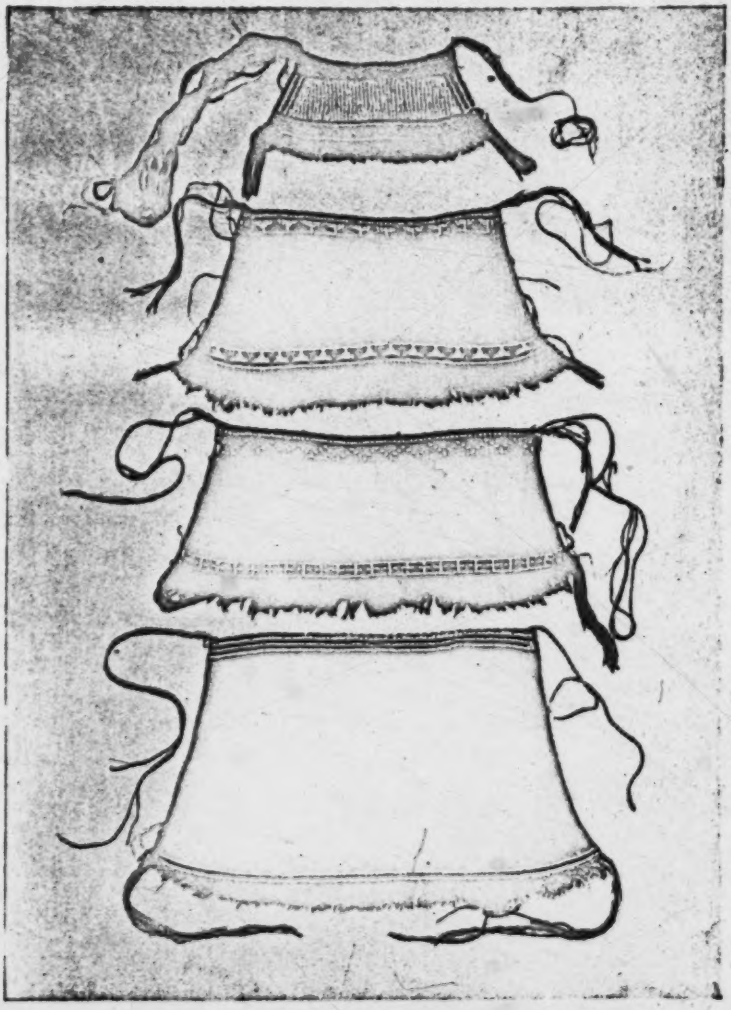


Ilust. Nº 46.—Técnica del Guayuco Kamarakoto.
El diagrama representa el extremo izquierdo superior de un guayuco en proceso de manufactura. Muestra cómo está formado el orillo de arriba (*t*) con cuatro cordones gruesos; la confección similar del orillo lateral (*l*) y la del borde añadido que lleva por la parte de adentro para atar los cabos (*b*). La inserción de los primeros cordones de la urdimbre (*w*) en el orillo superior y de cordones suplementarios de urdimbre (*e*) en el borde añadido para el cabo también aparecen en el diseño, así como la manera de meter los cordones de cuentas de la trama. Todos los cordones son siquiera de torcido doble, pero, en gracia a la sencillez del diagrama, esto se muestra solamente en el caso de los primeros cordones de la urdimbre, porque en ellos aparecen separados los dos hilos al introducirse en el orillo superior. Como en los otros diagramas de cuentas, el tejido está cerrado ya, y aquí se muestra flojo y abierto solamente para dar idea más cabal de la estructura. El tamaño natural de este trozo de tejido sería aproximadamente 2½ por 2 centímetros. Presentamos una muestra típica de borde con cuentas azules (sombreadas) y blancas (sin sombrear). Teniendo este borde, el cuerpo del guayuco sería todo blanco. La franja inferior tendría un borde simétrico con el de arriba.



Ilust. Nº 47.—Guayucos Kamarakotos de Cuentas
Cuatro guayucos típicos, *motsa* o *mosa*. El de arriba, para muchachita, es principalmente blanco, con orillos rojos, blancos y azules, y un cinturón de cuentas del último color. El segundo es principalmente azul con bordes azules y cuentas rojas en el remate de la oria. Los otros dos son de fondo azul con orillos azules y blancos. En los cuatro la oria de algodón está pintada irregularmente de color rojo claro u oscuro.

[facing p. 460]

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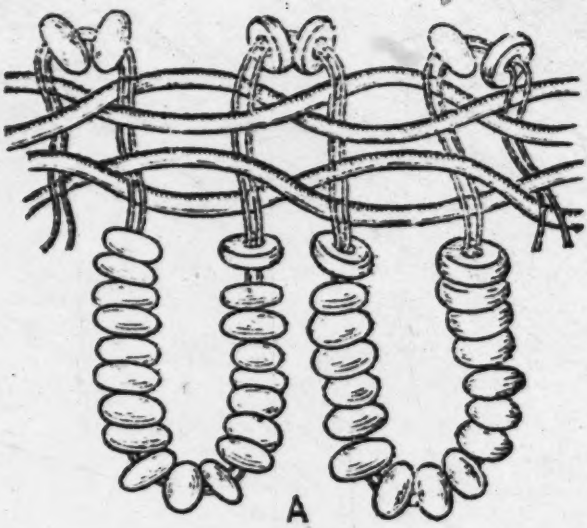
para otro menester, debiéndose tomar también en cuenta que tales agujas jamás se gastan y se aprecian tanto que rara vez se pierden).

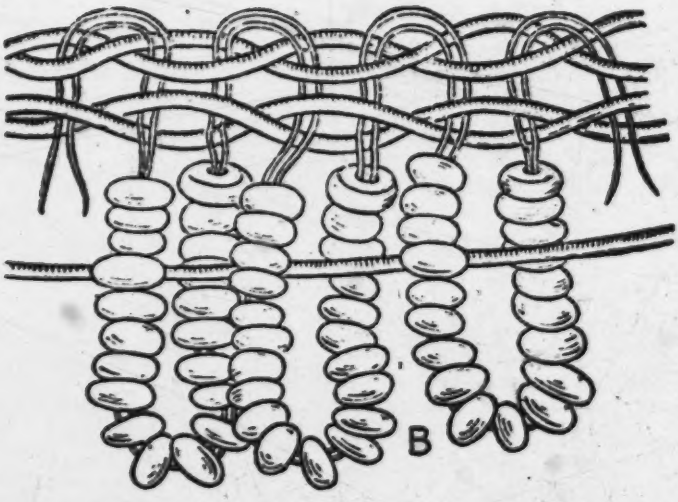
Hay algunas variaciones, pero la técnica básica, a la que se sujetan las demás, es la siguiente: Para comenzar se hace una cadeneta ordinaria, como en el "crochet". La aguja se inserta a través de una lazada en la cadeneta y se empuja por el hueco una pequeña lazada de hilo. Una segunda lazada similar se empuja seguidamente a través de la próxima lazada de la cadeneta y luego se empuja seguidamente a través de la primera lazada (empleando esta vez los dedos, no la aguja) y la primera lazada se cierra sobre la cadeneta, empujándola hacia su lugar correspondiente (Ilust. 44). Se hace después la tercera lazada y se pasa por la segunda, y así sucesivamente. La segunda fila se hace enlazando a través de la primera, de la misma forma que la primera fila se enlazó con la cadeneta inicial.

Esta técnica se emplea para hacer brazaletes y tobilleras, tejiendo con la aguja alrededor de la carne y haciendo así una especie de tubo. Insistimos en que el crochet se hace sobre el cuerpo, por lo cual la liga no puede quitarse sin romperse. Sin embargo, el empleo más interesante y elegante de esta técnica es hacer bolsas o sacos, *pakara*, que cargan los hombres, por más que, como toda labor de algodón, sea obra de las mujeres. En este caso, la cadeneta inicial se convierte en el fondo de la bolsa y se deja recta, de modo que la primera fila, en vez de comenzar por el primer extremo de la cadeneta y hacer un círculo abierto, empieza por el extremo que remata la cadeneta y sigue a lo largo de ambos lados, formando así el extremo cerrado y recto de un cilindro de punto, el cual, en este caso, es aplastado y no verdaderamente cilíndrico (144). En el otro extremo, abierto, del cilindro, se hace un cierre triangular y liso doblando hacia atrás en cada hilera y haciéndolas más cortas progresivamente. De esto resulta una labor acanalada, algo parecida a la de las medias pasadas de moda, sólo que las canales atraviesan el orillo que se trabaja y no forman con él ángulos rectos, siendo el efec-

(144) Roth dice que las bolsas se hacen cosiendo los orillos del cilindro, lo cual, al menos en los Kamarakotos, no es cierto, pues su procedimiento produce una bolsa inconsútil que es mucho más esmerada que con costura.

[p. 461]





Ilust. Nº 48.—Técnica de los Collares de Cuentas Kamarakotos.
A, B, dos tipos de collares festoneados. En el collar terminado la labor está apretada. Se muestra aquí a manera de diagrama para mayor claridad. El collar de la gráfica 33 está hecho de acuerdo con esta técnica.

to completamente distinto de la superficie lisa del cilindro, donde el crochet sigue siempre la misma dirección. Para sostener el cilindro mientras se está tejiendo (como se sostienen en el brazo o en la pierna las ligas de tejido de punto) la labor se hace alrededor de un bloque liso de madera cuyo tamaño y forma coinciden con el interior de la bolsa.

Un trozo de cordón, que suele rematar en una borla, se deja en el punto del cierre de la malla y se enrolla alrededor de la bolsa para cerrar ésta, cosiéndose en los lados una cinta o tirante para poderla cargar a la espalda.

El último tipo de tejido común de hilos es la red, que hacen por lo regular los hombres con hebras de curagua. Estas redes, usadas solamente para pescar, y que ya hemos visto en el capítulo correspondiente, tienen la malla muy abierta y cuadrada. Se emplean varios nudos simples, de los cuales mostramos los dos más corrientes en la Ilust. 45. Una peculiaridad común a todos ellos es que una hebra determinada le deja al nudo los ángulos cuadrados para que se introduzca en ella, de manera que forma dos lados contiguos de un cuadro de la malla, la cual se va formando con una serie de zigzagues. Los cuadros son oblícuos en relación con el borde de la red, la cual está tejida de consiguiente al sesgo y se estira y encoge fácilmente en sentido vertical.

Ensartado.

Los tejidos de cuentas forman una clase distinta, porque los abalorios y las semillas son parte integrante del género manufacturado y no se aplican meramente en un tejido que pudiera tener sin ellos consistencia propia. El agujero rígido de las cuentas une los hilos o permite un cambio en su dirección sin que los mismos hilos se enlacen necesariamente en modo alguno, cosa imprescindible en todos los tejidos sin cuentas.

La labor de cuentas más complicada e importante es la confección de la *mosa* o excusalí femenino (Ilust. 46). Se teje la mosa sobre una lazada que se hace doblando una varita flexible

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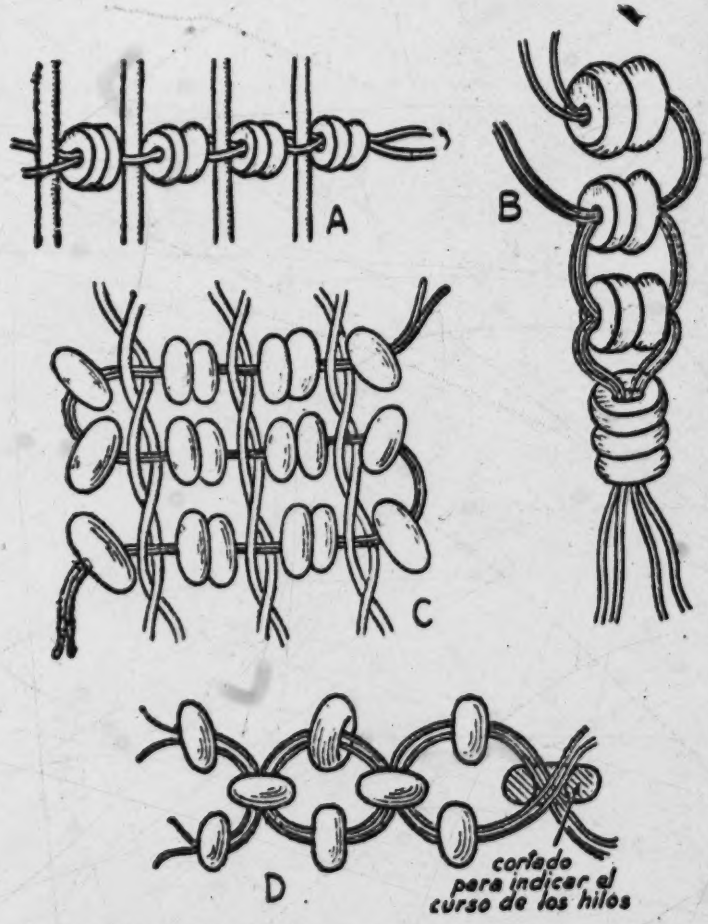
en forma de U ancha e invertida y atando horizontalmente otra varita recta cerca de los extremos (Ilust. 41 B). Atravesando esta armadura por la parte de arriba se amarra un fajo de cuatro cordones gruesos de algodón, cuyas puntas se dejan colgantes, aunque se atan transitoriamente a la armadura, sirviendo después para amarrar el cinturón que sujeta el excusalí. Los cabos de la urdimbre, cada uno de dos hilos torcidos y trenzados, se atan a los cordones gruesos en forma análoga a la del simple amarrado en cruz de cuatro cabos usado para la confección de hamacas y exactamente lo mismo que la atadura empleada en la manufactura de los collares de cuentas festoneados (Ilust. 48). En el extremo de la barra de la cruz y por la parte exterior de la armadura curva, se amarra por cada lado un fajo de cuatro cabos de urdimbre, formando así los orillos del excusalí, y otro fajo de cuatro cabos, y a veces un tercero o fajo adicional de dos cabos, se amarra en el mismo lugar por cada lado a distancia media entre los cabos de los orillos. Al poner la trama, se introduce ésta por los cabos de los orillos, de modo que ellos formen en la trama una atadura parecida al amarre en cruz de la urdimbre, rematando al propio tiempo los bordes. Se dejan dos cuentas en cada cabo de trama entre éste y el próximo fajo de cuatro cabos de urdimbre, y si se inserta un tercer fajo, déjanse igualmente dos cuentas entre él y el segundo fajo, empatándose del mismo modo con el fajo del borde, o bien, si el tercer fajo consta solamente de dos cabos, con una simple espiral trenzada igual que la amarradura más simple de dos cabos de las hamacas (por ejemplo, según lo describe Roth, conviniendo recordar que los propios Kamarakotos no emplean en las hamacas la amarradura de dos cabos).

Las cuentas se ensartan en dos cabos de dos hilos finos dobletrenzados. Los dos cabos se mantienen separados, aunque estén ensartados juntos por las cuentas de cada cual. Puede ensartarse a la vez un metro, poco más o menos. Estas cuentas ensartadas forman la trama. En los casos que yo presencié, la labor se acelera trabajando con dos cabos distintos de trama al mismo tiempo y dando después la vuelta con ambos. En las descripciones de labor similar entre tribus afines sólo se menciona un cabo de trama.



Ilust. Nº 49.—Técnica Kamarakota de las Sartas de Cuentas. A, técnica básica de la labor (guayuco). B, C, D, varias técnicas de collares. El collar de la gráfica 33 D está tejido de acuerdo con la técnica mostrada aquí en C.

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Ya hemos dicho cómo se insertan los cabos de la trama en los fajos de urdimbre de los orillos. En la parte central del excusalí el procedimiento difiere. Aquí, los cabos de urdimbre que no se usan átanse ligeramente en varios (cinco, seis ó más) fajos a la barra en cruz, a fin de que no se enreden. Para trabajar la trama, el fajo de urdimbre apropiado se desata y el primer cabo de urdimbre del fajo corre entre los dos hilos en que están ensartadas las cuentas; después corre a lo largo el próximo cabo de urdimbre, y así sucesivamente, dejando en cada caso dos cuentas entre los cabos de urdimbre adyacentes.

Cuando el excusalí ensancha por la parte de abajo pònense cabos de urdimbre adicionales, atándolos al fajo del orillo que se encuentra más en el centro. Los orillos nunca se ensanchan y los cabos adicionales de urdimbre se añaden casi invariablemente desde el borde y muy rara vez dentro de la superficie rematada por la parte de arriba del excusalí.

Ya completa la parte que lleva cuentas, las puntas de los cabos de urdimbres y los hilos que se hayan añadido al objeto se anudan alrededor de un cordón tranversal y se dejan colgando como un fleco, el cual frecuentemente se tiñe de color rojo vivo o marrón rojizo. Excusalíes típicos ya terminados pueden verse en la Ilustración Nº 47.

Las cintas o bandas de cuentas, festones de lo mismo y algunos tipos especiales de sartas de abalorios, aunque no sean estrictamente tejidos, tienen el mismo carácter e implican problemas de la misma especie. Las ilustraciones Nos. 48 y 49 explican por sí solas varios tipos de esta labor. Las cuentas se ensartan siempre simultáneamente en dos hilos, aunque esto no sea una necesidad técnica como ocurre en la confección de excusalíes. Se emplea generalmente algodón, pero eventualmente también hilo de curagua muy fino. Toda labor de cuentas está ejecutada por mujeres.

Cestería.

Los Kamarakotos hacen y usan cestos en gran número y variedad y su habilidad en este respecto acaso sea la característica

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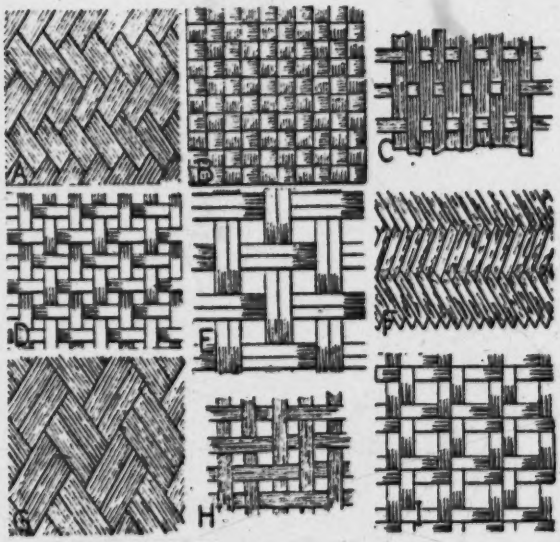
más interesante que el visitante encuentra en ellos. Los cestos son necesarios para casi todas la fases de la vida Kamarakota. Entre los fines a que se destinan podemos citar los siguientes:



Ilust. Nº 50.—Técnicas de Cestería Indígena Guayanesa. Kamarakota, a menos que se advierta otra cosa. A, Plegado cruzado y tejido uno sobre dos. B, Plegado cuadrado y tejido cerrado (según Roth, Makuchi). C, Plegado cuadrado y tejido semiabierto uno sobre uno. D, Plegado cuadrado y tejido abierto uno sobre uno (según Roth, Patamona). E. Plegado cuadrado y tejido abierto dos sobre dos (según Roth, Patamona). F, Plegado cruzado y tejido uniforme uno sobre cuatro. G, Plegado cruzado y tejido uniforme dos sobre tres. H, Plegado cruzado y tejido uniforme uno sobre dos, abierto, una sola fibra. I, Plegado cruzado y tejido uniforme (que nunca falta) de tejidos de cestería más simples abierto, dos fibras, entretejido (según Roth, Makuchi).

Carga y transporte. Gran variedad de cestos adaptados para transportar casi cuanto objeto liviano o pesado puede cargar un Indio.

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Almacenaje. Cestos abiertos de varias clases para guardar víveres, etc., así como cestillos y cofres para prendas y demás usos.

Esteras. Alfombras y cierres de puertas.

Abanicos y soplillos.

Bandejas y esterillas para servir comida.

Prensas para yuca (sebucanes).

Cedazos para yuca.

Banastas para secar el algodón.

Jáulas de pájaros.

Nasas o trampas de pescar.

Aljabas para dardos de cerbatana.

Ha de anotarse también, no obstante, como característico, que los Kamarakotos y sus afines no usan objetos de cestería para menesteres usuales entre algunos Indios distantes, por ejemplo, los de Norte América. No hacen recipientes de agua de cestería y no tienen por tanto cestos de hervir, depósitos de agua ni cantimploras, vasos o botellas de mimbre. No usan la técnica de cestería en la manufactura de ellas, ni tampoco confeccionan vestidos, alpargatas, cunas ni carga-niños de cestería. Finalmente tampoco hacen muebles de fibra ni usan cestos especiales para ceremonias religiosas ni en conexión con los ritos funerales.

Al intentar un sumario de este abundante y complejo material es conveniente considerar primero las técnicas básicas en referencia, la manera como se unen los materiales para formar tejidos de cestería y después las formas, funciones y nomenclaturas de los objetos manufacturados. En la denominación de cestería incluímos aquí todos los tejidos hechos con materiales no torcidos, en contraposición a los tejidos de hilos y a los de hilos y cuentas, y así englobamos en este capítulo objetos como las esteras que no son propiamente cestos.

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TECNICA

La cestería India se ha estudiado intensamente en Norte América y varias clasificaciones similares de técnicas se han basado en esos estudios. Para los fines de la presente monografía hemos de referirnos particularmente a Mason (1904), Kissel (1916) y Weltfish (1930). La cestería de la parte N. E. de Sur América, que constituye esencialmente una sola área cultural en este respecto y de la cual forman parte íntegra y típica los Kamarakotos, no ha sido estudiada aún cuidadosamente. Mason y otros investigadores de la cestería Norte Americana la han mencionado más o menos incidentalmente, y disponemos siquiera, de dos excelentes estudios especiales de Schmidt (1904) y de Roth (1924) y (1929). Por así decirlo todos los viajeros de esta región han mencionado la cestería y muchos de ellos han diseñado o descrito varios cestos, aunque sin hacer grandes aportes a la clasificación y a la comprensión detallada de las técnicas o los objetos de cestería. El mismo Koch-Grünberg, cuya obra es completa y extensa, dice poco importante respecto a la cestería de los Taurepanes y otras tribus que estudió.

La siguiente clasificación de técnicas, aunque incluye casi todo lo conocido, está elaborada desde el punto de vista especial de la labor de los Kamarakotos y sus afines culturales. Se basa especialmente en la síntesis de las opiniones de los cinco autores arriba citados, así como en los modelos mismos. Las técnicas conocidas positivamente por los Kamarakotos son marcadas así: °. Las no identificadas con certeza entre los Kamarakotos, aunque se encuentran en forma más o menos típica en esta amplia área cultural, aparecen marcadas con una cruz. Las no marcadas no se encuentran aquí o se encuentran solamente como variantes raras y decididamente atípicas.

Además de los términos españoles, doy los siguientes en inglés para comparación con la literatura y las técnicas norteamericanas.

° I. Elementos de aproximadamente el mismo tamaño y flexibilidad y todos ellos más o menos activos. Plegado ("plaiting')'.

• A. Elementos aproximadamente paralelos al comienzo (trabajados juntos) (siempre trabajados en dos direcciones). Plegado sencillo. ("plain plaiting").

+ 1. Cuadrángulos simples alternos. Plegado sencillo en cuadro. ("checked plain plainting").

• 2. Cuadrángulos alternos en escalera, más o menos complicados (145). Plegado sencillo en cruz. ("tiwilled plain plaiting").

• 1 sobre 2, etc.

• B. Elementos de ángulos concordantes al comienzo (una serie o más tejidas a través de los otros). Plegado tejido. ("woven plaiting").

• I. Elementos en dos direcciones:

• a. Cuadrángulos alternando regularmente. Plegado y tejido de damas. ("checked woven plaiting").

+ Cerrado.

• Semiabierto (una serie de elementos abierta; la otra, cerrada).

• 1 sobre 1.

• 1 sobre 2.
Etc.

+ Abierto (ambas series de elementos). (Se encuentran variedades oblícuas y rectangulares, pero la diferencia acaso no sea esencial).

(145) La distinción que usualmente se establece entre modelos en cuadro (o en juego de damas) y en cruz consiste en que el primero es siempre uno-sobre-uno y el segundo es uno (o más) -sobre-dos (o más). Me parece que cuando dos o más juncos o tiras se tejen juntos en un modelo cuadriculado, como si fuesen un solo junco o tira de dos (o más) dobles, el resultado no se puede clasificar sino como modelo cuadriculado. La diferencia esencial estriba en si los modelos cuadriculados, sea cualquiera el número de los juncos o tiras que los formen, son simplemente alternos como en el modelo de juego de damas, o si se suceden el uno al otro en escalera o en forma más complicada. A este último lo denomino solamente especie de labor cruzada. El cruzado no puede ser de uno-sobre-uno, pero puede admitir teóricamente otra fórmula cualquiera de sobre-y-bajo. El dibujo de damas es usualmente de uno-sobre-uno, pero teóricamente puede admitir toda fórmula de sobre-y-bajo.

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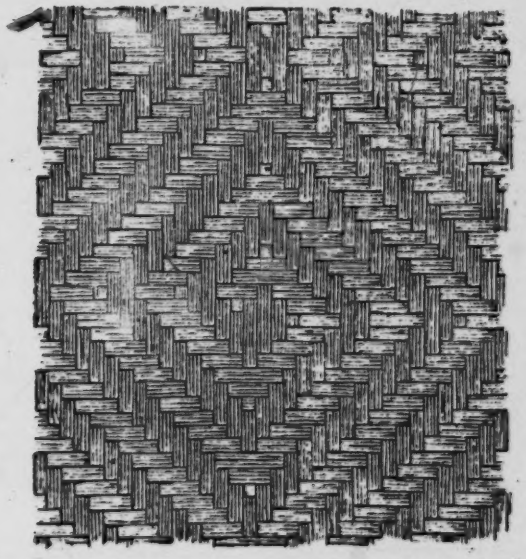
+1 sobre 1.

+2 sobre 2.

• b. Cuadrángulos alternando complicadamente en escalera. Plegado tejido en cruz. ("twilled woven plaiting").



Ilust. Nº 51.—Técnica de la Cestería Kamarakotá. Sección típica de plegado cruzado y tejido con un dibujo por la parte de adentro.

• Con plantilla terminada. El mismo dibujo repetido de arriba a abajo. (Fórmula constante de sobre -y- bajo).

• Cerrado.

+1 sobre 2.

• 1 sobre 3.

• 1 sobre 4.

° 2 sobre 3.
Etc.

° Abierto.

° Juncos o tiras simples.

° 1 sobre 2.

+ 1 sobre 3.
Etc.

+ Juncos o tiras pareados y entretejidos.

° Con dibujo interno bicolor, (fórmula variada de sobre -y- bajo).

(*Siempre cerrado*).

° 2. Elementos en más de dos direcciones. Plegado y tejido entrelazado. ("lattice woven plaiting").

° a. Elementos adicionales cruzando una base cuadrangular. Entrelazado cruzado cuadrangular. ("crossed quadrangular lattice").

° Juncos o tiras de la base no cruzados.

+ Elementos en tres direcciones (sólo se anotó una variedad de cruzado simple) (146).

° Elementos en cuatro direcciones.

° Cruzado simple (dejando algunos cuadros abiertos).

+ Cruzado doble en una dirección.

° Juncos o tiras de la base cruzados.

+ Base de juncos o tiras pareados y entretejidos.

+ Elementos en tres direcciones.

+ Elementos en cuatro direcciones.

(146) Esta forma rara y anormal, no vista entre los Kamarakotos, probablemente debiera considerarse tan solo como una variante del entrelazado hexagonal en el que falta una serie de juncos o tiras de trama. Roth la denomina pentagonal, y, literalmente, lo así.

• Base de un solo junco o tira, ligeramente abierta cruzado en todas partes.

° Base cruzada.

° b. Modelos básicos hexagonales (todos con elementos en tres direcciones). Entrelazados hexagonal ("hexagonal lattice").

• Juncos o tiras de la base simple (o 2-pliegue tratado como uno).

• Sin juncos o tiras adicionales (dejando aberturas hexagonales).

• Juncos o tiras adicionales en una dirección.

+ Juncos o tiras adicionales en dos direcciones.

• Juncos o tiras adicionales en tres direcciones.

• Base de juncos o tiras pareados y entretejidos (cruzado).

+ 2-pliegue en todas las direcciones.

+ 3-pliegue en dos direcciones y 2-pliegue en la otra.

° II. Elementos activos relativamente flexibles (trama) tejidos a través de elementos pasivos relativamente inflexibles (urdimbre). Tejido ("weaving").

° A. Trama entrelazada. Tejido de mimbre ("wicker weave").

° 1. Urdimbre en una dirección.

° a. Cuadrángulos simples alternados (usualmente uno-sobre-uno). Cuadrado de mimbre ("checked wicher").

+ b. Cuadrángulos en escalera o alternando complicadamente. Cruzado de mimbre ("twilled wicker").

2. Urdimbre en más de una dirección. Entrelazados de mimbre ("lattice wicker").

+ B. Trama enroscada (dos o más juncos enroscados entre sí en cada elemento de urdimbre). Tejido enroscado ("twined weave").

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+ 1. Urdimbre en una dirección. Tejido enroscado sencillo y cruzado.

2. Urdimbre en más de una dirección. Tejido entrelazado y enroscado ("plain and twilled twined weave").

° C. Trama enrollada (trama de un solo junco o tira doblando alrededor de elementos de urdimbre). Tejido enrollado. ("wrapped weave").

1. Urdimbre en una dirección. Tejido enrollado simple y cruzado ("plain and twilled wrapped weave").

° 2. Urdimbre en más de una dirección. Tejido enrollado y entrelazado. ("lattice wrapped weave").

+ D. Trama cerrada o sobrepuesta (147). Tejido cerrado ("loctred weave").

III Elemento activo en espiral o enrollado en espiral a lo largo de un elemento pasivo. En espiral ("coiling").

A. Un elemento activo y pasivo juntamente. Espiral tosca. ("crude coil").

B. Elementos activo y pasivo separados. Base de espiral (148).

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(147) Variedad de enrollado en el cual los juncos o tiras de la trama se traban entre sí y enrollan al propio tiempo los elementos de la urdimbre; estilo tan distintivo que se le ha dado razón a Roth al diferenciarlo del enrollado ordinario. El enrollado es una transición hacia el tejido en espiral, y el tejido trabado o cerrado pudiera clasificarse como una especie de tejido en espiral, aunque sus asociaciones, y probablemente también su origen, sean muy diferentes de los del verdadero tejido en espiral. Se aproxima particularmente al "espiral de cinta" (véase la próxima nota al pie) como, con palabras distintas, lo menciona Roth.

(148) Kissel (1916), autor de uno de los mejores comentarios sobre cestería en espiral, incluye un tercer tipo, espiral de cinta ("Pace coil"). La espiral de cinta, sin embargo, es realmente una técnica de tejido de hilos, no de cestería. Se emplea para hacer malla de hilo. El anudado de redes Kamarakoto puede considerarse como una variedad de la labor de espiral de cinta, y Roth presenta al hablar de los Indios del Río Uaupe un ejemplo completamente típico de espiral de cinta en una red de pescar. En los ejemplos estudiados por Kissel la espiral de cinta desempeña algunas de las funciones de la cestería y está íntimamente asociada con la verdadera espiral de cestería, pero en Sur América la misma técnica se emplea de manera distinta de la cestería y por Indios para quienes es completamente desconocida la cestería en espiral, argumentos éstos de fuerza contra su clasificación, así sea secundariamente, como técnica de cestería, al menos aquí. Es cierto, como señala Roth, que su tejido trabado de cestería es íntimamente afín del tejido de hilos hecho en espiral de cinta (él no emplea esta deno-

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Las clasificaciones recientes basadas en cestería de Norte América reconocen usualmente cinco técnicas principales: plegado, mimbre, trenzado, enrollado y en espiral ("plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coiling"), de las cuales, la segunda, la tercera y la cuarta aparecen frecuentemente unidas y contrastadas con el plegado y la espiral. Hace mucho tiempo que Schmidt advirtió que tal clasificación, excelente para la mayor parte de Norte América, es muy pobre cuando se incluye cestos Sur Americanos, y que, en realidad, los cestos más comunes y típicos de la América del Sur no pueden incluirse propiamente en ninguna de esas categorías. En efecto, estos cestos tienen frecuentemente una serie relativamente activa de elementos (trama) y otra serie relativamente pasiva (urdimbre) y así se asemejan al tejido más que al plegado, pero no son labor de mimbre en ninguna acepción usual del término, ni tampoco trenzado o enrollado en sentido alguno posible de estas palabras. Por otro lado, estos cestos pueden hacerse con todos los elementos aproximadamente iguales "activos" o "pasivos" y ser considerados por tanto como labor de plegado, pero la técnica y el resultado no son esencialmente distintos de la cestería "tejida" en el sentido más literal del vocablo y no pueden ser considerados lógicamente como incluídos en una categoría amplia diferente.

Schmidt sostiene, y su tesis tiene para mí considerable probabilidad, que esta clase de cestería, la más importante de Sur América, está relacionada en su origen más con el plegado que con el tejido, aunque en algunas variaciones admita ciertas definiciones técnicas de tejido. Acaso se derivase del plegado, ampliamente usado aún, de segmentos de hojas de palma, no arrancados de su vena central, y que evolucionó hacia el tejido al emplearse fibras sueltas y, particularmente, tiras de bejuco. Esta labor no se desarrolló en la mayor parte de Norte América, porque allí por lo general, no se disponía de su material primitivo—hojas de palma—aunque alguna labor Norte Americana conver-

minación). Es posible a duras penas que este tipo no común de cestería pueda haberse derivado de una técnica textil de hilos, diferenciándose en esto de casi todas las técnicas de cestería, derivadas del plegado simple, pero aunque se demostrase, difícilmente justificaría a nadie que considerase que el tejido de hilos en espiral de cinta puede hacerse siguiendo una técnica de cestería o esté relacionado en un modo cualquiera con la verdadera cestería en espiral.

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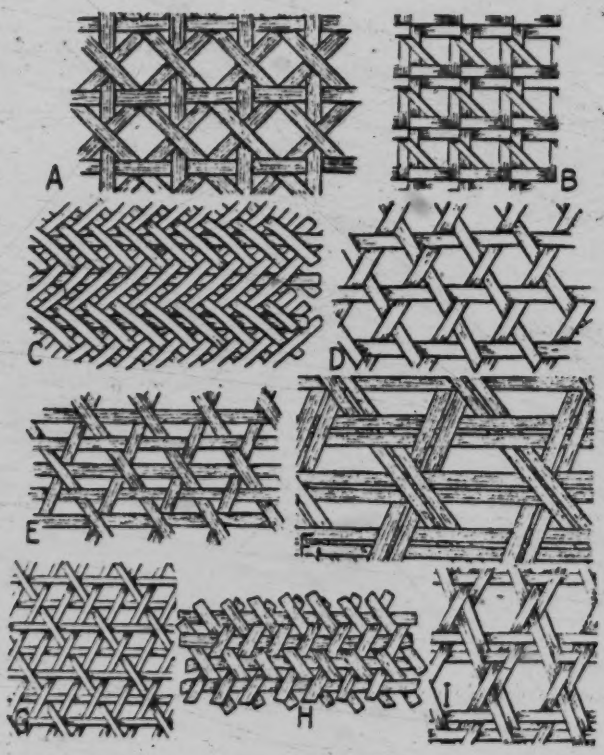

Ilust. Nº 52.—Técnicas de Cestería Indígena Guayanesa. Kamarakota, a menos que se advierta otra cosa.
A, Entrelazado cruzado cuadrangular. Las tiras de la base no cruzadas. Elementos en cuatro direcciones. B, Entrelazado cruzado cuadrangular. Las tiras de la base dobles y cruzadas. Elementos en tres direcciones (Roth, Makuchi). C, Entrelazado cruzado cuadrangular. Base de una sola tira cruzada una sobre tres, en una sola dirección. D, Entrelazado hexagonal de una sola tira aplastada. E, Entrelazado hexagonal de una sola tira con juncos suplementarios en una dirección. F, Lo mismo que E, pero de junco doble. G, Entrelazado hexagonal de un solo junco, con juncos suplementarios en dos direcciones (según Roth, tribu no especificada). H, Entrelazado hexagonal de un solo junco, con juncos suplementarios en tres direcciones. I, Entrelazado de doble pliegue hexagonal de dos juncos pareados y cruzados (según Roth, tribu no especificada).

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ge hacia ella partiendo no del plegado sino del tejido de mimbre. Así, pues, de las dos técnicas, aunque se acerquen a la identidad en algunos casos, una debe considerarse mejor como evolución del plegado con juncos o tiras separadas, empezando por un ángulo, y la otra como tejido con urdimbre relativamente más flexible y urdimbre menos pasiva que en el verdadero tejido de mimbre.

Para acomodar este género máximo de tejidos Sur Americanos de cestería en la clasificación, he introducido otra categoría con la denominación un tanto enrevesada, pero no del todo inepta, de "plegado tejido" ("woven plaiting"), dejando como "tejido" propiamente dicho la labor de mimbre, la trenzada y la enrollada, en las cuales hay una distinción absoluta entre urdimbre y trama, siendo ésta inflexible en realidad o, siquiera, no haciéndose uso de su flexibilidad dentro del tejido, sino solamente para moldear toda la forma del objeto tejido.

Como quiera que incluye casi toda la cestería de los Indios de que tratamos, la subdivisión de plegado tejido se lleva, naturalmente, a un grado mucho más depurado que en las divisiones menos pertinentes aquí.

Entre estos Indios es difícil mantener la disposición entre plegado tejido y tejido de mimbre, por lo cual admitimos ampliamente su carácter artificial, aunque nos parece necesaria para incluirla en una clasificación de uso más que local, ya que, tratándose de diferentes áreas culturales, se manifiesta aquí una distinción absoluta. Parece probable que el pequeño tejido de mimbre elaborado por los Kamarakotos se derivó simplemente de su plegado y tejido en cuadro, debiéndose esto, en parte, al uso raro de una fibra relativamente inflexible, y, en parte también, a ciertas formas no corrientes en las cuales resulta mejor sostener rígidamente una serie de elementos (sean o no de calidad flexible) mientras la otra serie se teje a través de ella. Surgiese como fuera, el verdadero tejido de mimbre lo usan los Kamarakotos para hacer cestas en forma de frascos (las que sirven para guardar la lana de ceibo con que se ajustan los dardos de cerbatanas) y, menos definidamente, para los bordes bajos de las banastas cuadradas (*matu:tu*), no teniendo realmente más aplicación.

El entrelazado de mimbre y el torcido entrelazado acaso sean desconocidos y ciertamente son raros en toda esta área cultural.

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No ví ni oí hablar entre los Kamarakotos de ninguna labor de torcido en cestería, por más que emplean libremente esta técnica en tejidos de hilos, lo cual, a mayor abundamiento de razones, es otra prueba de que su cestería debe considerarse como ramificación del plegado y no del tejido (149). Esta labor, en su modalidad más simple, conócese en esta área cultural, pero es rara y se emplea más bien para objetos, como soportes o repisas para ollas, que no son cestas, y difícilmente pueden ser considerados como labor textil, así sea en la acepción más amplia.

El enrollado es más raro todavía que el torcido. El tejido de enrollado simple y cruzado no se ha visto entre los Kamarakotos y es inusual o no se encuentra en toda el área cultural, aunque se hace uso limitado del enrollado entrelazado (los Kamarakotos confeccionan sus nasas con este procedimiento). Por más que técnicamente no pueda excluirse de la cestería, sospecho que este procedimiento nada tiene que ver realmente con ningún otro de la cestería Kamarakota, debiendo relacionarse más bien con las técnicas que implica la construcción de viviendas, especialmente los techos, o sea, simplemente, el procedimiento de atar entre sí elementos rígidos. La variedad particular de enrolladura que Roth llama trabada o sobrepuesta ("loked or imbricate") no la conocen los Kamarakotos, y, aunque no es completamente explícito en este punto, el procedimiento parece limitarse casi a los Aruacos y Warraus, por más que lo hayan adoptado algunos Caribes adyacentes. Su característica esencial consiste en que la urdimbre (150) es horizontal y en que o está enlazada (o enrollada) alternativamente por sucesivos juncos o tiras de la urdimbre o bien éstos se traban entre sí, o ambas cosas. Hay cuando menos cuatro técnicas definitivamente distintas en esta subdivisión general, pero no se han especificado en la clasificación porque ninguna de ellas parece ser conocida de los Kamarakotos ni de los Arekunas considerados globalmente. Su interés especial desde un amplio punto de vista estriba en que constituyen efectivamen-

(149) Obsérvese también el uso de una técnica avanzada del plegado en los tejidos de hilos.

(150) Roth llama a esto la trama, pero es evidentemente el elemento pasivo y yo sigo buen precedente al llamar al elemento pasivo urdimbre, haciendo caso omiso de su dirección.

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te otro grupo limitado y excepcional de técnicas de cestería, como el torcido y el enrollado, que no pueden, a diferencia de casi todas las técnicas de cestería de esta área cultural, relacionarse íntimamente con el plegado.

La verdadera labor en espiral se desconoce por completo en todos los puntos de esta área, la cual se caracteriza de consiguiente por el desarrollo exuberante del plegado y técnicas derivadas de él, el desarrollo esporádico y escaso de verdaderas técnicas de tejido (aparte las derivadas del plegado) y la ausencia de técnicas en espiral. El área cultural de que tratamos se distingue, pues, perfectamente en este respecto, no sólo de las áreas occidentales de Norte América, casi diferentes por completo, sino también de las del Oeste de Sur América, México con toda la América Central, y el Este de Norte América. Es, no obstante, interesante y significativo el hecho de que muestra afinidad indubitable con un área relativamente pequeña del S. E. de los Estados Unidos (10 del mapa de Weltfish, 1930, figura 2), área de cultura básica completamente distinta, pero que acusa marcada influencia de las Antillas, e indirectamente por tanto de Sur América, estableciendo un corto-circuito en las transiciones culturales del gran Overland del Nuevo Mundo por el camino de Centro América (151). También es nota pertinente a la tesis de Schmidt el que ésa es la única parte de Norte América (más allá de la región transicional de Centro América) donde se disponía por lo general de materiales análogos a las hojas de palma de Sur América.

Dentro de las categorías de plegado y plegado tejido los diferentes Indios de esta área cultural han explorado casi todas las posibilidades razonables, y, como lo muestra la clasificación, los Kamarakotos emplean variedades de las mayorías de las subdivisiones de estas técnicas. No encontré entre ellos ejemplos de lo que, juzgadas superficialmente, serían las más simples de todas las técnicas: el plegado sencillo en cuadro y el plegado de tejido cerrado en cuadro. Roth presenta algunos ejemplos de la Guayana Inglesa, pero aun allí son raras evidentemente estas técnicas. En

((151) Así, el sumario de Wissler del área cultural S. E. (1938) sugiere la probable influencia de las Antillas y de Sur América en los modos de preparar las raíces feculosas, el empleo de veneno para pescar, algunos detalles de la construcción de viviendas, el uso de cerbatanas, etc.

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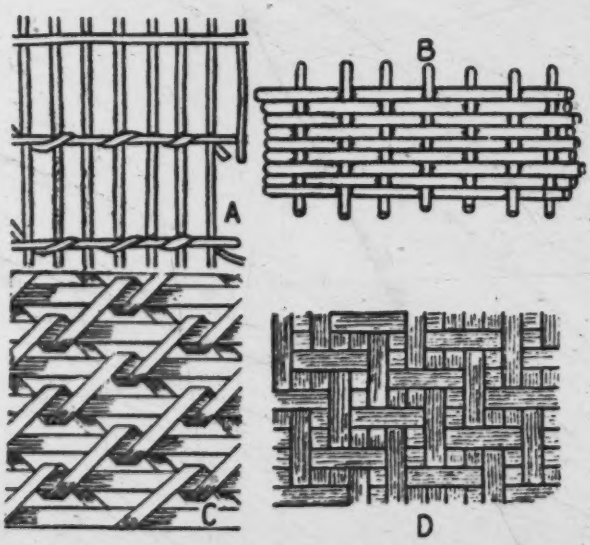
realidad, estas son técnicas que evitarían emplear los obreros hábiles y que pueden resultar más difíciles que la labor en cruz, porque los materiales de cestería comunmente usados en esta región no son lo bastante flexibles como para cerrar fácilmente cuando los sobrepuestos están cerrados tan juntos como deben estarlo en los modelos cuadriculares.



Ilust. Nº 53.—Técnicas de cestería Indígena Guayanesa. A, Entrelazado de tejido enrollado (los juncos de la urdimbre, relativamente rígidos, van en dos direcciones, enrollados juntos con una trama flexible) Kamarakota. B, Tejido en cuatro. Kamarakoto. C, Tejido cerrado. Tribu no especificada (según Roth). D, Cruzado complejo, no corriente, visto en una cesta usada por los Taurepanes. Dicen algunos que es original de esta tribu y otros que es Makuchi. En todo caso es seguramente Caribe de la región del Roraima.

Los Kamarakotos evitan también el plegado de tejido abierto en cuadrícula, cosa que hacen probablemente la mayoría de sus afines, por más que Koch-Grünberg hallase ejemplos en Río Negro. Este procedimiento produce un género relativamente en-

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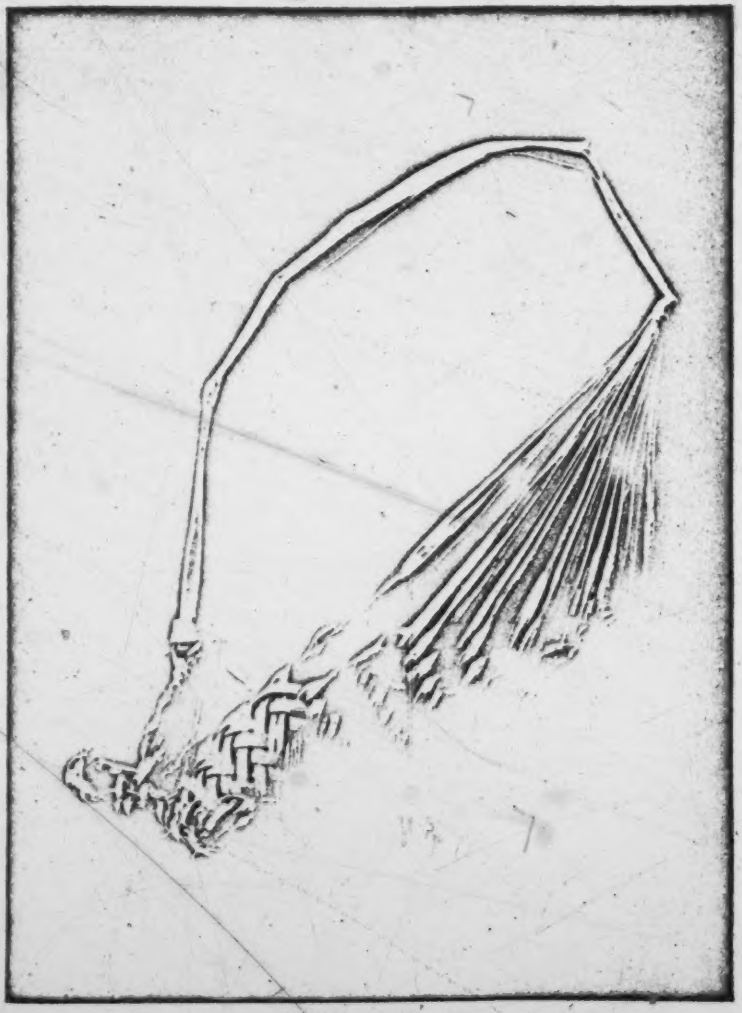
deble y decididamente inferior a los diversos modelos de cruzado y entrelazado abierto, y por esto lo evitan los obreros de más experiencia. Los Kamarakotos emplean un plegado de tejido semiabierto en cuadro (el cual, según se comprenderá por referencia a las ilustraciones, Ilust. 60 C, produce un género cerrado poco consistente), pero solamente para la capa interna de cestas de doble pliegue y en algunos ejemplares dudosos que pueden clasificarse mejor como tejido de mimbre. Nunca se usa para el género principal e independiente de una cesta completa.

De las restantes lagunas que acusa el repertorio de la cestería Kamarakota, las únicas importantes—y éstas debe conocerlas alguien en la tribu, desde luego que son relativamente raras en todas partes—son los entrelazados cuadrangulares cruzados sobre una base de pareados en cruz y los entrelazados hexagonales cruzados de juncos o cintas múltiples. Estos son modelos complicados, aunque seguramente no estén por encima de la habilidad de los Kamarakotos, pero que carecen de incentivo para su uso, desde luego que no hacen mejor servicio y a veces lo hacen peor todavía, que los entrelazados simples. Los Taurepanes rara vez emplean un entrelazado cuadrangular en cruz con base de pareados cruzados, pero los modelos hexagonales con base cruzada de juncos o tiras múltiples se encuentran entre afines no cercanos de los Kamarakotos, por más que sean raros en extremo. Conozco solamente dos ejemplos anotados, el uno por De Goeje (1906, lámina IX, Fig. 12), de la Guayana Holandesa, y el otro por Roth (1924, Fig. 188), encontrado en la Guayana Inglesa, pero de origen tribual desconocido.

Por otro lado, los Kamarakotos no emplean probablemente técnicas de cestería desconocidas por completo en otras tribus y es dudoso que hayan ideado algo nuevo en esta especialidad. En efecto, es casi imposible señalar a estas alturas ninguna tribu de la cual pueda decirse rotundamente que ha creado una técnica cestera. Todo el complejo se extendió por toda la región, con alguna irregularidad, pero sin relación clara con las divisiones geográficas o tribuales. Algunas tribus son más hábiles que otras—los Kamarakotos rayan a gran altura, aunque no se encuentran quizás en la cumbre en este respecto—y cada grupo muestra



Ilust. Nº 54.—Cesto Taurepán.
Un *worokop*ə, variedad de *pakarama*, hecho un revestimiento simple de una sola hoja de palma moriche.

[p. 480-A]

Ilust. Nº 55.—Cesto Kamarakoto.
Un *wakawa'* hecho con un plegado simple de dos hojas de palma moriche.

[p. 480-B]

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cierta tendencia a preferir procedimientos determinados y a rechazar otros más o menos parecidos, de modo que, pese a la difusión general de esta cultura cestera, cada grupo local puede caracterizarse separadamente en estos detalles. Yo hé identificado un tejido de cestería Kamarakota que es cuando menos raro, ya que no desconocido completamente, pero que también resulta raro entre los mismos Kamarakotos, no siendo probable que se limite realmente a esta región ni que haya sido creado definitivamente por esta tribu (Ilust. 52 C).

OBJETOS DE CESTERIA

El siguiente esbozo de clasificación incluye la mayor parte, pero no completamente todos los objetos de cestería de clases generales usados en esta amplia área cultural, dedicando, como es lógico, atención más detallada a los vistos entre los Kamarakotos. En los casos en que un objeto de manufactura indígena haya sido observado de manera definitiva entre los Kamarakotos, se da su nombre.

I. Esteras.

A. Plegado simple.

Esteras grandes para la puerta y el suelo. *kumarakatsa'*.

B. Plegado tejido.
Cruzado cuadrangular, en abanicos o platones. *o.olori*.

II. Cedazos (y cribas).

A. Circular.

1. Labor cerrada.

Fino, de borde levantado, dibujo cruzado. o:epa.

2. Labor abierta.

B. Cuadrangular.

1. Labor cerrada.

a. Estera bordeada.

b. Cesta-bandeja.

Borde cestería y palitos con pies. *matu:ta.*

2. Cestería abierta, completa o parcialmente (cedazos).

Borde levantado con palitos, cruzado abierta *pangai'.*

III. Sacos y formas parecidas.

A. Plegado simple.

Saco hondo para cargar a la espalda. *wakawa'.*

B. Plegado tejido.

IV. Cestas en sentido estricto.

A. Base hexagonal.

Tejido cerrado, con juncos adicionales en la trama.

Hondas, sin asas amarradas en la pieza. *waricha.*

Menos hondas, con un asa amarrada en espiral. *warekapi.*

Tejido más abierto sin juncos adicionales en la trama (por lo demás como la *waricha*). *«no- saramba.*

B. Base circular o elíptica.

1. Fondo radiado.

2. Fondo vertebrado.

En forma de frasco, tejido de mimbre. *tsimui'*.

3. Fondo diafragmado.

4. Fondo sin cero (152).

C. Base cónica.

D. Base rectangular.

1. Labor abierta.

2. Labor cerrada.

a. Cuadriculada.

b. Tejido de mimbre.

c. Plegado de tejido cruzado ("reloj de arena").
aa. Base equilátera.

En forma de frasco, borde sobresaliente, no reforzada. *soko'*.

En forma de balde, borde no sobresaliente, reforzada. *wapa*.

bb. Base oblonga.
Cofre con tapa. *ama:tu*.

V. Prensas.

Prensa para yuca. *tangöi'*.

VI. Cestas para cargas a la espalda (mochilas o "mapires"):

A. Fondo de labor abierta. *akai'*.

B. Fondo de labor cerrada. *koatai'*.

(152) Roth coloca aquí las nasas o trampas de pescar parecidas a las de los Kamarakotos, pero no me parecen ser cestas en sentido estricto.

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VII. Aljabas.

Carcaj para dardos de cerbatana. *möi-ya*.

VIII. Nasas (o cestas de pescar).

Trampa de entrelazado enrollado. *muroi'*.

En lo referente a cestas, esta clasificación se basa en la de Roth (1904) con alguna modificación y la omisión de varias sub-divisiones menores no-Kamarakotas.

Los Indios afines, incluyendo a los Taurepanes, hacen una extensa variedad de esteras, bandejas y cestas-sacos con plegado simple, especialmente de tiras separadas de una o dos hojas de palma moriche, no arrancándolas de la vena central (Ilust. 54). Koch-Grünberg diseña algunos ejemplares Taurepanes típicos y Roth numerosos de la Guayana Inglesa, dando detalles completos de su construcción. Tal cestería, hecha con materiales que se encuentran donde quiera y que casi no requieren preparación, es de confección rápida y fácil y puede servir para casi todos los fines a que se dedica la cestería en estas tribus (las únicas excepciones importantes son prensas y cedazos), pero es tosca, relativamente poco durable y estéticamente nada satisfactoria, recomendándose única y exclusivamente por lo fácil y rápido de su manufactura. Es la cestería del holgazán, y honra a los Kamarakotos el uso escaso, por no decir nulo, que hacen de ella. Claro está que pudieran hacer este plegado, y hacerlo como es debido, pero no les gusta o no lo emplean de ordinario. Aparte las esteras grandes de puertas, para las que este material y técnica son los mejores, no ví piezas de labor plegado simple que usen actualmente los Kamarakotos, sino solamente una, una *wakawa'*, que confeccionaron ellos mismos para su uso, habiéndola desechado ya. En contraste marcado, los Taurepanes, al menos en la vecindad de la Misión, donde la pericia indígena parece estar degenerando rápidamente, hacen y emplean mucho la cestería de plegado simple.

Las esteras grandes, usadas en primer lugar para cerrar las puertas y en segundo término como alfombras, y hasta como per-

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sianas, se hacen, plegadas, con hojas pinadas de palmas como la *kunuoda*. Las venas centrales se colocan juntas para formar el borde de la estera y las pinadas se pliegan entre sí, usualmente con un cruzado de uno-sobre-dos simple, y sus pequeñas puntas se trenzan formando un orillo por el otro lado.

La única cesta Kamarakota, verdaderamente indígena, que vimos de plegado simple, fué una *wakawa*, destinada a los mismos usos exactamente que una *akai'*. Estaba hecha de hojas de moriche (*kwai*) partidas por la mitad con los cabillos dirigidos hacia las esquinas superiores de la parte de atrás. Los lados y la parte de atrás estaban plegados en cruzado de uno-sobre-dos y las puntas trenzadas y enlazadas en las esquinas inferiores, pasando después a formar un reborde en la parte de abajo y finalmente una trenza en el centro, por el frente (es decir, en la parte contraria a la espalda del cargador), terminando sin remate alguno (Ilust. 55). A los cabillos se amarra un tirante trasero que, asentado en la cabeza del cargador, sirve de sostén.

Volviendo a los tipos más elegantes de cestería, la estera corriente, *o.olori* (Ilust. 56 C) se hace de *manare*, la fibra de cestería más común, y, no obstante su sencillez, está confeccionada por lo regular cuidadosa y bellamente. Son cuadradas e idénticas a lo que Roth llama el abanico Akawai (advierte efectivamente que el mismo objeto se encuentra entre los Arekunas, quienes también lo usan como estera). Son de plegado tejido en cruz y cerrado, siempre en uno-sobre-tres, excepto en las puntas de las diagonales, bordes y centro, donde el diseño necesita de variaciones. Su peculiaridad consiste en que los elementos que van en dos direcciones son realmente los mismos, ya que cada tira se dobla en el borde y vuelve después hacia el centro formando ángulos rectos con su marcha anterior y con la parte inferior y la superior invertidas. El tejido forma un dibujo de cuadros concéntricos, que contrastan también en color y en suavidad, ya que el *manare* no se pela y se forman cuadros sucesivos con la parte exterior, más suave y más parda, y con la parte interior, más áspera y más pálida, de las tiras. Se usan tales esteras para soplar la candela, servir comida y una docena más de menesteres. Los Kamarakotos no usan abanicos, como los Aruacos y al-

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gunos otros Indios, que tengan forma verdadera de telas ni estén provistos de mango.

Aunque de forma simple, la *o:apa* (Ilust. 56 B) alcanza por lo general el punto máximo del tejido y el dibujo de estos Indios, disputándole únicamente la preeminencia la *ama:tu*. Las *o:apa* de primera calidad son tan difíciles de tejer que no cualquiera es capaz de hacerlas, y por ello son artículo corriente de trueque entre los miembros de la tribu y con tribus vecinas. Algunas de las mejores *o:apa* que usaban los Kamarakotos cuando nosotros estuvimos con ellos las habían hecho los Maquiritares, pero también las confeccionan los Kamarakotos en estilo esencialmente idéntico, y los siguientes comentarios se refieren a la labor Kamarakota. No nos fué posible conseguir ninguno de los ejemplares Kamarakotos más apreciados y el que yo copié para esta monografía era, según me dijeron, de origen Mayongón (Maquiritare), pero también ilustra perfectamente la técnica Kamarakota. Realmente, Roth mostró que bandejas similares o idénticas hacen los Aruacos, los Wapishanas, los Warraus, los Akawais, Makuchis, los Tarumas y otras tribus.

La bandeja se teje como una esterilla cuadrada y lisa con dos series diferentes de tiras (no con una sola serie doblada por encima como en el *o:olori*) de la cual es una de color pardo o negro en lo que ha de ser la parte de arriba, para aumentar el contraste del dibujo. La fibra es *manare* de tiras más finas que las usadas corrientemente y el género hace un dibujo de plegado tejido y cruzado, cuya fórmula varía de acuerdo con el diseño mismo, aunque principalmente sea de uno-sobre-dos o de uno-sobre-tres. La esterilla ya terminada se corta en forma circular y después se bordea y moldea para hacerla definitivamente cóncava. El borde consiste en una pieza separada toda ella de plegado tejido y cruzado en uno-sobre-dos o en uno-sobre-tres, que se hace en círculo sin costura y del tamaño requerido, doblado sobre el orillo de la estera central y reforzado con dos aros de bejuco opuestos, el uno por dentro y el otro por fuera de la bandeja terminada, que se ajustan en su sitio con hebras trenzadas de curagua cosidas a través del tejido de la esterilla y el borde.

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Estas bandejas no tienen aplicación fija. Se sirve en ellas el casabe y también se emplean para secar algodón y otros menesteres, para almacén transitorio, etc. (153).

Los Kamarakotos no hacen bandejas circulares de tejidos abiertos, como acostumbran algunos Aruacos, ni tampoco bandejas cuadradas del tipo con borde de estera, según suelen los Makuchis y numerosas tribus más distantes todavía.

El *matu:tu* es una bandeja muy especializada en la forma, aunque menos en la función. El fondo es una estera cuadrada y lisa tejida como el fondo de una *o:apa* (pero sin redondearlo después) y distinto de un *o:olori*. Al ponerle el borde y el reborde se le da una forma un tanto cóncava, pero menos que a la *o:apa*. Alrededor se le teje un reborde vertical, que se extiende tanto por arriba como por abajo y se hace con el mismo material (*manare*). Este cerco puede considerarse tejido verdadero más bien que plegado tejido. Las tiras del fondo que llegan a un orillo determinado de ángulos rectos se convierten en la trama del cerco. Se trabajan dos tiras al mismo tiempo haciendo una trama de doble-pliegue, y se tejen hacia arriba, cruzando dos (a veces tres) tiras de la urdimbre (*manare* ordinario, no más grueso que en algunas bandejas parecidas) y doblando alrededor de una tercera (o cuarta) en cuanto vuelven a su curso anterior, cerrando el tejido por lo que respecta a la trama (aunque las tiras de la urdimbre están desplegadas aparte). Pasada la juntura con el fondo de la bandeja, las tiras de la trama siguen hacia abajo cruzando dos tiras de urdimbre, doblando una tercera y regresan en cursos adyacentes, cortándose al llegar cerca de la juntura.

Los bordes superior e inferior se sujetan con astillas gruesas de caña, por el interior y el exterior, amarrándolas con *wadapi*. Aparte esto, el borde superior se termina más suave y elegantemente colocando una varita delgada enrollada en espiral con *wadapi* sobre el borde de la cesta entre las tiras de bejuco y amarrando el todo al mismo tiempo. Después se sujeta a través de

(153) Los Warraus las usan (con un borde distinto) para cernir harina de moriche ("ite"), pero los Kamarakotos no elaboran esa harina ni emplean la *o:apa* como tamiz.

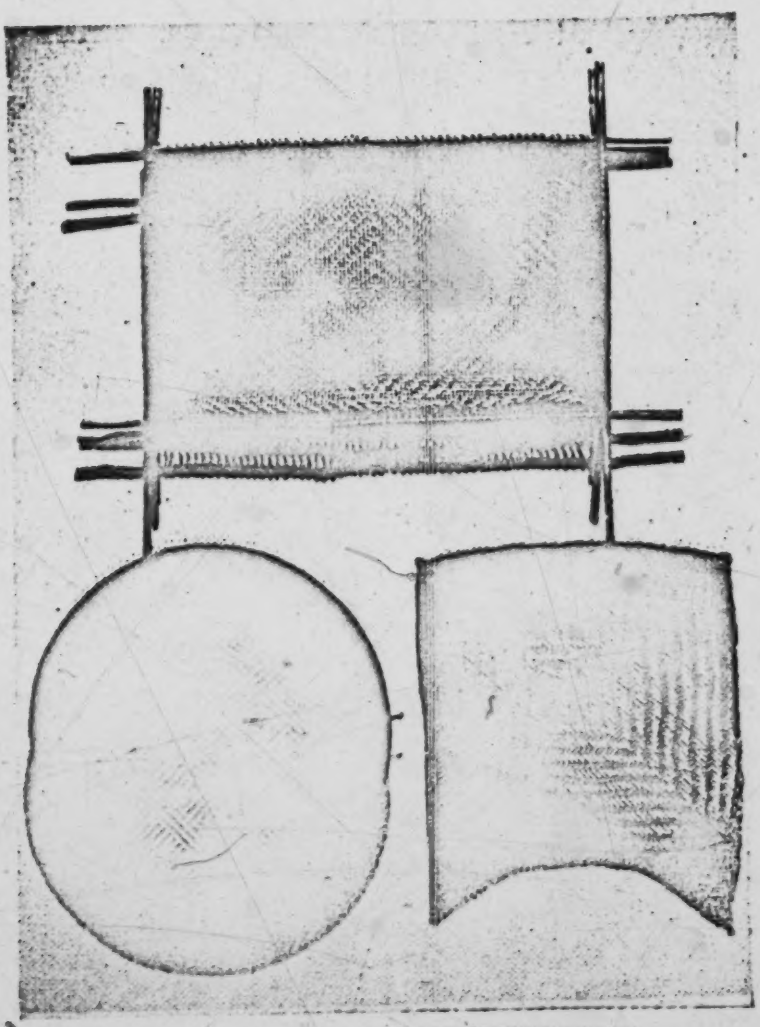
cada esquina del reborde superior una abrazadera de *wadapi*, enrollado especialmente con la misma tira, y en la parte exterior de cada esquina de la cesta se amarra un palo corto vertical, al que se le hace una muesca para que se ajuste, formando así unas patas o sea, haciendo lo que algunos investigadores (un tanto confusamente) han llamado una mesa. Se dice que algunas tribus usan estas bandejas sin patas, y evidentemente pudieran hacer casi el mismo servicio sin este aditamento, pero yo no ví ninguna bandeja cuadrada Kamarakota que no las tuviera.

Como quiera que en la Guayana Inglesa se conocen bandejas esencialmente análogas, cabría suponer que los Taurepanes también las hacen, y en efecto, puede ser así, pero en realidad yo no encontré mención ni descripción de ellas entre los Taurepanes y mi informante Taurepán no conocía el objeto ni ningún nombre de cesta que se pareciese al *matu: tu*. Esta probable ausencia y rareza cierta entre los Taurepanes de la que técnicamente es una de las formas más complejas de cestería Kamarakota confirma mi opinión de que los Kamarakotos acaso sean algo superiores a los Taurepanes en este arte.

Los usos de esta bandeja son esencialmente los mismos que los de la *o:apa*, pero está alzada del suelo y así, en forma de mesa, es más adecuada para muchos menesteres, por ejemplo, sacar el algodón.

El cedazo para yuca, *pangai'* (Ilust. 56 A), es un ejemplo de labor de cestería especializada que sólo tiene una finalidad. En cada vivienda se necesita una siquiera y es tan imprescindible para la elaboración del casabe que se encuentra en toda tribu de Indios que comen ese pan, con variaciones numerosas en tejido, pero con muy pocas en el diseño básico.

En el modelo Kamarakoto común el fondo o superficie principal, de tejido liso, es un rectángulo oblongo de plegado tejido en cruz y abierto. Se divide en cuatro cuadrantes por intersección de líneas de cruzado semicerrado de tres cabos. Cada cuadrante tiene un dibujo homogéneo de uno-sobre-dos por regla general, pero este método de juntarlos hace que sus bandas formen un dibujo de cuadrado concéntrico en toda la superficie, pero esta peculiaridad es visible apenas.



Ilust. Nº 56.—Cestería Indígena de Guayana.
A y C, son Kamarakotos, B, Maquiritare (Maiongón) usada por los Kamarakotos y casi idéntico que algunos hechos por ellos. A, cedazo para yuca, *pañgaí*. B, *e:spa*. C, *e.olori*.

[p. 488-A]

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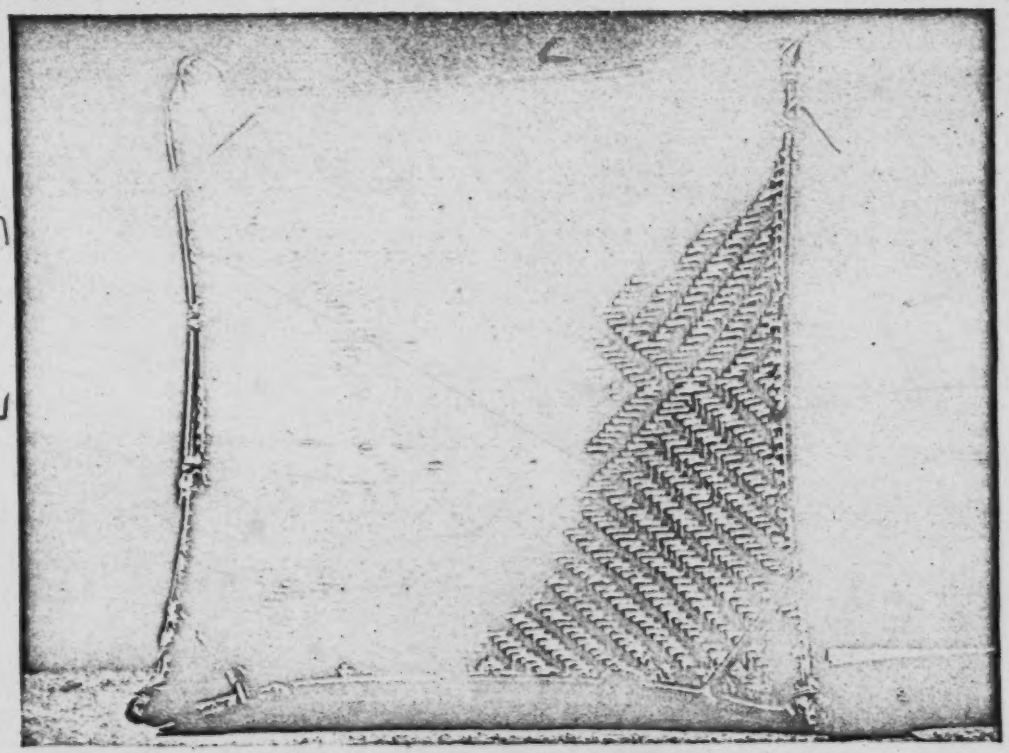
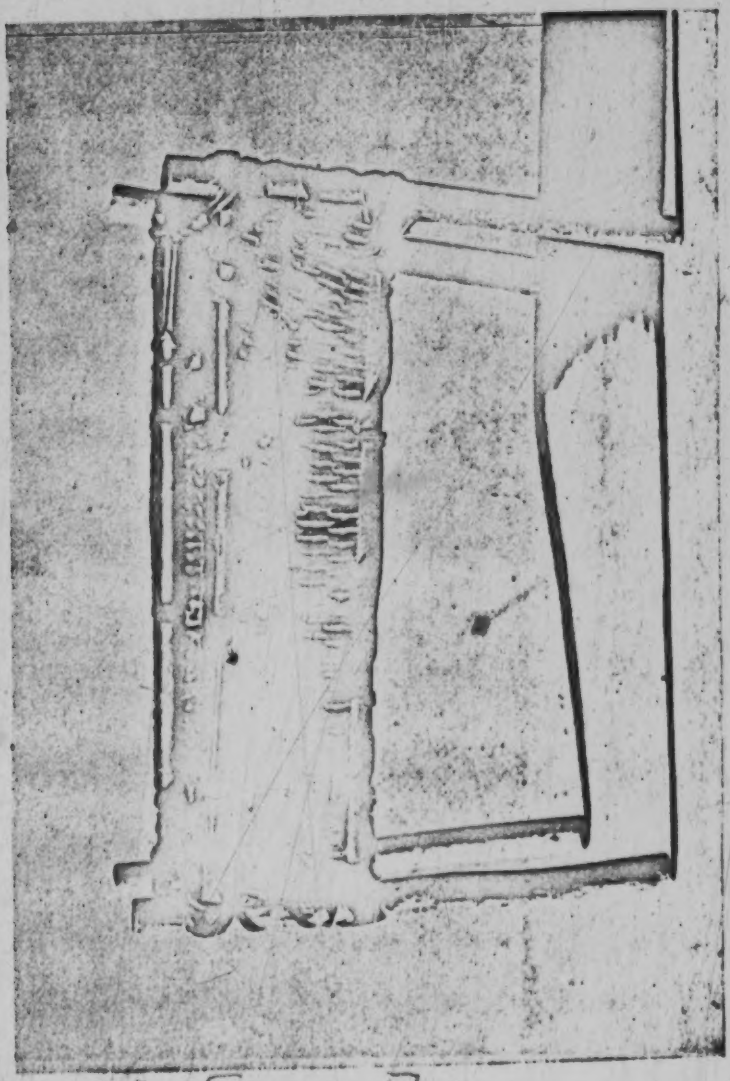


Ilust. Nº 57.—Cestería Kamarakota.
mafu: fu pequeño, visto de arriba.

[P. 488-B]



Ilust. Nº 58.—Cesteria Kamarakota.
matu:tu pequeño. el mismo espécimen que el de la gráfica 57, visto de lado.

p. 488-C

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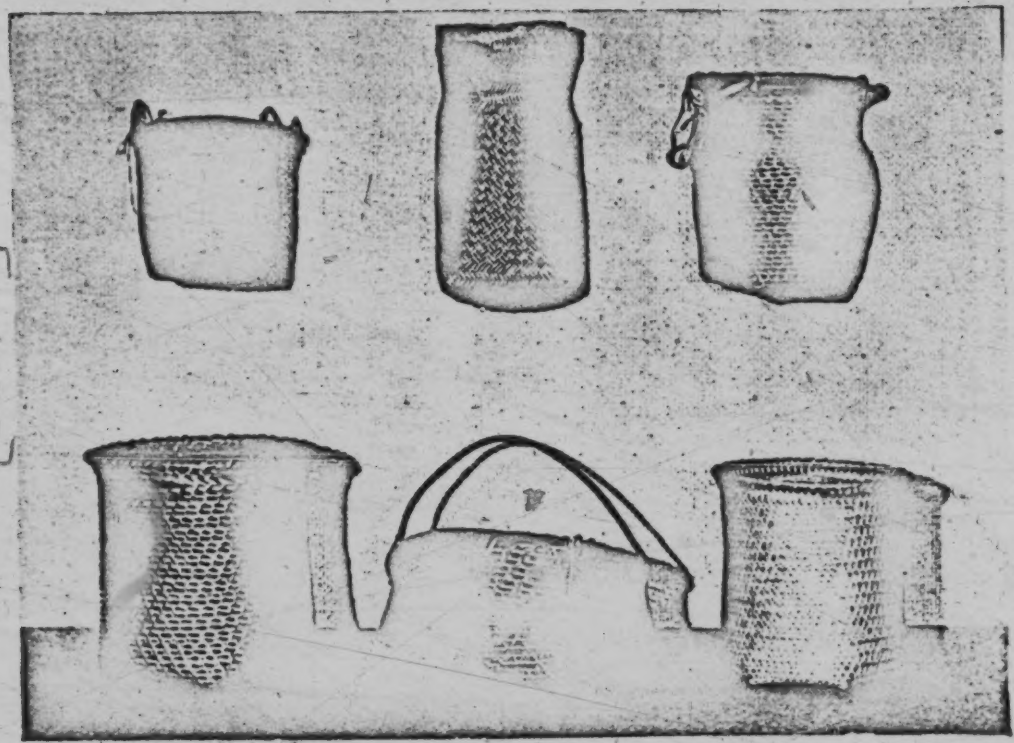

Ilust. Nº 59.—Cestos Kamarakotos.
A, *wapa*. B, *soko'*. C, *waricha* en forma de vasija. D, *waricha* común. E, *warakapi*. F, *waricha* de tejido tupido (entrelazado hexagonal con fibras suplementarias en tres direcciones).

[p. 488-D]

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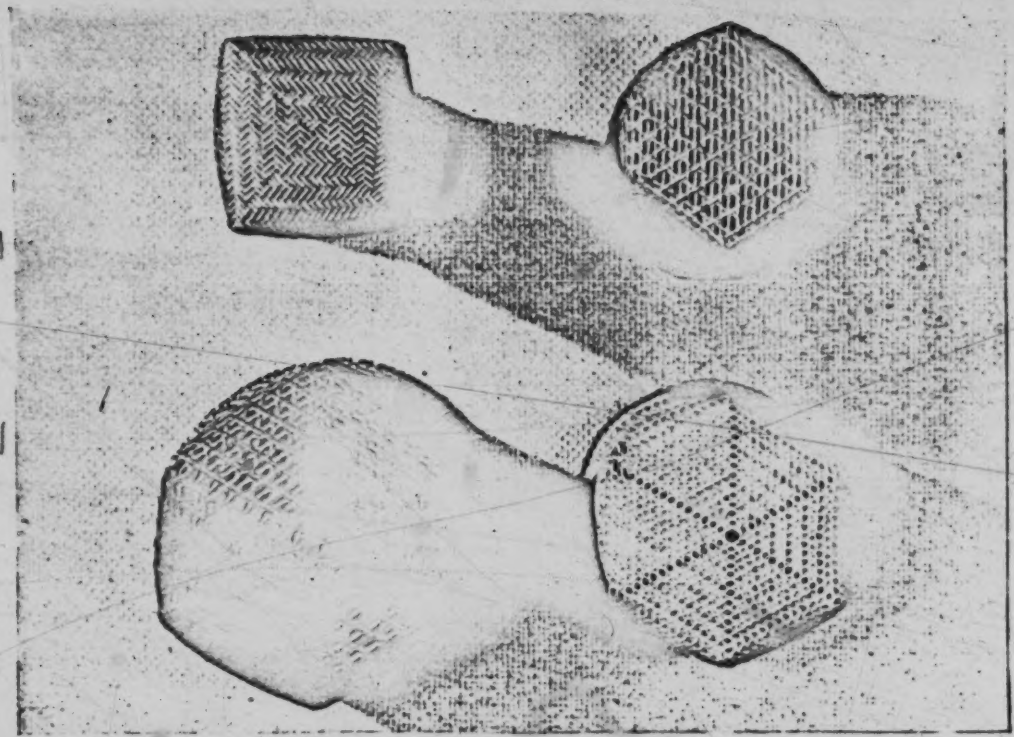

Ilust. Nº 60.—Cestos Kamarakotos.

Bases de tres de los cestos mostrados en la gráfica 59. A, *soko* (Fig. 59 B), base típica cuadrangular con un dibujo de reloj de arena. B, *waricha* (Fig. 59 C), base hexagonal con fibras paralelas cruzando en una sola dirección; la fibra suplementaria de los lados inserta en el ángulo de la base. C. *waricha* (Fig. 59 D), fibras con el tipo más corriente de base hexagonal; las fibras que cruzan están formadas por una simple espiral reforzada por la fibra suplementaria horizontal de los lados. D, *waricha* (Fig. 59 F), con inserción de una fibra suplementaria a base del tipo mostrado en B, pero con fibras paralelas que cruzan en las tres direcciones.

[P. 488-E]

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El refuerzo del reborde se hace con dos cercos, uno en cada lado, que sobresalen bastante de las esquinas, donde se cierran formando una especie de baranda. En un punto determinado del orillo, los cabos de fibra que se encuentran allí en ángulos rectos con el orillo mismo se reunen en grupos de dos y cada uno de estos plegados dobles pasa por encima metiéndose en los cercos, dando la vuelta completa al reborde por la parte de arriba; pasan nuevamente sobre sí mismos entre los dos cercos y enlazan por detrás en la parte exterior, dan la vuelta por esta parte del cerco inferior y después se tejen oblicuamente dentro de las mismas fibras en el punto del cedazo donde se dividieron, de modo que forman un borde de labor cerrada, cruzada oblicuamente, todo alrededor del fondo del tamiz. Esta técnica del borde es esencialmente fija y no se ve en ningún otro objeto de cestería (154). Los detalles del tejido del fondo varían ligeramente.

Los Kamarakotos no hacen, como los Makuchis, cedazos con rebordes de cestería que sobresalgan de los cercos. En Santa Elena, las Hermanas Franciscanas, tuvieron la bondad de regalarnos un cedazo para yuca de manufactura Taurepana que tiene la mayor parte del fondo de una labor cerrada, con un pequeño cuadrángulo central de entrelazado complicado (tejido en cuatro direcciones, con una base cuadrangular de cruzado de doble-pliegue), y Roth nos presenta el diseño de cedazos Wapishana (y Mukuchis?) algo parecidos. Ciertamente, estas son labores indígenas y hechas con técnicas indígenas, pero yo dudo de que los Indios los hagan para uso propio. No son cedazos corrientes en estas tribus y se han adoptado más para exhibición que para uso, ya que la superficie-tamiz es pequeña y su malla ancha.

Algunos Indios, entre ellos ciertos Arekunas, hacen bolsas de cestería plegada y tejida, pero los Kamarakotos han desechado este modelo en favor de la bolsa de tejido de hilo, algo menos estética, pero decisivamente más práctica, conservando la forma (*pakara*, vocablo que se aplica también a las bolsas de cestería).

(154) Roth describe una técnica similar de hacer los bordes, la cual, según dice, emplean los Aruacos y los Warraus en cedazos que negocian, pero que no usan ellos mismos. Los Kamarakotos los hacen para uso propio, y en realidad yo no vi que conociesen una técnica más sencilla para esta labor.

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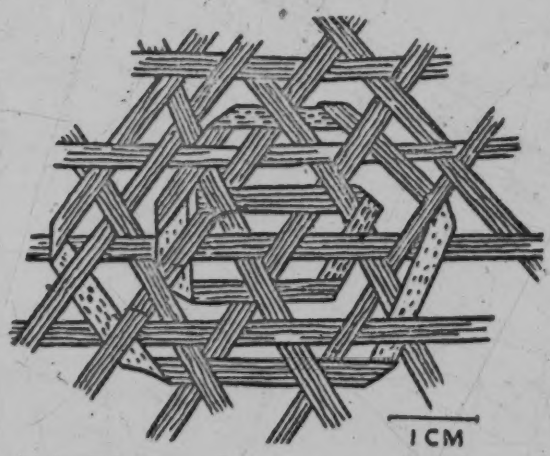
La *waricha* (Ilust. 69 C, D y F) acaso sea la cesta Kamarakota más común. Una familia puede tener una docena o más de tamaños algo distintos. Estas cestas que remedan toscamente la forma de un frasco o balde, se usan para guardar y transportar toda clase de objetos pequeños. Siempre tienen bases y lados hexagonales, lo mismo que el fondo, el cual es de entrelazado hexagonal, teniendo siquiera un cabo adicional—horizontal—en los lados. Roth distingue variedades con los cabos horizontales de los lados en espiral (uno o dos cabos contínuos) y otras con cabos circulares (cada cabo separado), pero los Kamarakotos y sus afines íntimos hacen solamente la primera variedad. Sin embargo, pueden distinguirde dos variedades, a las que no se da nombres separados, por la manera como están trabajados en ellos los cabos horizontales de los lados.



Ilust. Nº 61.—Técnica Kamarakota de Cestería. Centro del tipo más corriente de cesto de base hexagonal, mostrando el entrelazado hexagonal simple con una fibra suplementaria tejida en espiral.

En ambas variedades los cabos horizontales de los lados consisten en dos tiras separadas, pero trabajadas una alrededor de la otra repetidamente, por encima, hasta llegar al reborde. En las dos

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variedades uno de estos cabos es oblícuo por la parte que se dirige a una esquina de la base y a lo largo de uno de los seis lados del hexágono, pero que en vez de dar la vuelta hasta arriba y convertirse en un cabo oblícuo por el otro lado, es decir, en dirección opuesta, sigue subiendo por el mismo lado como los cabos horizontales (un cabo en espiral). En uno de los tipos (Ilust. 60 C, 61), con mucho el más común, el otro cabo horizontal (el adicional) es tal desde el comienzo, en el centro de la base, y se teje dentro del entrelazado hexagonal de la base en espiral plana.

En el otro tipo, raro (Ilust. 60 D), no hay cabo espiral en la base, pero todos los cabos están tejidos derechos y en cruz, produciendo un dibujo que (en cada segmento triangular) parece meramente una variedad más tupida del mismo tejido, tal como el de las bases previamente descritas, pero que, como elemento en la construcción de cestas y como técnica de tejido, es muy distinto. Desde un punto de vista descriptivo acaso pueda designarse más claramente como un entrelazado hexagonal abierto a través del cual se plegan tres series de cabos adicionales, en las mismas direcciones que las tres series básicas y entre la última de ellas. El necesario cabo adicional en espiral para los lados se inserta después simplemente cerca de una de las esquinas del fondo y, como quiera que aquí ocupa el lugar de un cabo no-espiral del fondo que se convertiría en un cabo oblícuo del lado, también se inserta otro cabo en el mismo punto y sube por el lado como un cabo oblícuo, el cual, a diferencia de los otros cabos oblícuos excepto uno (el que empata con el otro cabo espiral del lado) no es un cabo del fondo.

En ambos casos, con las excepciones ya anotadas, los cabos de la base se pliegan al borde de la misma y suben oblícuamente por el lado, de manera que, siguiendo un cabo cualquiera desde el reborde, baja oblícuamente hasta el borde de la base, pasa después derecho a través de ella y sube oblícuo por el otro lado, es decir, por el lado opuesto al de su descenso. El tejido de los lados tiene el mismo carácter general en ambos tipos, pero en el segundo es mucho más cerrado, desde luego que, relativamente, tiene el doble de cabos oblícuos.

En el reborde del cuello las puntas de los cabos oblícuos del lado se juntan en pares, uno en cada dirección, enlazándose en

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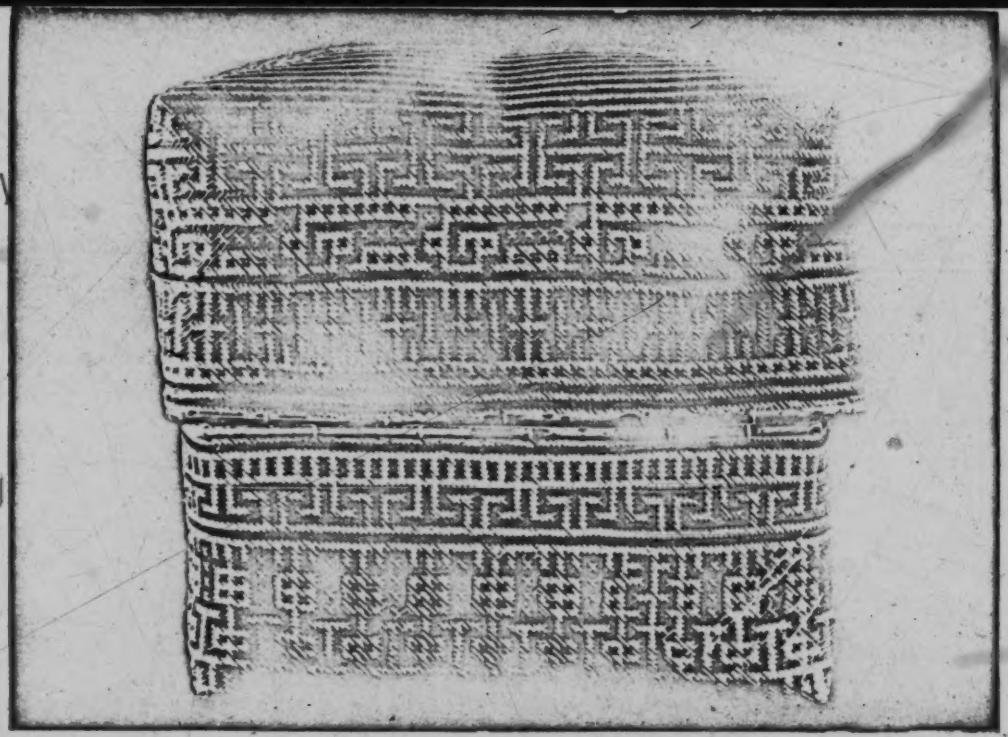

Ilust. Nº 62.—Cesto Kamarakoto.
ama:tu visto con la tapa levantada, de modo que se vea también el lado del fondo del cesto. Para detalles de construcción de un *ama:tu* diferente, aunque bastante similar, véase la Fig. 63.

[facing p. 492]

una de las astillas de caña del aro y sus puntas se tejen oblícuamente (todas en la misma dirección) en las partes de los mismos que se encuentran justo debajo del aro. En algunos casos no se hase ningún borde más, pero por lo general se coloca otro cerco de astillas de caña en la parte exterior del reborde y otro más por la parte de dentro, y todo el borde reforzado se ata después con un enrollado en espiral o a veces se cosé y ata con trenza de curagua. No se pone ningún asa como parte integrante del cesto, sino que se acostumbra añadir un simple lazo-asa que suele ser generalmente un trozo de corteza fibrosa.

Los lados de estos cestos son comunmente cilíndricos, pero pueden estar constreñidos ligeramente o, rara vez, fuertemente debajo del cuello, haciéndolos así más en forma de frasco.

Ningún elemento aislado de su diseño o técnica es único, pero cestos exactamente como estos parecen limitarse de hecho a los Makuchis y Arekunas y son muy característicos de las tribus llamadas Caribes del Roraima. Han reemplazado algunos sebucanes de base ovalada o circular y a todos los de base rectangular y tejido abierto de otras tribus (Roth describe y diseña algunos de estos), que son completamente desconocidos de los Kamarakotos y, siquiera, raros en las tribus del Roraima en general.

El *warakapi* Kamarakoto (Ilust. 59 E) está construído exactamente lo mismo que una *waricha* (únicamente vimos una variedad con cabo espiral en la base) pero es relativamente mayor en diámetro y mucho menor en profundidad, teniendo por lo general un asa permanente. El asa en cuestión es un lazo de *wadapi* enrollado en espiral a través del medio del reborde.

Otra canasta, la *cno-saramba*, difiere de la *waricha* sólo en que no tiene cabos adicionales, dejando el tejido un entrelazado hexagonal ampliamente abierto. Puede usarse como la *waricha*, pero no es tan bucna para menesteres similares, y la razón especial para su construcción es que se emplea como jáula de pájaros. Se pasa una vara a través de la malla y el reborde se constriñe y ata, para lo cual se deja más flexible que en la *waricha*.

La única cesta de base circular o elíptica hecha o usada por los Kamarakotos, y también la única que está por entero tejida

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verdaderamente y no plegada-tejida, es la *tsimui'* (Ilust. 67), la canastilla inflexible que se ata al carcaj de dardos y que se usa para cargar el repuesto de hilachas de kapok (o lana de ceibo) que se amarra a la base de los dardos. Desgraciadamente los datos que tomé sobre estos cestillos son defectuosos. Tanto los tipos de fondo radiado como los de fondo vertebrado se usan actualmente, pero frecuentemente se consiguen por trueque y no sé a ciencia cierta cuál de los dos tipos tejen los Kamarakotos o si ambos o si ninguno. Debido a esta incertidumbre me abstendré de hacer una descripción detallada. Para las características distintivas de ambos tipos me remito a Roth (1924).

Las cestas de fondo diafragmático, para cuya confección se emplea una especie de técnica de lazada completamente extraña a los Kamarakotos, son desconocidas en esta región, como también las cestas raras (e inútiles para un Kamarakoto) de fondo no cerrado, si es que se excluyen del grupo de cestas propiamente dichas las nasas. La ausencia de cestas de base rectangular de tejido abierto ya ha sido explicada, así como la rareza de la labor cuadriculada y del tejido de mimbre, debido a la carencia de cestas de base rectangular de estos tipos. En cada caso, las funciones de estos tipos ausentes de cestería se realizan entre los Kamarakotos con otros de construcción más compleja y servicio más satisfactorio, de modo que la carencia refleja un desarrollo superior, que no inferior, de habilidad cestera en esta tribu.

La clase de cestas de base cónica registrada por Roth también está ausente entre los Kamarakotos. Incluye solamente esa clase de filtros o tamices que anteriormente usaban los Aruacos pero que actualmente son desusados entre ellos mismos, y canastos-redes de desembarque cuya distribución es más profusa. Estos canastos-redes los reemplazan los Kamarakotos con redes de hilos anudados que resultan más satisfactorias y que ya hemos descrito.

La última clase y la mejor, siquiera sea desde un punto de vista estético, de cestas verdaderas es la de base de formas rectangulares de plegado tejido en cruz que Roth ha denominado adecuadamente modelos de reloj de arena. Los Kamarakotos distinguen tres tipos de éstos: *soko'*, *wapa* y *ama:tu*.

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El *soko'* (Ilust. 59 B, 60 A), que, pese a parecidos, probablemente se limita, como tipo exacto, a los Arekunas, y que ciertamente es típico de ellos, es un cesto hondo, de labor cerrada, con la boca un tanto sobresaliente, que se usa para guardar y transportar objetos relativamente pequeños y especialmente apreciados, por lo cual se desea protejerlos particularmente de la suciedad, etc., Se emplean, por ejemplo, comunmente para meter el algodón y el huso de hilar o para amarrarlo a un *akai'* en viajes o mudanzas, metiendo en él pequeños objetos de valor, en tanto que el ajuar más voluminoso o menos costoso se mete en el *akai'* mismo. El fondo cuadrado tiene las dos series de cabos paralelas a las diagonales, no a los lados, del cuadrado con un sistema que empieza con un pequeño dibujo en forma de reloj de arena en el medio (Ilust. 60 A) rodeado de un cruzado simulado que va haciendo aproximadamente cuadros concéntricos. Todos los cabos son también diagonales a los lados idénticos al de la parte principal del sebucán, aunque, naturalmente, mucho más pequeño. A veces se intercala aquí una faja de uno - sobre - tres. Una lazada de trenza fina (parte de la cual está tejida dentro de la labor de cestería) se ata a la parte más estrecha de esta sección como asa para el transporte.

El reborde es flexible y no reforzado, aunque su orillo tiene hechura peculiar. Una serie de cabos se corta simplemente en el reborde. La otra serie se dobla hacia atrás, invirtiendo su oblicuidad, y por la parte de atrás se teje a lo largo de los lados exteriores de la serie cortada a poca distancia, y después se secciona por la superficie exterior, debajo del reborde.

La *wapa* (Ilust. 59 A) (que no hay que confundir con la *o:apa*, completamente distinta) tiene la base hecha del mismo modo que el *soko'*, pero usualmente mayor y los lados del diseño cruzado son muchas veces bicolores. Los lados de encima de la base cuadrada, son cilíndricos y no tan profundos como en el *soko'*. El reborde está reforzado con un cerco interior y otro exterior de tiras de bejuco y frecuentemente también con un arito superior amarrado en espiral con wadapi, como en los *matu:tu* de mejor calidad, poniéndose además en cada lado del reborde una pequeña abrazadera de wadapi amarrada en espiral y a la cual puede atarse una cuerda de transporte.

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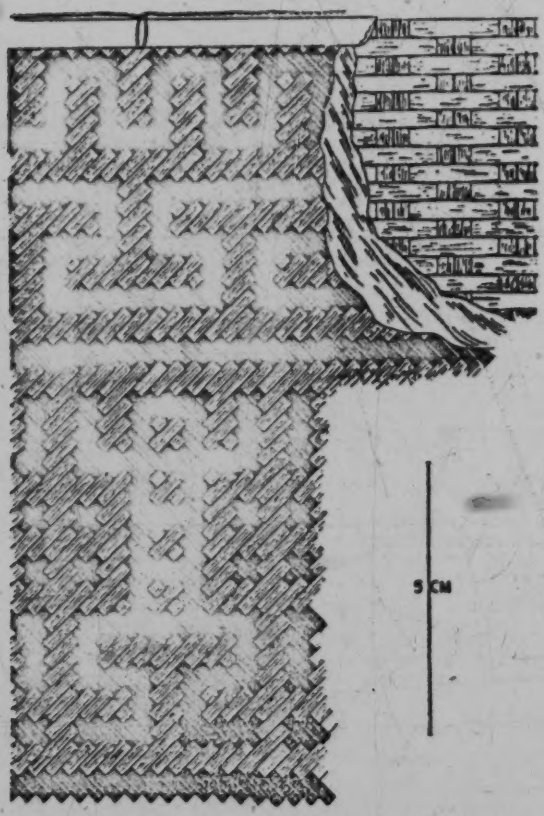

Ilust. Nº 63.—Técnica Kamarakota de Cestería. Diagrama de parte del lado del fondo de un *ama:tu* parecido al de la Ilust. 62. El borde geométrico y la franja de ranas estilizadas son típicos. La parte superior del lado derecho de la capa exterior se muestra como cortado, poniendo al descubierto la capa intermedia de hojas (de que carece el espécimen de la Ilust. 62) y la capa interior (que nunca falta) de tejido más simple.

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El *ama:tu* (Ilust. 62, 63) es con algo de razón el más apreciado de los cestos. Se hace en todos los tamaños, desde el diminuto que puede descansar en la palma de una mano—y éste es el "cofre de joyas" de los Indios—hasta el grande que mide casi medio metro de largo—y éste es el "baúl" o el "arca" indígena. Se compone casi siempre de dos cestos esencialmente parecidos y separados, uno de ellos algo mayor y que monta sobre el otro como una funda. Cada uno de ellos, a su vez, es realmente dos cestos, el uno fijado permanentemente dentro del otro a guisa de forro. Finalmente, con frecuencia, aunque no siempre, se coloca entre los dos cestos una capa de hojas planas como división. Confeccionado así, el *ama:tu* es impermeable (155).

La base del cesto que sirve de envoltura (naturalmente, ya el cesto propiamente dicho o su forro) se hace lo mismo que la del *soko'* o la de la *wapa*, exceptuando que tiene una hilera de relojes de arena en el centro y que es oblonga, no cuadrada. Los lados son de dibujo cruzado como los de la *wapa*, generalmente en escala mayor. La capa divisoria es de tejido más simple y endeble en dibujo plano de cuadrícula semi abierta (Ilust. 63). La capa se corta sencillamente por el reborde y la parte exterior se remata poco más o menos como en el *soko'* pero los cabos que dan la vuelta no se tejen por detrás lo bastante como para que asomen después de haberse aplicado el refuerzo de tiras de bejuco en el borde.

Cestas de forma y uso parecidos se hacen en toda esta área cultural, variando en la técnica desde el burdo cuadriculado de un pliegue o tejido de mimbre hasta el plegado doble (o con hojas, triple) de la clase más fina, como son las que los Kamarakotos confeccionan y emplean.

Aquí también parece ser que el tipo manufacturado por estos Indios es el más avanzado, tanto técnica como estéticamente.

(155) No es verdad que estos, ni ningún cesto de Indios Sur Americanos que yo sepa, estén tejidos tan cerradamente que resulten impermeables sin un forro de hojas o sin una funda exterior revestida de goma o cera. Este resultado difícilmente puede obtenerse excepto con la mejor clase de labor en espiral, y, como hemos dicho, en esta área no se trabaja la espiral verdadera. La habilidad que representa una labor fina Caribe de plegado de dibujo tejido en cruz y su valor estético me parecen tan grandes como los de las afamadas labores en espiral de algunos Indios más norteños, pero este trabajo Caribe difícilmente puede tener las cualidades peculiares del otro.

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Volviendo a los objetos de finalidad especial hechos de cestería, pero que no pueden denominarse con propiedad cestos, la prensa de yuca es acaso el más esencial. Es, por necesidad, universal entre los Indios que comen casabe y también en las comunidades civilizadas donde se prepara pan de yuca, de modo que ya es muy familiar y no requiere larga descripción. Algunas tribus usan todavía prensas relativamente primitivas, pero los Kamarakotos y sus parientes y vecinos tienen el tipo más avanzado (ahora, ciertamente, ubícuo casi), llamado "sebucán" en Venezuela y "matapi" en la Guayana Inglesa. Sólo necesitamos añadir que la forma del sebucán Kamarakoto, *tangöi'* (Ilust. 64) es la del tipo "Taruma y Waiwai" de Roth (1929), que no tiene cincho de hombro ni de cadera, ("Shoulder girdle" y "hip girdle" en Inglés de Roth), ni tampoco el tejido especial del Waiwai, siendo su cuello de cruzado de uno-sobre-dos y el cuerpo de cruzado de dos-sobre-tres con plegados similares a los del tipo Aruaco, con el cual tiene, sin embargo, marcadas diferencias en detalles de forma.

El guayare que las mujeres cargan a la espalda (156) se llama *akai'* si el fondo es de labor abierta y *koatai'* si cerrada, distinción que no implica alteración en la forma ni el uso del guayare como conjunto, aunque la consideren esencial quienes los hacen. La labor de cestería consiste en un fondo—pieza trasera—plano, oblongo y rectangular rodeado por los dos lados y el fondo de un cerco alto y contínuo de labor de cestería, pero no en el tope. En la *akai'* el tejido es el mismo en todo el guayare y consiste en un tipo cualquiera de entrelazado, siendo el más común el que muestra la Ilust. 65 B. En la *koatai'* el fondo es de cruzado cerrado, habitualmente con un dibujo en cuadro repetido en espiral, y los lados son entrelazados. En ambos guayares los cabos del fondo son contínuos con los de los lados. Los lados nunca son de labor cerrada. Estos cestos están amarrados alrededor de todo el borde con tiras de bejuco en modos diversos como los ya descritos para los bordes reforzados con astillas de

(156) Algunos escritores ingleses lo llaman *knapsack* (mochila) término correctamente descriptivo en cuanto a la función, pero que a mí me parece desorientador en cuanto a la forma, ya que estos guayares de transporte en nada parecen mochilas, vale decir, no son bolsas.

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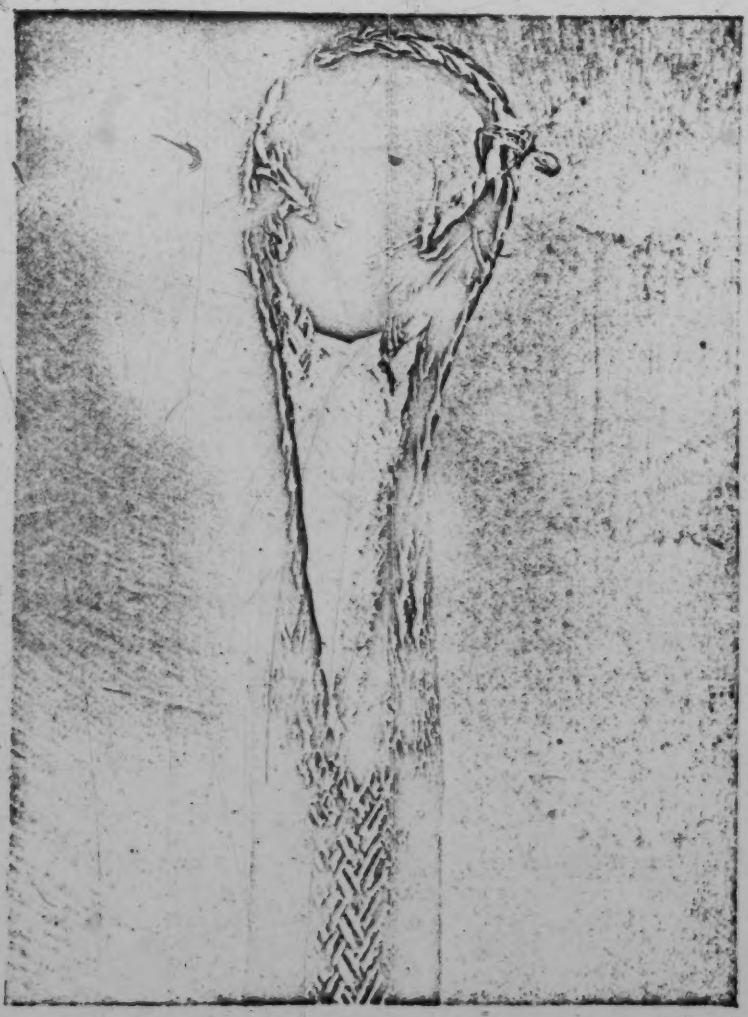
caña. También el dorso está reforzado con una armadura rectangular hecha con cuatro palos colocados por la parte de adentro, pero cuyos extremos asoman por la labor de cestería, amarrados con wadapi y cosidos también a la cesta con trenza de curagua. En la parte exterior de la labor, debajo de los palos de esta armadura interna, se amarran dos palos considerablemente más gruesos. Un bejuco pequeño o una tira larga se ata después en cada esquina del fondo, por la parte de fuera, se amarra sobre el borde y se pasa por debajo hacia la misma esquina, por la parte de dentro. Luego se enrolla en espiral una abrazadera de wadapi a lo largo del borde de cada esquina del tope, por la parte de afuera, hasta el borde superior del respaldo hasta el borde, entre las dos amarraduras. Finalmente se acostumbra enlazar permanentemente con una cuerda gruesa de algodón, que sirve para amarrar los cabos de la carga, todo el contorno, y un cordel más delgado, pero largo, que se usa como lazo, se ata a este mismo punto. Los tirantes de transporte, por lo regular de corteza, se amarran a los palos gruesos de la parte exterior de la base. Uno de estos tirantes se ciñe a la frente del portador y dos pasan por los brazos, sobre la espalda, aunque el cincho de la cabeza o los cinchos de los brazos pueden omitirse. Entre los Taurepanes y, aparentemente, la mayoría de las tribus, cargan estos guayares tanto los hombres como las mujeres. Entre los Kamarakotos son los hombres quienes los hacen, como todos los artículos de cestería, pero solamente los cargan las mujeres, excepto en caso extraordinario. La mochila que cargan los hombres es completamente distinta (véase "Transporte") y no de labor de cestería.

Por lo que se refiere al carcaj de dardos, *möi-yu* (Ilust. 67) me encuentro en las mismas condiciones que respecto al canastillo para las hilachas de ceibo que lo acompaña. Quiero decir que no tengo la certeza de que ninguno de los ejemplares que examiné fuese realmente de manufactura Kamarakota. La labor está muy oculta en el objeto acabado, cuya confección no presencié, pues lleva una espesa capa de cera. Sin embargo, en este caso casi todos los objetos de cestería de este género tienen aproximadametne la misma confección, y, como quiera que los Kamarakotos hacen algunos, puede aplicarse a su trabajo una



Ilust. Nº 64.—Prensa Kamarakota de Yuca ("sebucán").
Extremo superior de un *tangöi*, mostrando la forma Arekuna típica del cuello y la boca; cuello de cruzado uno sobre dos, sin cincho para el hombro, y cuerpo de cruzado dos sobre tres.

[p. 498-A]

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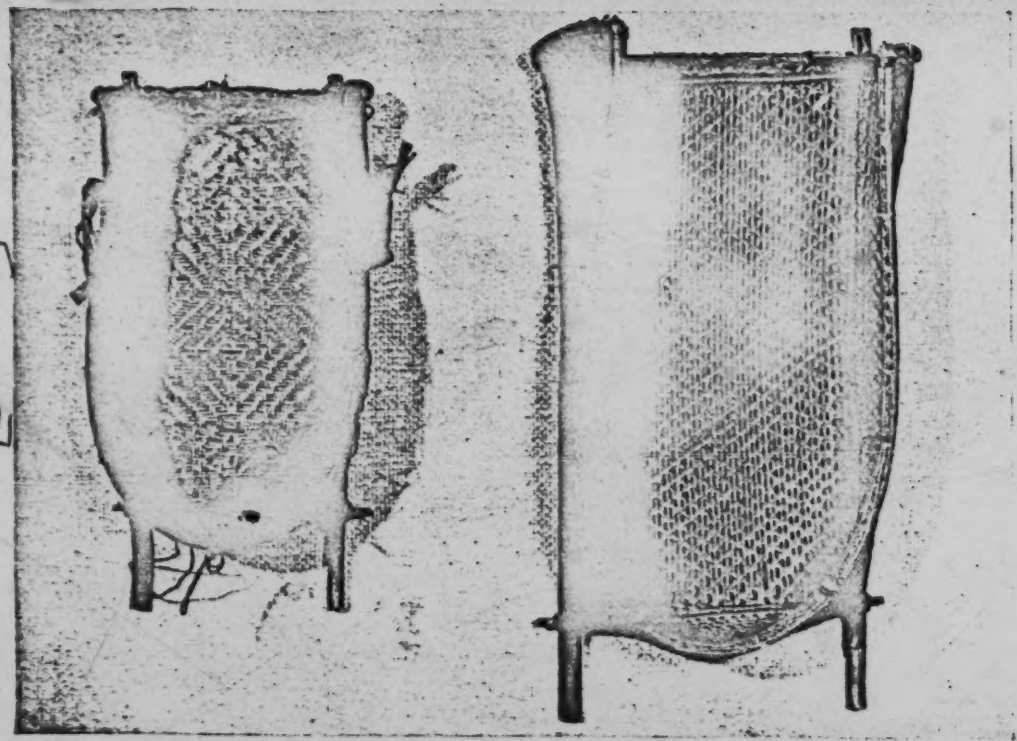
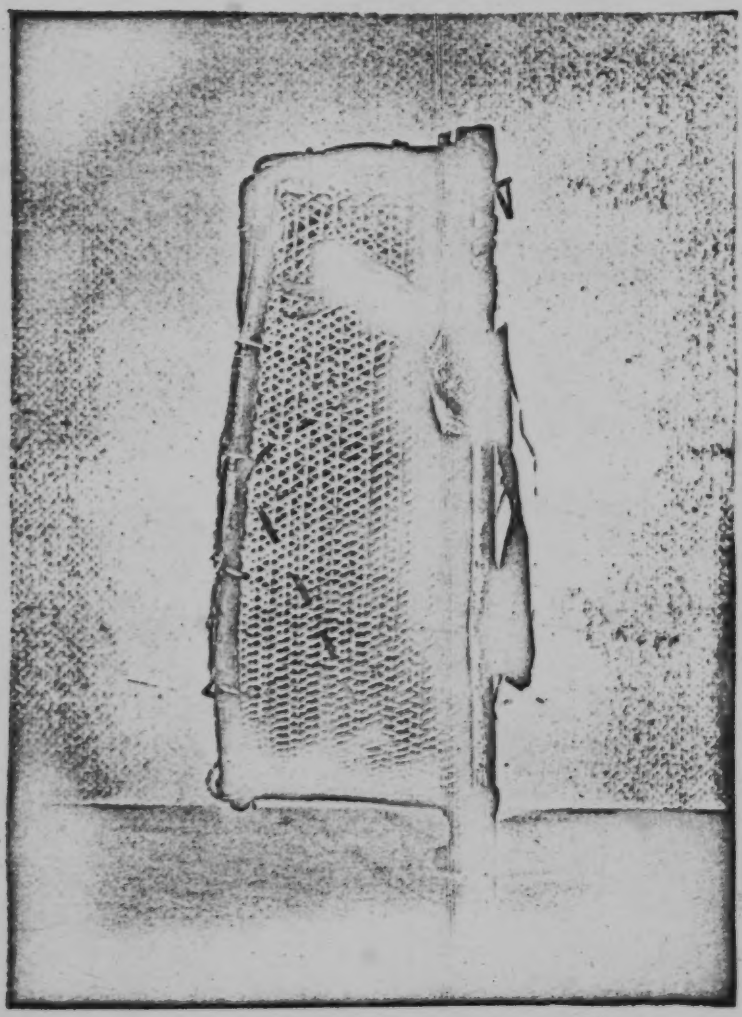


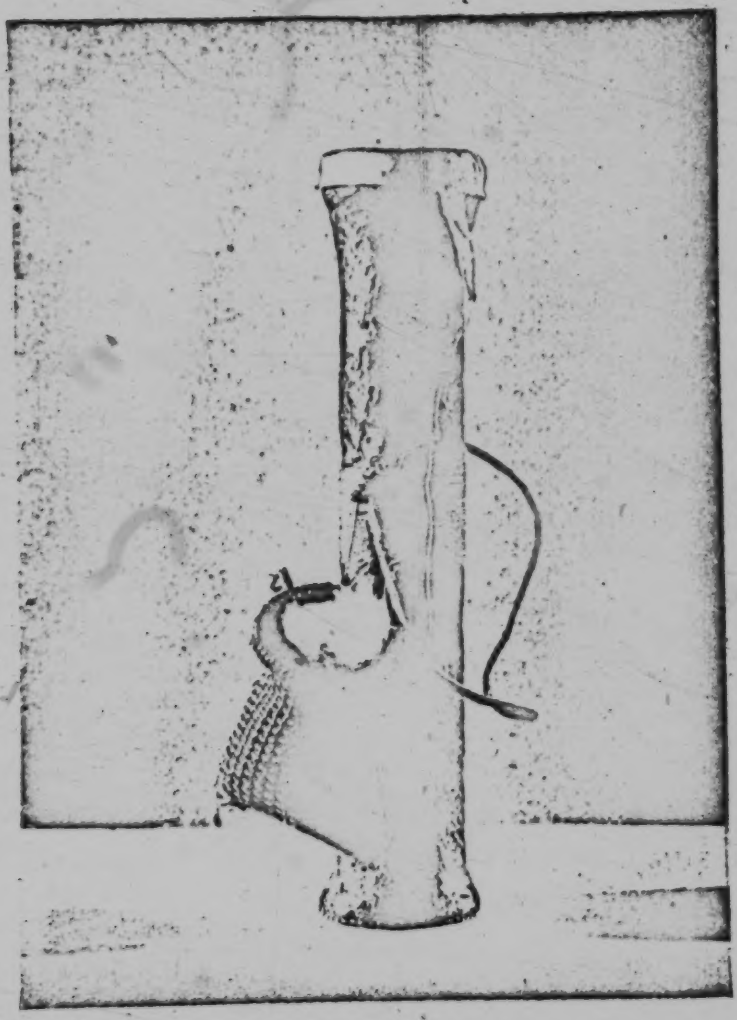
P. 498-B

Ilust. Nº 65.—Porta-bártulos Kamarakotos ("mapires").
A, *koatai* con amarras de algodón para los bártulos y un cincho de bejuco para portar la carga. B, *akai* sin amarras ni cincho. (Los dos porta-bártulos vistos de atrás, tal como se cargan).



Ilust. Nº 66.—Porta-bártulos Kamarakoto.
El *kontaí* de la figura 65 A, visto de lado.

[p. 498-C]



Ilust. Nº 67.—Carcaj Arekuna.
Este ejemplar lo estaban usando los Taurepanos, pero esencialmente es el mismo que el de los Kamarakotos. Amarrado al carcaj (*möi-yɛ*) propiamente dicho está el cestillo usual (*tsimuí*) lleno de hilachas de ceibo. La única diferencia entre este tipo de aljaba y el Kamarakoto es que en éste el tirante de cargar es de cuerda de moriche, no de cuero sin curtir como el de aquí.

[p. 498-D]

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descripción general. El interior del carcaj es un cesto separado (cosido a la funda) y en los ejemplares que he visto tiene una base cuadrada tejida en forma de un solo reloj de arena y los lados tejidos en cruz de dibujo homogéneo. Este tejido está revestido por siquiera un forro, aunque aparentemente varios, de cestería pesada, formando un cilindro sobresaliente en ambos extremos. El extremo superior se deja abierto, rematando con esmero el borde, y el extremo inferior se cierra con una plancha de calabaza, cortada en círculo, sujetándola con trenza de curagua. Excepto esta base y el borde superior, toda la cesta está revestida con una capa espesa de cera. Aproximadamente en el medio, sobre la cera, se le ata fuerte una cuerda de moriche que se enrolla en espiral ancha, amarrándose en ella a una abrazadera corta, también de cuerda de moriche generalmente, que permite pasar un brazo para que cuelgue del hombro (157). El canastillo de hilachas de ceibo suele amarrarse a la cuerda de moriche. Se hace una tapa con un trozo redondo de piel sin curtir, por lo regular de venado, moldeándola sobre el tope cuando está húmeda todavía, de manera que al secarse ajuste. Esta tapa se ata también al cincho de transporte. Finalmente se sujeta en el borde del carcaj una mandíbula de caribe ("piranha") y queda lista para el uso.

El último tipo corriente de cestería es el *muroi'* o nasa. (158). La forma general y la operación que con él se hace han sido ya descritas en el capítulo "Pesquería". Aquí debemos anotar solamente que su armadura es de juncos, no tejidos ni plegados, sino amarrados simplemente unos con otros con cabos de fibra, siendo éste el único ejemplar de labor de amarrado que vimos hacer a estos Indios.

La nomenclatura de cestería varía más entre tribu y tribu que los cestos mismos. Algunas veces los nombres son descrip-

(157) Un ejemplar que acaso fuese Arekuna, aunque no Kamarakoto seguramente, tenía un cincho de piel sin curtir, ejemplo casi único del uso de pellejo de animal en vez de fibra vegetal para estos menesteres.

(158) Roth llama a estas nasas "cestas de pescador" y aparentemente se usan en la Guayana Inglesa para transportar el pescado fuera del río. Los Kamarakotos las usan solamente como trampas de pescar y cargan el pescado en cualquier cesta (verdadera). Si los peces se atrapan vivos y pueden salirse de una cesta ordinaria, se ultiman, lo cual, tratándose de peces pequeños, hacen los Indios mordiéndoles la cabeza.

tivos y las diferentes tribus cambian las descripciones. En otros casos se emplean vocablos especiales afines, pero se aplican a objetos distintos en diferentes tribus. Buen ejemplo de esto es la palabra *pakara* que en Arekuna significa "bolsa" y que los Kamarakotos aplican a su bolsa de tejido de hilo. En la Guayana Inglesa la misma palabra (de la que se deriva el "pegall" o "packall" de los colonizadores) la aplican las tribus Caribes a las cestas de almacenaje o transporte, o sea a las que los Kamarakotos denominan *ama:tu* y son completamente distintas de la *pakara* Arekuna.

La siguiente sinonimia de vocablos Kamarakotos y Taurepanes muestra cuál puede ser la diferencia de nomenclatura hasta en dialectos de la misma lengua.

	KAMARAKOTO	TAUREPAN
Esteras.	*o.olori.*	*wörowori.*
	(No vista).	*sumbarima* (esterilla de plegado sencillo para el casabe).
Cedazos y bandejas.		
	(No visto).	*arikoponbɔ* (esterilla o bandepa baja y sencilla).
	o:apa.	*ò:ɔpa.*
	pangai'.	*pɔnga'.*
	matu:tu.	(No visto).
Sacas, etc.		
	wakawa'.	(No visto, pero conocido sin duda, ya que esencialmente es una *pakaruma* grande).
	(No visto).	*pakaruma* (saco hondo de transporte - plegado sencillo - hecho en muchos tamaños y formas, teniendo algunos de ellos nombres especiales).

KAMARAKOTO	TAUREPAN
(No visto).	(*in*)*nöyen* (saco de transporte de plegado sencillo, más simétrico que el *pakaruma*).
pakaru (balsa de tejido de hilo, no de cestería).	*pəkaːru* (bolsa de cestería).
Cestas.	
waricha.	*waikarapə*, variedad *chimaran.*
warakapi.	(No vista).
(No vista).	*shimu'* (cesta de colgar de fondo redondo).
tsimui'.	*tsarambə.*
soko'.	*soko'.*
wapa.	*waikarapə*, variedad *warokupa*
amaːtu.	*damaːtu.*
Miscelánea.	
tangöi'.	*tə̃ngöi' tenkei* (159).
akai' y koatai'.	*akai'*
möi-ya.	*möi-ya.*
muroi'.	*muroi'.*

DIBUJO

Muchas de las cestas, bandejas, etc., plegadas-tejidas de labor cerrada están trabajadas en dibujos más o menos cuidados, generalmente geométricos y ocasionalmente representativos. Es-

(159) No le oí yo mismo esta pronunciación a ningún indígena, pero me dijeron ser "corrente".

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tos últimos también son, necesariamente, estilizados y convencionales y de trazos angulares. Se forman completamente estos dibujos con el tejido de cabos similares, en cuyo caso no aparecen muy claras las figuras, o puede recalcarse el diseño con diferencias en las tiras o juncos que van en las dos direcciones. Habitualmente la diferencia consiste en que a las tiras de *manare* se les deja la epidermis y que una serie de ellas tiene la superficie exterior lustrosa y al secarse, parda por el mismo lado del tejido donde la otra serie muestra la superficie interior, más basta, pálida o amarilla. Esto es inevitable en la técnica del tejido del *o.obri*, que se caracteriza especialmente por la misma razón, pero tanbién puede hacerse deliberadamente (por ejemplo, en un *matu:tu* de nuestra colección) aun cuando no lo haga necesario una razón tecnica.

La manera más común de hacer resaltar el dibujo consiste, no obstante, en teñir o pintar una serie de cabos. Ninguno de los Indios de esta área emplea colores vívos ni variados, y los Kamarakoos solamente usan hollín raspado de las ollas. Los cabos se pintan antes de tejer y el dibujo se desarrolla sacando a la superficie los cabos pintados cuando el diseño lo exige (160). Estos cabos no se insertan por separado, sino que se pinta toda la serie, de modo que todas las partes coloreadas del dibujo comprender elementos paralelos. Sin embargo, en algunos casos, incluyendo la *wapa* y muchos cabos (no todos) del *ama:tu*, los cabos que pertenecen a una serie de la base dan la vuelta en el reborde de manera que en una parte del lado (subiendo de cada esquina) los cabos que eran paralelos en la base forman las dos series que se pliegan entre sí en el lado. Esto haría imposible el uso de cabos pintados previamente si todos ellos siguiesen la misma dirección partiendo de la base. Esta dificultad se soslaya hábilmente, según puede verse al examinar de cerca el dibujo de la base de estas cestas, coloreando sólo la mitad de cada cabo y tejiendo con cuidado, de modo que el cambio de color de un cabo determinado se efectúa en diagonal a la base y en forma que las fibras coloreadas sigan direcciones distintas en segmen-

(160) Se dice que algunos Indios pintan ahora los dibujos de las cestas después de estar éstas tejidas, pero los Kamarakotos no usan tal procedimiento (técnicamente degenerado).

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tos triangulares adyacentes a la base. Esto se hace de tal manera que en los lados todos los cabos coloreados son paralelos.

Eventualmente, se tejen cruzados con los de *manare*, cabos sueltos de *wadapi*, naturalmente mucho más oscuros. Estos producen un efecto algo decorativo, pero jamás se usan por esta razón, sino solamente con el objeto funcional de sujetar un cabo de *wadapi* que ha de emplearse para amarrar el refuerzo del borde.

Diseños típicos son los que representan las Ilust. 51, 56 B, C, 57, 59 A, 62 y 63. Los elementos de estos dibujos están difundidos (Roth muestra ejemplos de todos ellos, por así decirlo, en su estudio de la Guayana Inglesa) y los Indios los aprenden simplemente de rutina, tramitiéndoselos de generación en generación. Un cestero Kamarakoto sabe de memoria y por rutina la fórmula exacta para tejer el cruzado que ha de producir la figura de una rana, aunque sea incapaz de dibujar satisfactoriamente o de manera artística una rana por otros medios, y yo sospecho, por más que no lo he comprobado, y así, quizás, no sea positivo, que en la mayoría de los casos sería también incapaz de hacer en cestería un dibujo cuyos elementos de fórmula textil no conociese de antemano. Sin embargo, en la combinación de estos elementos en diseños más complicados, el cestero Kamarakoto da pruebas de espontaneidad de fantasía considerables, a extremo tal que excepto en los modelos geométricos más simples, rara vez produce dos diseños exactamente iguales.

Las mujeres, al tejer sus delantales de cuentas, muestran el mismo género de conocimiento rutinario de elementos de dibujos y la misma originalidad para combinarlos.

Este es lugar conveniente para mencionar la habilidad gráfica en general del Kamarakoto. Esta habilidad es muy precaria. Pocos Indios, al menos en Sur América, le aventajan en el dominio de elementos más mecánicos de técnica, y goza de un placer genuinamente estético al ejecutar un trabajo bueno, como en cestería, pero entre los miembros de su tribu no parece haber actualmente ninguna tradición de arte o dibujo de base puramente estética ni ningún individuo que sea artista en ningún sentido no incluído en la palabra artesano. Los Kamarakotos han aprendido y saben apreciar un diseño gráfico que es parte in-

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tegrante de un procedimiento de manufactura, pero parecen desprovistos completamente de toda idea de embellecimiento de un objeto que no salga de la regla. Por ejemplo, yo no he visto ninguno de sus vaciados de madera: bancos, bateas, etc., en que aparezca un dibujo pintado, aunque ésta es práctica común entre muchos Indios de esta parte general de Sur América, por ejemplo, los Waiwais. Lo más próximo a un impulso puramente gráfico que ví fué el rayado de dibujos en las paredes de barro de los ranchos. Aquellos dibujos eran pueriles en extremo y se parecían a los primeros ensayos de un niño en nuestra cultura, careciendo de intento real o resultado efectivo de decoración (161).

INSTRUMENTOS MUSICALES

Los instrumentos musicales de todos los Indios de Sur América han sido recientemente (1935) objeto de una monografía minuciosa por parte de Izikowitz, cuyas normas seguimos principalmente en la siguiente breve descripción de los instrumentos Kamarakotos. Ni que decir tiene que en las diversas obras de exploradores, especialmente en las de Roth y Koch-Grünberg, se le ofrecen al lector descripciones originales de estos o parecidos instrumentos usados por tribus afines. Mis observaciones acerca de los instrumentos Kamarakotos no son completas, pero incluyen todos los instrumentos comunes. Los observados pueden insertarse en la clasificación de Izikowitz como sigue:

I. Idiófonos.

De percusión.
Crótalos.

(161) Vale la pena recordar que en un caso aparecían rayadas en una pared varias cruces cristianas —elementos no indígenas en dibujo— y en otro la figura en extremo burda, pero reconocible, de un hombre montado a caballo, cosa más exótica todavía que una cruz en Kamarata, donde jamás puso el casco un equino. Aún estas escasas y toscas tentativas de arte gráfica fueron hechas evidentemente bajo influencias no-Indias y por uno de los miembros más "progresistas" de la tribu.

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Maraquitas o Cascabeles...1. Collares, ajorcas, etc., de semillas.

Maracas.....2. Calabazas huecas.

Tubos-pilones.....(Probablemente se encuentren, aunque no los vimos).

II. Membranófonos.

Tambores de dos faces.....3. Tambor de baile.

III. Cordófonos (no usados).

IV. Aerófonos.

Libres.....(Se conocen los discos zumbadores, pero no se emplean realmente como instrumento musical o que produce un sonido musical.

De válvula.

Trompetas simples.....4. Trompeta de madera que se sopla por el extremo.

5. Trompeta-cuerno que se sopla por un lado.

De lengüeta (no vistos).

Flautas.

Sin canal.

Transversal, con registros..6. Flauta que se sopla de lado.

De canal.

Con desviador (y registros).7. Flauta que se sopla por el extremo, flauta de caña o caramillo.

En la clasificación de Roth, anterior y menos científica, estos instrumentos diversos aparacen como:

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I. De viento... .. ..4. Trompeta de madera.

5. Trompeta de cuerno.
6. Flauta.
7. Caramillo.

II. De lengüeta (no vistos)...

III. De cuerda (no se usan).. ..

IV. De percusión.. .. ..

1. Semillas-cascabeles.
2. Calabazas-maracas.
3. Tambor de pellejo.

V. De fricción (no vistos).. ..

La clasificación de Von Hornbostel (en las obras de Koch-Grünberg) es esencialmente igual que la de Izikowitz, pero menos detallada.

1. Los numerosos collares y brazaletes o tobilleras en los que se insertan objetos que cascabelean son en efecto maraquitas. Algunos se usan frecuentemente en la vida cotidiana sin intención musical definida. Sin embargo, los brazaletes y tobilleras de semillas están a veces entonados especialmente para la danza, pudiendo por tanto ser clasificados como verdaderos instrumentos musicales. Para su confección se emplean toda clase de semillas duras y cápsulas de frutos pequeños. Es muy posible que los Kamarakotos conozcan también las maracas hechas con sartas, uñas, huesos y alas de escarabajo, difundidas en esta parte del mundo, pero deben de ser relativamente raras.

2. La maraca Kamarakota es el crótalo conocido con este nombre indígena y que consta de una calabaza con un mango corto de madera que sirve para sacudirla. El mango pasa completamente a través de la calabaza seca y hueca, en la cual se introducen semillas o piedrecitas para su sonoridad. Nordenskiöld e Izikowitz han demostrado lo extendido que se encuentran tales crótalos (maracas) y el segundo concluye que se propagaron de un foco Centro-Americano, no, como se ha pretendido, exclusiva o particularmente por los Aruacos, por más que éstos, entre otros

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grupos étnicos, contribuyesen a su difusión. Los Kamarakotos designan este instrumento con la palabra *maraka*, vocablo internacional que, partiendo acaso del Tupi, o "lingua geral" (en Portugués, lengua general), se ha extendido a muchos, aunque no todos los dialectos Caribes y Aruacos. Como bien se sabe, este instrumento y la palabra "maraca" han sido adoptados por la cultura Hispano-Americana del Norte de Sur América y las Antillas, y con la popularidad reciente de la música de esta región (especialmente Cuba) se ha dado a conocer en, por así decirlo, todo el mundo civilizado. El uso Kamarakoto de este instrumento puede ser considerado con toda seguridad aborigen, es decir, como principio (colateral) y no como derivado de la maraca criolla. Estos Indios emplean las maracas para bailar pero una leyenda insinúa su relación con la magia, relación que Izikowitz cree ha contribuído a la difusión de este instrumento. En la leyenda en cuestión la maraca aparece como un instrumento mágico cuyo sonido hace que aparezcan los báquiros, presa favorita de los cazadores. En realidad, el uso de la maraca en la danza quizás esté relacionado con esa especie de cacería mágica, por más que tal relación no es reconocida explícitamente por los Indios.

3. Los Kamarakotos hacen tambores de varios tamaños (Ilust. 67), pero todos ellos están construídos del mismo modo y son livianos y portátiles, así que el tocador puede cargar uno y bailar al propio tiempo. El atabal y el tambor tabular (de fondo abierto) no se conocen, usándose solamente el tambor de dos faces. El cuerpo se hace con una sección de tronco (de madera blanca y blanda, no identificada) de diámetro apropiado y cuyo centro se vacía. En el centro se le abre un solo agujero redondo para el escape de aire. Las tapas del tambor se hacen de pellejo de venado, lapa, báquiro, etc. Un ejemplar que vimos tenía un parche de piel de venado y el otro de báquiro. Al parecer, se toma el pellejo de cualquier animal, con tal que dé el tamaño. La pelambre está por la parte de afuera cuando se construye el instrumento, pero después se raspa la superficie que está a la vista. La piel se amarra con cordeles de cumagua en espiral a un aro de bejuco del tamaño apropiado para que ajuste bien en el cuerpo del tambor, al cual se aplica luego. Puesto el pellejo en su lugar, se le estira más todavía con otro aro colocado cerca del extremo del tambor. Los dos aros o fejes, no ama-

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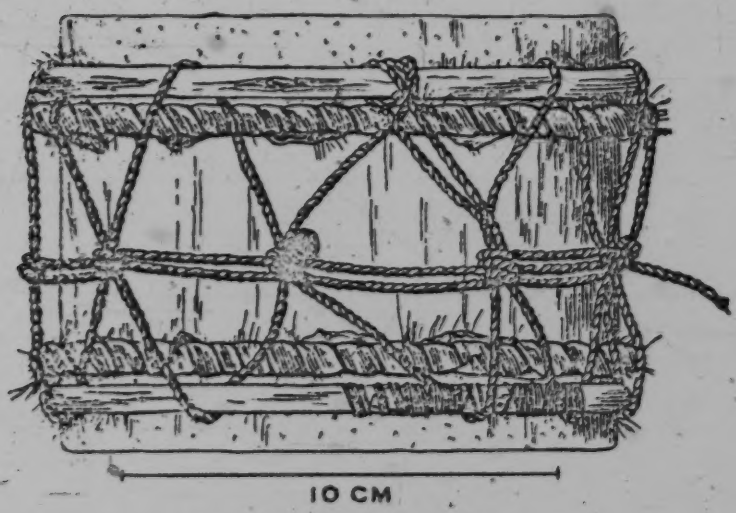
rrados al cuerpo del tambor ni a su cabeza, se aproximan entre sí con cordeles gruesos amarrados en aspa. Donde se junta el aspa, o sea, en el medio del lado del tambor, se aprieta con una amarradura circular con la misma cuerda, y de ésta cuelga otra para cargar el instrumento, pudiendo hacerse con ella un lazo o tirante atando una de sus puntas a las amarraduras. El tambor se carga en un brazo y se toca con un solo palillo que se tiene en la otra mano.



Ilust. Nº 68.—Tambor Kamarakoto.
Tambor pequeño manual como el que carga el tocador en un baile de *parichara*. Tambores el doble y mayores aún que éste se hacen esencialmente de la misma forma.

El origen y la distribución de los tambores en Sur América han sido motivo de estudios profundos, sumariados adecuadamente por Izikowitz. La distribución precolombina no puede reconstruirse exactamente, excepto en lo tocante a su extensión, seguramente vasta. El atabal es la forma más antigua del tambor y de él derivóse un tambor de fondo abierto extendido por Méxi-

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co y Centro América. Se suponía antes que los tambores de dos faces eran todos ellos postcolombinos, pero Izikowitz ha demostrado que son indígenas, siquiera sea en el Perú y regiones adyacentes. Por otro lado, Izikowitz conviene con la mayoría de los investigadores previos en la conclusión de que el tambor no se conocía en el Norte de Sur América (Cuenca Amazónica, Guayanas, Venezuela y las Antillas, al menos) hasta que lo introdujeron los Europeos. Escasos investigadores han aventurado opinión contraria, por ejemplo, Williams, quien dice a propósito de la palabra Makuchi *sambura* "acaso sea éste un vocablo indígena, puesto que el tambor debe de haber existido antes del advenimiento de los Europeos". Roth pone en evidencia, con pruebas al parecer conclusivas, que los primeros Europeos, empezando por el propio Colón, encontraron tambores de una sola membrana en las Antillas, testimonio que al parecer desconoce Izikowitz. Algunos de los primeros viajeros por tierras de Guayanas y el Amazonas también mencionan haber visto tambores que aparentemente sólo tenían una membrana (véase Roth), pero estas observaciones son harto recientes para excluir una influencia Europea indirecta, por más que tal influencia sea improbable, desde luego que estos tambores son de género típicamente Americano. Roth concluye que el tambor de doble membrana no es probablemente Europeo, sino introducido de Norte América, (es decir, por deducción, original de los Indios Norte-Americanos), conclusión que no ha sido aceptada y que no tiene apoyo serio en ninguna prueba convincente.

La prueba de que el tambor no es autóctono en esta área consiste principalmente en que evidencia de manera casi indiscutible influencia Europea en el método usual del amarre y en que en toda esta área, no obstante las extracciones lingüísticas, es denominado con palabras que, pese a las dudas de Williams, se derivan casi seguramente del Español o del Portugués, constituyendo ejemplo típico de este aserto el vocablo Kamarakoto *sambura*.

Esta prueba justifica que los tambores de esta región muestren cierta, aunque sólo indirecta, influencia Europea. No demuestra que los tambores sean de origen Europeo ni que no se hayan derivado, por evolución postcolombina, de un tambor in-

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dígena. El propio Izikowitz concluye que los tambores esencialmente similares de los chipayas (Suroeste de Bolivia) son derivados modificados de tambores precolombinos y advierte también la dificultad de cerciorarse de si un tipo Europeo de tambor no ha reemplazado simplemente o modificado un tipo puramente Indio en extensas áreas, por más que parece no haber prestado oído suficiente a sus propias advertencias cuando hace deducciones tan rotundas. Es imposible tener la absoluta certeza, en cualquiera de los sentidos, pero indudablemente la declaración tajante de que en esta región no hubo tambores hasta la introducción Europea resulta completamente injustificada, siendo posible, y hasta probable, que existiese un tambor indígena, el cual adquirió nombre Europeo por la razón de que fué modificado con la introducción de elementos técnicos de construcción Europea.

Roth recalca que los tambores de la Guayana Inglesa tienen un extremo "silencioso" (es decir, uno que no se toca), el cual lleva un "resonador" o tirante de templar. Los tambores Kamarakotos no tienen tirantes para templar y los dos extremos son equivalentes en estructura y calidad tonal, por más que habitualmente sean de pellejos distintos.

4. El instrumento típico de la danza *parichara*, también usado en varios bailes diferentes, es una trompeta simple y primitiva llamada *kamai*. Se trata de un tubo liso abierto en ambos extremos, y de cuyo interior se saca todo tejido divisionario, de *Cecropia* (indudablemente el material primitivo, "yagrumo" en Español-Venezolano) o de bambú. Se toca esta trompeta, lo mismo que las nuestras de metal, aplicando la boca a uno de los extremos abiertos y haciendo que los labios comprimidos vibren al soplar. No tienen registros ni boquilla especial de ningún género y cada *kamai* produce una sola nota, pero se usan varios de tamaños diferentes, cada cual con su nota, por los distintos tocadores al mismo tiempo. No pudimos captar ninguna relación particular ni armonía entre los diferentes tonos de los *kamai* tocados simultáneamente. En otras tribus Indias tales trompetas se decoran frecuentemente con más o menos primor, pero los varios ejemplares Kamarakotos que examiné no tenían adorno de ninguna especie. Esto concuerda con la ausencia ca-

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si completa de decoración extrínseca en los objetos de manufactura Kamarakota. No cabe duda de que este instrumento es absolutamente indígena. Se usa todavía, siendo el instrumento más antiguo de todos los indígenas Sur Americanos, y el tipo Kamarakoto conserva irreductiblemente su forma simple y primitiva.

5. Vimos una trompeta de cuerno de vaca para soplar por un lado, pero era un objeto de curiosidad entre los mismos Indios, y representa una introducción muy reciente, no parte integrante de la cultura Kamarakota. Las vacas se desconocen totalmente en la región y la trompeta de cacho, ya manufacturada, había sido adquirida por trueque de otra tribu como una curiosidad. Aunque no puedo afirmarlo con certeza, me parece que su último punto de procedencia era la Guayana Inglesa. Izikowitz registra la presencia de trompetas de cacho en varios puntos de Sur América (la más cercana en la región del Roraima, representada por un ejemplar en el Museo de Gotemburgo) y cree que delata influencia Africana.

Aunque el uso de un objeto tan extraño para ellos no sea dato de interés vital, tiene cierta importancia en la difusión y transferencia del uso, el cual vemos aquí en su estadio primerísimo. Desde este punto de vista resulta interesante que Izikowitz diga que en esta región (las Guayanas, Roraima, etc.), las trompetas que se soplan lateralmente en general y las de cuerno en particular se usan solamente para transmitir señales. Los Kamarakotos no trasmiten señales con trompetas y usaban la de cacho de vaca en conciertos, con la *kamai* vernácula, para música bailable. La llamaban precisamente con el nombre Venezolano coloquial de cacho (*kacho*).

6. Sin precisar el punto, los informadores indígenas me hablaron de una flauta que se sopla por el lado y que se llama *naunau*. Esta flauta, sumamente variable en detalles, es común en la región de Guayana (Roth, Izikowitz) y la conocen los Taurepanes (Von Hornbostel). Desgraciadamente no puedo dar detalles fidedignos sobre ella, porque ninguno de los Indios del contorno poseía tal flauta y no encontré nadie que me hiciese una, por más que varios Kamarakotos afirmaban conocerla.

7. Uno de los instrumentos Kamarakotos más corrientes y, para nuestros oídos, el mejor de todos con mucho, es una flauta

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de canal con desviador y registros que se sopla por el extremo o, (según la terminología de Izikowitz) una flauta de caña o, en otras palabras, un caramillo o carrizo indígena. El nombre genérico de este instrumento es *lue* (o *rue*, como se pronuncia en Lucpa, Gran Sabana) por la denominación del bejucó de que se hace y la variedad más común, es un caramillo—carrizo—chiquito llamado *kaikara* (162). La *kaikara* tiene una embocadura corta de cera, que deja solamente un paso de aire angosto en la punta, y cuatro registros primarios. Estos agujeros, lo mismo que el orificio sonoro, el cual se encuentra a distancia inmediata de la embocadura, se hacen con fuego, es decir, con una punta al rojo. El más próximo de los cuatro registros está situado a un tercio de distancia entre los dos extremos del instrumento y los otros tres espaciados igualmente entre el primer agujero y el extremo final. Un registro suplementario, para el dedo pulgar, está colocado en la superficie inferior, o sea, justo del primer registro primario del tope (el más alto). Este registro se toca con el pulgar izquierdo, mientras el índice y el medio izquierdo tapan los primeros dos registros, y el índice y el medio de la mano derecha los dos últimos.

Este instrumento tiene un sonido más bien débil, pero puro y agradable, no muy distinto del de la flauta Europea y escalas y variedades tonales considerables, de modo que, a diferencia de cualquier otra música Kamarakota, resultaba, bien tocado, grato a nuestros oídos. Se usa en algunos bailes, particularmente en el *tukiii'* (no en la danza *parichara*) y, diferenciándose también en esto de todos los demás instrumentos que vimos y oímos, se toca (solamente por hombres) no solo en los bailes, sino también por placer y para entrenamiento. Yo ví un mozo vagando a solas por la sabana y tocando con aire feliz una *kaikara* a la que, ciertamente, arrancaba bellos retazos melódicos.

Izikowitz ha demostrado que las flautas, de variedades casi innumerables, son especialmente características de las culturas aborígenes en Sur América. En su clasificación de flautas de caña a la que pertenece el típico caramillo Kamarakoto, distingue un

(162) Tanto Roth como Von Hornbostel dan evidentemente palabras emparentadas que se aplican a una flauta transversal de bambú, pero la *kaikara* Kamarakota es ciertamente un caramillo de caña.

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tipo puramente Indio, precolombino, del cual puede ser ejemplo clásico o prototipo la *kaikara* que acabamos de describir, y tipos modificados por influencia Europea, así como otros que son copias indígenas de modelos Europeos. Los caramillos Kamarakotos no muestran traza alguna de influencia del Viejo Mundo.

Como suplemento a esta revista, parece conveniente enumerar algunos instrumentos no vistos entre los Kamarakotos, pero sí conocidos de otras tribus vecinas de cultura similar:

Tubos de golpear.—No los vimos, pero dijéronme que se encuentran. Se conocen entre los Taurepanes y Makúchis.

Idiófono de fricción de concha de tortuga.—Se encuentra entre los Makuchis, pero probablemente no entre los Arekunas.

Zambomba u olla zumbadora.—Conocida entre los Taurepanes.

Los siguientes instrumentos, importantes en Sur América, son al parecer totalmente desconocidos de los Kamarakotos y sus afines más próximos, hecho éste de distribución negativa que no deja de tener cierto interés:

Tambor de tronco hueco.
Cascabeles y campanillas de metal.
Atabal.
Tambor tubular.
Cordófonos en general, especialmente el "arco musical"
"Mugidor" o "bramador".
Trompeta de caracol.

Instrumentos de arcilla en general: maracas, trompetas, flautas, etc.

Trompetas complicadas.
Clarines (163).

Ocarinas.
Flautas de muescas (quenas).

(163) No estoy seguro de que no se haya encontrado ningún instrumento de lengüeta, aunque sea simple, pero yo no he visto ninguno y la evidencia es muy dudosa. De todos modos, de haberse encontrado, es indudablemente una innovación de influencia extranjera.

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Flautas con canales adjuntos.
Siringas (164).

Con excepción del tambor, que puede haberse importado y acusa cierta influencia (indirecta) Europea, y la trompeta de cuerno de vaca, que no debe incluirse realmente en esta lista de instrumentos musicales indígenas, el repertorio simple de instrumentos Kamarakotos es estrictamente aborigen y debe de representar aproximadamente la cultura musical precolombina de esta región general.

TRANSPORTE

Aunque tienen residencia fija y su carácter no es nómade, los Kamarakotos no son sedentarios. Dentro de su zona están en movimiento constante, visitándose los unos a los otros para danzas y convites, para cazar y pescar, para negociar o simplemente para cambiar de postura y aire. Los individuos y grupos pequeños también hacen largos viajes, principalmente para comerciar, y han explorado casi todo el Sureste de Venezuela, desde los últimos caseríos civilizados del Norte hasta y muy posiblemente más allá de las fronteras Inglesa y Brasileña por el Este y el Sur, y bastante allende el Caroní por el Oeste.

Estos viajes los hacen casi exclusivamente por tierra. A diferencia de los Caribes insulares y costeños, los Kamarakotos usan la curiara las más de las veces, no como medio principal de transporte, sino solamente como adjunto o eventual. Nosotros encontramos a menudo Indios que habían caminado largas distancias a lo largo o paralelamente a rios navegables, prefiriendo esto a embarcarse, aunque dispusiesen de curiaras. Todos los lugares habitados, así como los frecuentados para otros fines, se comunican por senderos bien definidos y que son permanentes, conociéndolos los Indios tan bien como nosotros nuestras carrete-

(164) Las siringas o flautas de Pan están tan extendidas que esta omisión es chocante, pero yo no he encontrado pruebas de que se conozcan en este grupo de tribus.

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ras. Tienen también sus "caminos reales" o "vías internacionales" que conectan con regiones de otras tribus extrañas, por ejemplo, los caminos que conducen a la Gran Sabana y a tierra de Maquiritares.

En las sabanas estos senderos se hacen ellos solos y están marcados por la ausencia de vegetación a lo largo de una faja angosta cuyo suelo es liso y por lo general duro y perfectamente suave de caminar, hundiéndose pronto—con las pisadas—varios centímetros por debajo del terreno circundante. Son muy estrechos. Hasta un camino principal puede tener solamente quince o veinte centímetros de ancho, porque los Indios siempre caminan de uno en uno y colocan un pie justo donde el otro, de manera que la anchura del sendero apenas excede de la huella humana. Tan inveterada es esta costumbre que hasta para dirigirse juntos a corta distancia, dos Indios jamás caminan codo con codo. Durante la marcha sostienen a menudo animadas conversaciones, pero sin volver la cabeza ni pareciendo dirigirse la palabra. Este hábito trasciende en cierto grado a los demás momentos de la vida, siendo raro que los Indios se enfrenten para hablar, costumbre chocante y a veces desconcertante para el visitante Europeo.

Las sendas o "trochas" a través de la selva son igualmente visibles, aunque por lo regular estén alfombradas de hojas y ramujos que no se apartan de propósito. Las ramas y zarzas que cierran el camino se cortan con machete, abriendo un paso por el cual es siempre posible andar erguido.

Los charcos y pantanos que no pueden soslayarse fácilmente se cruzan con ayuda de puentes (Ilust. 69, 70) o comunmente caminando sobre una hilera de grandes troncos de palma moriche (*kwai-yu'*). Estas palmas abundan en terreno pantanoso y por lo regular puede practicarse fácilmente un vado tumbándolas en la dirección que se desee, de manera que la cima de una venga a caer al pie de la siguiente. Para construir estos pontones sumarios no hay necesidad de trasportar troncos. Los huecos que dejan entre sí los tumbados se rellenan fácilmente con trozas o palos cargados al objeto o bien con la base gruesa de las hojas moriches, pudiéndose también usar éstas solas para atravesar

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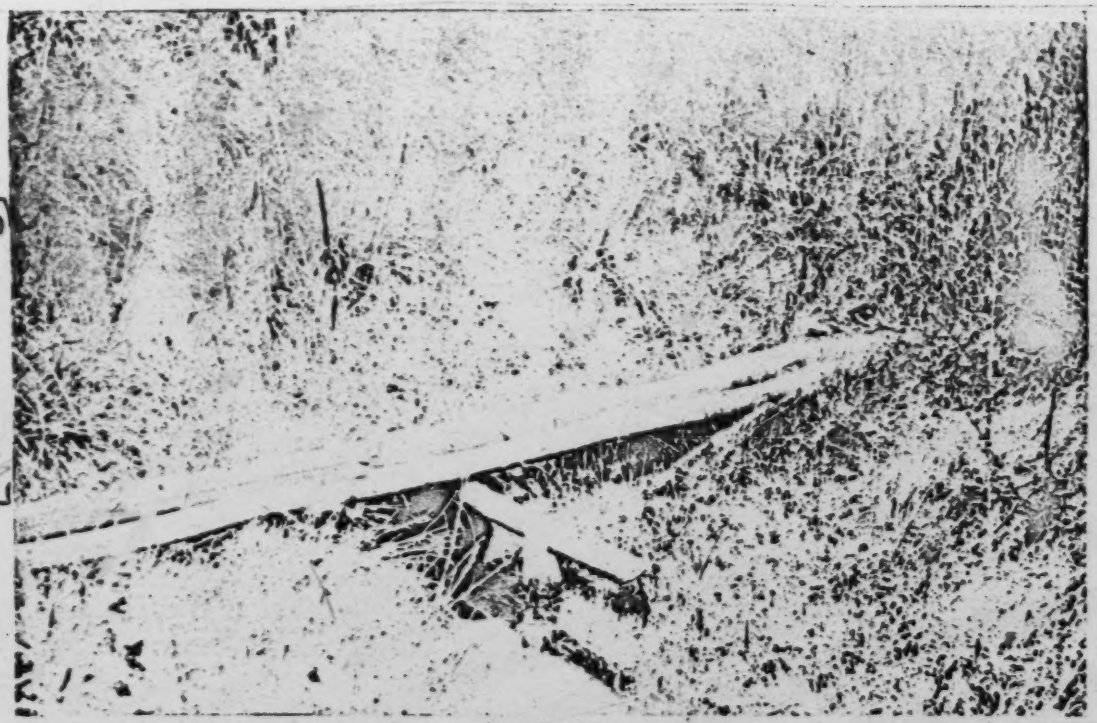

Ilust. Nº 69.—Puente Kamarakoto.
Tipo de puente de viguetas del género construído con más cuidado. Tendido sobre un pantano de agua profunda cerca de Uruyén.

[Facing p. 516]

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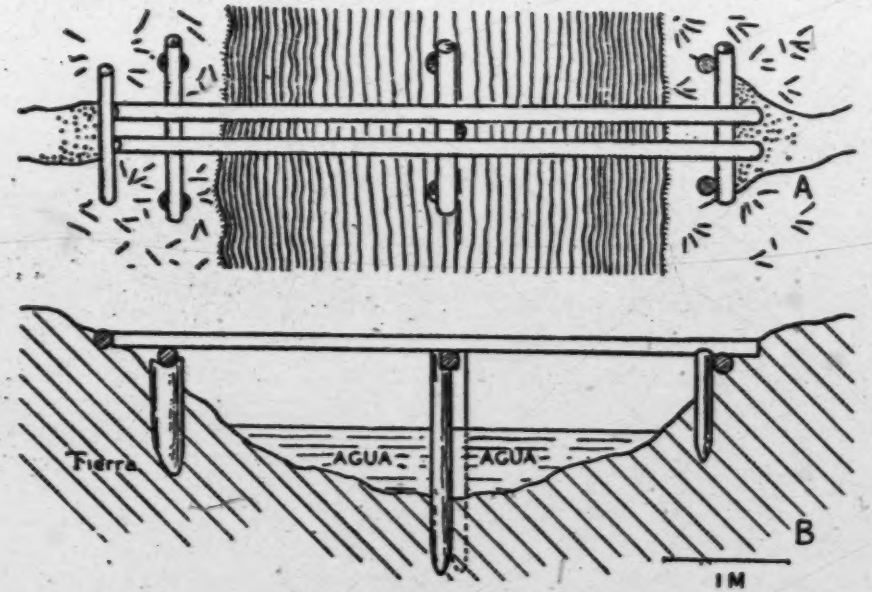
trechos cortos de terreno cenagoso o tremedales, es decir, sitios de superficie seca, pero hundidizos.

Los ríos pueden cruzarse a nado o vadearse simplemente cuando el suelo es duro (cosa que sucede en todos los del área central) y no hay peces peligrosos ni reptiles, pero, no obstante estas circunstancias favorables, muchos de los senderos trillados tienen puentes sobre los caños que no tienen más de cinco metros de anchura. Tratándose de arroyos de lecho pantonoso, por estrechos que sean, hay puentes. El puente más sencillo y más común es un simple tronco de árbol, o dos acostados paralelamente. A veces se amarra un pequeño poste a los extremos de los árboles de ambas orillas o se pone sobre los troncos una serie de palos en aspa para que sirvan de pasamano. Nordenskiöld (1930, Apéndice 4) nos ofrece algunos comentarios interesantes sobre los puentes Indios de Sur América y un mapa de su distribución, en relación con el cual resulta notable que nosotros no hayamos visto puentes de bejucos ni pasamanos para los vados (no habiendo un puente de troncos). Como tienen curiaras, los Kamarakotos no necesitan puentes largos y los suyos deben incluirse en la zona Nordeste de puentes de estacas del mapa de Nordenskiöld, mientras los puentes de bejucos son especialmente típicos del Noroeste de Sur América, donde se tiene menos desarrollado el sentido de la navegación, en tanto que los puentes complicados de vigas voladizas se limitan a la parte central de los Andes.

A veces se construyen puentes más complejos, bien soportados, pero así y todo típicos, de estacas, como el que muestra la Ilust. 70, con los postes de la base, siempre dos en tales estructuras más cuidadas, asentados en soportes transversales que se sujetan en su lugar con pilotes. Este puente singular ilustra los tres métodos de soporte sobre pilotes. En uno de los extremos el travesaño está calzado simplemente entre los pilotes planos y el ribazo del río. En el otro extremo el travesaño se coloca sobre entalladuras hechas en la punta de los pilotes. En el medio es donde se sujeta más firme, asentándolo sobre tres pilotes, dos en los lados y uno en el medio, de modo que es absolutamente imposible todo movimiento, ya sea hacia abajo o bien horizontalmente. Los diferentes elementos no se amarran entre sí, ya que los postes de la base están asegurados suficientemente con tener



Ilust. Nº 70.—Puente Kamarakoto.
Diagramas de la construcción de un puente similar al de la Ilust. 69. A, plano. B, perfil, con tierra seccionada.

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los extremos asentados en la tierra blanda de las orillas y en una de las puntas con una simple pieza transversal que le impide resbalar a lo largo de la orilla. No ví ni oí hablar de puentes de postes empatados, es decir, más anchos que la largura de un solo poste, como los que Koch-Grünberg cuenta de los Taurepanes, (1923. Vol. III, Fig. 6).

Los ríos demasiado anchos para tender convenientemente sobre ellos un puente de postes o de árboles caídos se vadean o se pasan a nado si es necesario, aunque de preferencia se atraviesan en curiara. El uso de curiaras para el transporte a lo largo del río, se conoce también, pero es habitual en esta región simplemente para el paso. Por ejemplo, en Uruyén, donde el camino principal cruza al Aichá en los altibajos del valle de Kamarata, hay una curiara para atravesarlo, curiara que rara vez se usa para otro fin, aunque el río es navegable.

Los Taurepanes y algunos otros Arekunas usan canoas de corteza de árbol, las llamadas barcas de cáscara (véase Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; y Poth, 1924 pags. 615-616). Los Kamarakotos se encuentran en la parte Norte de la zona de las canoas de corteza (véase Nordenskiöld 1924, Mapa 22) y conocen esas embarcaciones, pero actualmente no parece haber ninguna en uso, al menos en el grupo central, donde las canoas son de todos modos raras y un lujo más que una necesidad. Las pocas canoas actualmente en uso aquí son troncos vaciados, simples, pero graciosos de forma (véanse Ilust. 71, 72) de una sola pieza, excepto los travesaños que al mismo tiempo sirven de asientos. Los extremos están rematados en punta, hacia arriba, y no cerrados con una pieza separada de madera como en las embarcaciones similares Makuchis (Roth 1924, Láminas 178 A y B). Los Kamarakotos llaman a las embarcaciones en general *kanawa* (o *kanhwa*, vale decir, canoa) y a este particular de tronco vaciado *kuryara*, que muestra la raíz Caribe de donde procede el Español "curiara" y el Inglés "corial", pero como quiera que sus conoas son curiaras, las dos palabras son sinónimas para ellos. Sin embargo, usan más a menudo *kuryara*. La madera preferida para su construcción es la del *waidawau-yu'*, probablemente una especie de *Neetandra*. Roth anota que este árbol (o uno muy próximo de la

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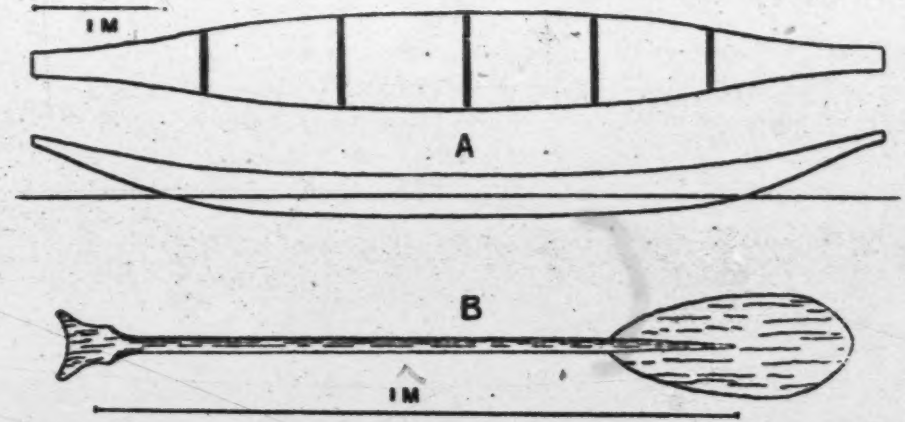

Ilust. Nº 71.—Canoa y Remo Kamarakotos.
A, plano y perfil de una curiara usada para atravesar el Aichá en Uruyén. (Véase Ilust. 72). En la vista de lado se muestra la línea de flotación de la canoa sin carga. B. remo (o canalete) Kamarakoto típico.

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misma familia) es el que los Aruacos consideran el mejor para las embarcaciones.

El remo o canalete Kamarakoto está hábilmente labrado en una sola pieza de madera, y es muy apreciado, como lo demuestra el hecho de que se suelen importar de tan lejos, algunas veces, como la frontera del Brasil. La ilustración 71 muestra un canalete hecho por los Kamarakotos de *poretade* (*poretayu*'?), madera que yo no pude identificar. Tiene el mango en forma de media luna y la hoja ovalada y oblonga, con la parte más ancha en el extremo. Nordenskiöld (1924, Mapa 23), hizo una distribución cartográfica de los remos Sur Americanos y el canalete Kamarakoto es habitualmente similar a los que dicho autor muestra como pertenecientes a esta región general aunque no idéntico a ninguno de los exhibidos por él, teniendo, por coincidencia, el parecido máximo con uno usado bastante al Sur del Amazonas (Yuruma, según K. v. d. Steinen). Sin embargo, es casi igual que el canalete Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. I I, Lámina 40, Fig. 5) desconocido, por lo visto, de Nordenskiöld. El dato de Roth, publicado demasiado tarde para su inclusión en el mapa de Nordenskiöld (1924, Fig. 337) enseña que las formas del remo pueden tener una distribución tribual característica, pero que la distribución geográfica amplia no es ni mucho menos tan clara como pretende el mapa de Nordenskiöld. Los tipos que en ese mapa parecen caracterizar áreas tan separadas como el extremo Sur y el Sureste de la cuenca del Amazonas, la Hoya Central Amazónica y el Delta del Orinoco, se encuentran en efecto dentro de la región enclavada entre la costa de la Guayana Inglesa y el Alto Orinoco, pero no en la misma tribu. El canalete Arekuna es reconocible y de distinta forma, pero este dato precario no basta a demostrar ninguna diferenciación dentro de los grupos locales de la familia Arekuna.

Los Kamarakotos no usan balsas, sino rara vez y extemporáneamente. Se encuentran principalmente en el Oeste de Sur América, aunque Nordenskiöld no estaba en lo cierto el suponerlas ausentes de las Guayanas. Hace tiempo, Gumilla y Humboldt describieron su uso en el Orinoco, como lo hizo Crévaux en la Guayana Francesa, pero, naturalmente, es cierto que la canoa constituye el medio de transporte fluvial típico en toda la región.

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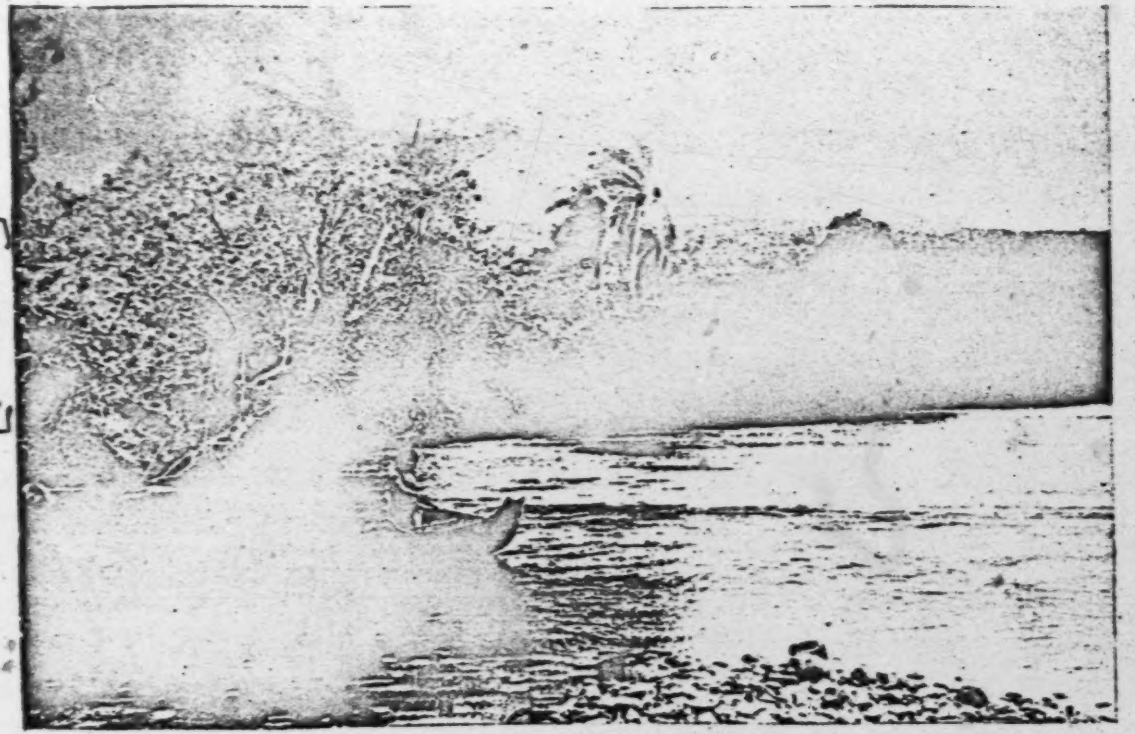

Ilust. Nº 72.—Curiara Kamarakota.
La curiara y el canalete de la Fig. 71 se ven aquí trabajando en el Aichá, en Uruyén.

[p. 520-A]

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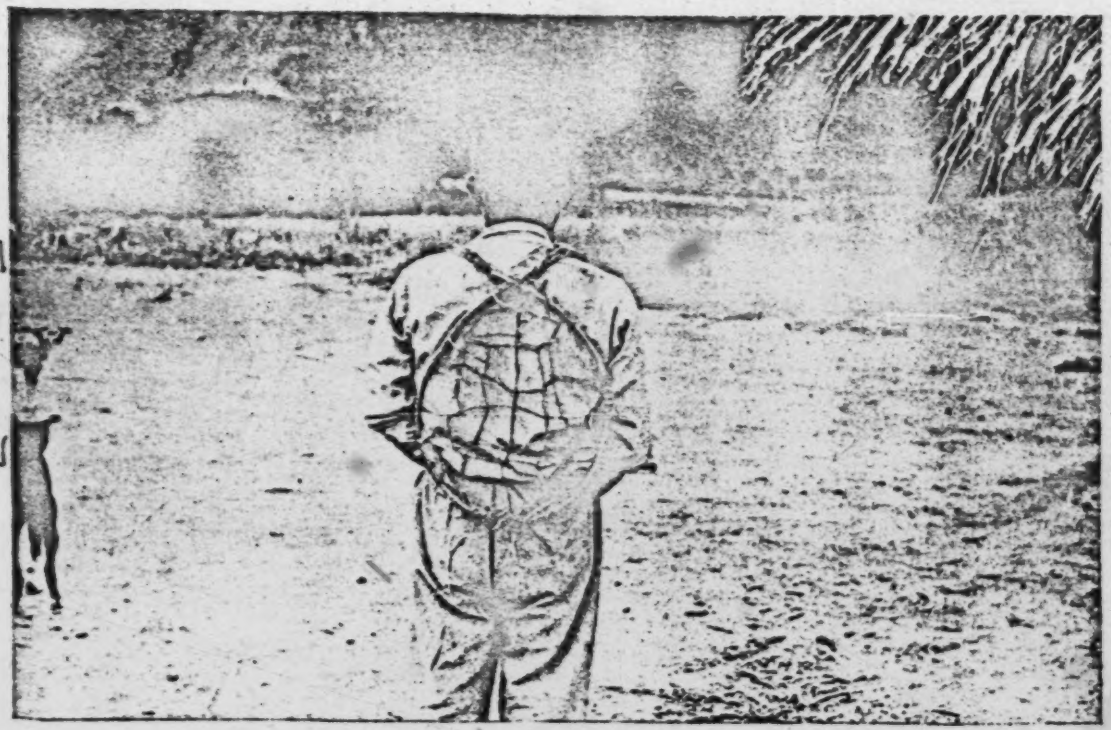

Ilust. Nº 73.—Mapire Kamarakoto (de Hombre).
La armadura del mapire de hombre, *wayare*, como se usa. La carga se amarra a la armadura con cuerdas.

[P. 520-B]

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Como quiera que la mayor parte del transporte se efectúa por tierra, y siendo desconocidas las bestias de carga (la única posibilidad—el perro—jamás se emplea) todo lo llevan a la espalda los Kamarakotos (165). Las bolsas (mapire en Venezolano) que usan las mujeres para cargar a la espalda y que son labores de cestería (*akai'* y *koatai'* véase "Cestería") rara vez son cargados por los hombres, lo cual constituye una distinción aparente con los Taurepanes y otras tribus aliadas, donde tal tipo de mochila lo usan frecuentemente, y hasta principalmente, los varones. El bulto de espalda del hombre Kamarakoto (Ilust. 73) es peculiar entre Indios afines, con su sencillez y carencia de sostenes en los lados y el fondo. Es simplemente de una sección de bejuco grueso armado en forma de lazo cerrado con tirantes de carga amarrados a los lados y una red tosca de corteza o fibra torcida a través de la armadura. La carga, que puede ser tan pesada y voluminosa como la que porta una mujer en un *akai'*, se amarra a la armadura, donde se sostiene solamente con el propio amarre. Tal bulto parece incómodo, pero lo prefieren invariablemente los hombres, aunque tengan a mano un *akai'* (o *koatai'*) más adecuado aparentemente.

Estas armaduras se cargan habitualmente con un cincho que se pasa por los dos brazos y cuelga del hombro. El *akai'* y el *koatai'* también pueden cargarse del mismo modo, pero por lo regular se sostienen principal o completamente con una banda de tejido que pasa por la cabeza, apoyándose en la frente. El uso de un cincho por el pecho no es usual (166). La armadura de carga que portan los hombres se llama *wayare* la misma palabara que la empleada en Venezolano coloquial con la pronunciación de "guayare", como nombre genérico del *akai'* y bultos parecidos, pero yo no estoy muy seguro de la relación lingüística aquí envuelta.

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(165) Las Kamarakotas siguen la costumbre general en Venezuela y regiones adyacentes de cargar los objetos pesados sobre la cabeza, siempre que se trate de distancias cortas, pero no para trayectos largos, como cuando viajan.

(166) Aquí tampoco son correctas, pues, las generalizaciones de Nordenskiöld en lo referente a nuestra área, no obstante los conocimientos enciclopédicos y la exactitud habitual de este autor. Considera que los tirantes pectorales son típicos de esta región y que los frontales son principal o completamente del Oeste de Sur América.

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No se emplean como mochilas, redes de carga ni cestos (verdaderos).

MINERIA

La minería, para el oro solamente, es un elemento intruso y reciente en la cultura Kamarakota. No hay prueba alguna de que estos Indios hayan usado jamás oro con ningún fin entre ellos mismos, pero hace poco descubrieron que puede emplearse como "cosecha de todo el año" para adquirir mercancías directamente de los Venezolanos, en vez del balatá y otros productos usados antes para el mismo objeto. No es probable que el oro haya servido alguna vez de objeto de trueque entre los Kamarakotos y otros Indios. Los depósitos áureos encontrados aquí son de aluvión y escasos y la explotación es aún esporádica.

El oro se extrae en pequeñas cantidades lavando la arena a mano en una batea de madera, labrada en un segmento de tronco. Este método ha sido indudablemente introducido hace poco por influencia Venezolana (civilizada). La batea que usan los Kamarakotos para lavar oro tiene la forma Venezolana corriente: un cono ancho, cuya punta se clava en el suelo, dándosele así vueltas fácilmente, sistema distinto del Norte-Americano consistente en tener la batea en los brazos o de colgarla de cuerdas atadas a las asas como se estila en ciertas regiones de Centro América. Debo hacer constar, no obstante, que, en siquiera uno de los casos, la batea que usaban los Kamarakotos era bastante más profunda que cuantas ví en las partes civilizadas de Venezuela.

Actualmente, la minería es casi insignificante en la cultura Kamarakota, aunque tiene cierta importancia como factor de contacto con el mundo exterior.

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CULTURA SOCIAL

ORGANIZACION

El país de los Kamarakotos está situado en el Estado Bolívar, Distrito Piar, cuya capital es Upata. Nadie niega estas atribuciones ni la autoridad territorial y civil de los correspondientes funcionarios Venezolanos. Los propios Indios se someten de grado a la autoridad Venezolana en cuanto la conocen. No obstante, de hecho, no se ha realizado esfuerzo alguno por imponerles las leyes y costumbres de Venezuela; ninguna delegación gubernamental está en contacto constante con ellos, y allí no hay empleados públicos, apartando la circunstancia de que la autoridad ejercida *de facto* por Alejo Calcaño en la tribu está reconocida oficialmente. Dado que fué erigido normalmente en jefe de la tribu o cacique por los propios Indios, este barniz de legalidad no altera el hecho de que la organización tribual India, tal como se encuentra, esté intacta, y los Kamarakotos viven todavía en estado de completa independencia, no ateniéndose a leyes ni costumbres que no sean las propias.

La organización social de los Indios de esta amplia región es muy poco rígida, pues tienen escasas formalidades o ceremonias. Los Caribes en general rara vez tienen una forma de gobierno muy especificada ni rigurosa y la gran simplicidad de la constitución de las sociedades de esta región puede correlacionarse con su existencia en pequeños y más bien aislados grupos fa-

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miliares y con la falta de necesidad durante los últimos años de unirse y organizarse para ninguna empresa cooperativa de envergadura, como la guerra.

La entidad social es el grupo familiar, consistente de todas las personas que viven en un lugar. Puede incluir más de un hombre casado con su familia y, siendo esto así, las dos o más familias naturales que constituyen una sola entidad social Kamarakota están emparentadas frecuente pero no necesariamente. Por ejemplo, en Uruyén viven dos varones adultos con sus familias respectivas, estando uno de ellos casado con la hermana del otro. Moran en diferentes casas, pero, en sentido Kamarakoto, forman un solo grupo familiar. Con permiso del cabeza de familia, pueden aceptarse en tal grupo familiar personas no emparentadas con él. Estas personas no son adoptadas de manera formal alguna, ni se consideran parientes no siéndolo por sangre o matrimonio, pero se las trata como miembros integrantes de la casa y están sujetas a sus costumbres y disciplina.

Tales grupos siempre tienen un solo jefe, quien es adulto, casado y físicamente apto. No es necesariamente el más viejo del grupo, sino que adquiere su jerarquía por fuerza natural de carácter, por haber sido el primero que se asentó en el lugar o algo parecido. No hay elección ni selección formal de tal jefe de grupo, a quien llaman *to'-esa'*. Sin embargo, nosotros no supimos de ningún desacuerdo, choque o protesta que en tiempo alguno se deriven de la informalidad del sistema. Si otro miembro varón del grupo está descontento con su posición subordinada, es libre de irse y constituir su propio grupo como *to'-esa'*, lo que sucede en ocasiones.

La autoridad del hombre principal o jefe de grupo local es casi exactamente análoga en forma y substancia a la ejercida por el cabeza de familia—varón—en la mayoría de las sociedades Europeas. El espíritu familiar es afable y cooperativo, dando rara vez margen a choques o indisciplina, y, en general, la condición de *to'-esa'* es solamente la de "primus inter pares". Su opinión es la más valiosa y es quien toma las decisiones y asume la dirección en asuntos que incumben al grupo familiar en conjunto. Tiene la responsabilidad de prever la satisfacción de lo necesa-

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rio, y, si es preciso a este fin, ordena las labores de los otros, pero, por lo común, todos comprenden tan bien sus deberes y los ejecutan con tal espontaneidad, que rara vez hace falta una "orden" de sentido conminatorio.

Es evidente que muchos Indios de esta región no reconocen o no tienen conocimiento de ninguna autoridad que esté por encima de la estrictamente local de su *to'-esa'* respectivo. No obstante, dentro del grupo central, existe un jefe reconocido como tal por todas las familias del lugar y quien ejerce sobre el grupo tribual fiscalización superior a la autonomía local del *to'-esa'*. Este funcionario es llamado *teburu* (o *tepuru*), término que puede traducirse por cacique (o acaso con más exactitud por "capitán", en la acepción popular del vocablo, aunque, desde un punto de vista más amplio, cacique es expresión más justa). Actualmente, el cacique de los Kamarakotos es Alejo Calcaño, miembro puro de la tribu, no obstante ser uno de los dos o tres que hablan Español y han pasado algún tiempo en ciudades Venezolanas.

La autoridad del cacique sobre los diversos hogares es casi exactamente igual a la del *to'-esa'* sobre los miembros de un solo hogar. Descansa en el prestigio, la costumbre y el consentimiento más que en la fuerza o cualquier base legal formulada o teoría o práctica religiosa. Su cargo no es hereditario en principio, aunque a veces le sea de hecho, y no se deriva de designación sobrenatural u ordalia—juicio de Dios—ni de otro modo de selección que no sea el consentimiento sin formalidades ni ritos. Es vitalicia la magistratura y al fallecer el cacique se erige otro, por deliberación y acuerdo, pero sin forma alguna de elección ni nada que se parezca a un parlamento tribual. Al interrogar yo qué sucedería si los Indios no se ponían de acuerdo para la designación de una persona determinada como cacique, mi pregunta pareció entenderse a duras penas. "Nos pondremos de acuerdo; somos buenos; no hemos de pelear". Después de esta afirmación, y al cabo de reflexiones, me dijeron que si algún *to'-esa'*, o varios de ellos pedían resueltamente un jefe distinto, el *teburu* nombraría uno de ellos (el cual habría de llamarse *to'-epuru'*) pero que este jefe estaría bajo las órdenes del *teburu*. Sea como fuere, el caso no se ha presentado en tiempos recientes y actualmente no hay tales jefes subalternos.

Es sin embargo costumbre que el cacique delegue algunas de sus funciones en un vice-cacique, llamado *teburu-* (o *tepuru*) *ɜsi-yakon* (el significado exacto de *ɜsi* no lo veo claro, aunque puede ser equivalente a *esa'* en *to'esa'*, pero *yakon* quiere decir "su hermano menor" y le da claridad suficiente al significado del término). No es cargo estatuído o reconocido generalmente, sino simplemente uno que puede crear el cacique si lo desea. El *teburu-ɜsi-yakon* puede, por ejemplo, ser enviado como emisario de las órdenes del *teburu* o puede representar a éste en caso de ausencia o enfermedad. Actualmente desempeña esta función Antonio Montesdeoca, sobrino de Alejo Calcaño, quien me sirvió de intérprete en la mayor parte de mi trabajo. Aunque no se hiciera esta declaración explícita, resulta obvio que Alejo ha elegido y está aleccionando a Antonio para su sucesor y se conviene en que la voluntad evidente del viejo cacique en el asunto pesa mucho en la selección del cacique nuevo. También se me dijo que el deseo de fomentar las relaciones con el mundo exterior, cosa ya en marcha, hace recomendable (Antonio declaró "necesaria") la designación de un *teburu* que hable Español, lo cual erige automáticamente al propio Antonio en el único candidato posible, por más que Alejo no sea todavía anciano ni mucho menos y su sucesor no asumirá problamente la cacicatura sino dentro de muchos años, siendo posible que en el interin se venga abajo el sistema político si continúa el presente ritmo de innovaciones.

El cacique no es actual ni habitualmente (como tampoco lo es el presunto sucesor de Alejo Calcaño) brujo piache, y esta condición no es requisito ni recomendación para el cargo de cacique. Los piaches—hay varios—son especialistas en su profesión y nada tienen que ver con el gobierno de la tribu. Contrariamente a lo que sucede en muchas sociedades Indias, aquí el brujo es completamente apolítico y carece de autoridad o influencia civil más allá de la correspondiente al hecho de ser ordinariamente *to'-esa'* al propio tiempo que piache.

El cacique es respetado y puede tener primera opción en el reparto de beneficios, pero no recibe emolumento alguno en trabajo ni en mercancías, y en la sociedad eminentemente democrática e individualista que es la tribu, se le considera meramente co-

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mo una persona más, aunque destacada. Sus deberes son tan vagos como leves. Arbitra las escasas diferencias que surgen entre las familias, representa a la tribu en sus negociaciones con otras o con los Venezolanos, dirige las empresas de la comunidad y generalmente actúa de padre de su pueblo. No presenciamos ningún caso de desobediencia a sus órdenes y nos dijeron que nunca ocurre; pero conviene advertir que las órdenes del cacique no tienen tono conminativo, siendo más bien una exposición persuasiva de sus deseos y opiniones.

El radio de su autoridad, tal como es, está mal definido. No se extiende clara y definidamente más allá del grupo central de los Kamarakotos, aún aquí muchos Indios nunca han tenido ocasión de reconocerla prácticamente, lo cual no quiere decir que alguno de ellos la desmentiría. Los Kamarakotos y sus iguales del Caroní y otros lugares más remotos se enteran de que existe un cacique solamente cuando tienen ocasión de visitar al grupo central. No parecen tener cacique propio y los que visitaron el grupo central durante nuestra estada verbalmente reconocieron la autoridad de Alejo Calcaño. Afirmó éste que su autoridad se extiende muy allá del propio Kamarata (hasta que llegamos nosotros no conocía toda la región, sino una pequeña parte de ella), pero en realidad su poder en la región no es nominal siquiera. Así sea de modo atenuado en extremo, sería completamente falso hablar de él como de una autoridad sobre todos los Arekunas, incluyendo a los de los de la Gran Sabana y a los Taurepanes, aunque él lo pretendiera. Los Arekunas, como núcleo étnico, no tienen jefe único, y muchos de ellos no saben de autoridad alguna aparte la del propio grupo. Ahora bien, sería impropio hablar de una tribu Arekuna, puesto que los Arekunas no constituyen una entidad integrada étnica ni políticamente, sino un conglomerado de pequeños grupos emparentados física y culturalmente, pero alejados por completo entre sí.

Schomburgk habla de casos (no comunes) de jefes hembras entre los Makuchis. Entre los Kamarakotos nunca es jefe la mujer, no digamos de un grupo de familias, sino de un hogar siquiera, lo cual no quiere decir en modo alguno que las Kamarakotas sean tratadas como seres inferiores.

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CONCEPTOS DE PARENTESCO

Como sucede en muchos pueblos primitivos, los conceptos de relación familiar entre los Kamarakotos son más complejos que en las naciones de origen Europeo. Son más específicos y descansan en base distinta. La mayoría de los vocabularios, incluso el Taurepán de Koch-Grünberg, extraordinariamente escogido, da idea imperfecta de estos parentescos. Ello es corriente, porque el investigador tiende a buscar los equivalentes Indios de las palabras de su idioma propio, sistema idóneo para obtener nombres de objetos y para muchos otros fines, pero inadecuado completamente cuando, como sucede con los parentescos, los conceptos expresados en dos lenguas distan mucho de ser los mismos. Los siguientes informes, escrupulosamente comprobados, se consiguieron en varias entrevistas distintas, inquiriéndolos de grupos familiares de carácter diferente y preguntando a cada individuo del grupo qué clase de parentesco tenía con los demás individuos. Este es un terreno en el que todo investigador forastero probablemente nunca logrará un conocimiento absoluto, a menos que permanezca durante muchos años como miembro activo de la tribu; pero tenemos la convicción de que el siguiente recuento es aproximadamente completo y esencialmente exacto. Para establecer comparaciones nos hemos servido principalmente del vocabulario Makuchi de Williams. El sistema Makuchi parece ser en este respecto igual que el Kamarakoto; y Williams así lo comprendió evidentemente.

Hermanos: No hay palabra general para "hermano" ni para "hermana". El parentesco debe especificarse más exactamente de lo que es mediante los conceptos Europeos generalizados, los cuales determinan solamente el sexo de la persona a quien se refieren. En Kamarakoto es necesario precisar (a) el sexo de la persona a quien se hace referencia, (b) el de la persona que hace la referencia y (c) sus edades respectivas. El sistema lógico y pleno que esto implica es el siguiente:

Sexo de la Persona aludida	Sexo de la Persona que alude	Edad relativa de la Persona aludida	Palabra Kamarakota	Palabra Makuchi (Williams)
Varón	Varón	Mayor	*riiiko.*	*wi'rui.*
Varón	Varón	Menor	*(y)akon.*	*moyi,akon.*
Varón	Hembra	Mayor	*(u)pi uyadatɔ.*	*warathato,pipi.*
Varón	Hembra	Menor	*pirika.*	*pi.*
Hembra	Varón	Mayor	*paruchi uyadetɔ.*	*e-na-ru, na-na, na-nau.*
Hembra	Varón	Menor	*paruchi.*	*wɔ-ri-chi.*
Hembra	Hembra	Mayor	*pasi.*	*pa-chi,tu.*
Hembra	Hembra	Menor	*akon.*	*akon.*

En ambas lenguas *yakon, akon* tiene un uso más general para designar un pariente colateral de grado indefinido y (a veces) un amigo íntimo. Varias de estas palabras se emplean para parentescos, especialmente entre primos, cosa que nosotros no hacemos, pero los Indios sí, por considerarlos como una especie de hermanos.

Es evidente que ninguna de las dos tribus es absolutamente lógica o completa en su clasificación. Los Kamarakotos aplican y los Makuchis pueden aplicar la misma palabra, *akon* (167), a un hermano menor del mismo sexo, es decir, al hermano menor de un varón y a la hermana menor de una hembra. Los Kamarakotos, pero no los Makuchis, también emplean esencialmente una palabra para hermano de una hembra, *pirika* y *pi* (la raíz esencial de *pirika*) y otra para hermano de un varón, *paruchi*, distinguiendo un hermano o hermana mayor, en caso de necesidad, con *uyadetɔ*, que significa por lo común una persona de más edad. El sistema reformado al que tienden decididamente los Kamarakotos pudiera resumirse como sigue:

(167) *yakon* es la misma palabra que *akon*. La *y* no se usa aquí solamente en vocables compuestos, pues es igualmente parte de una forma disyuntiva, pero no se emplea invariablemente para distinguir un parentesco masculino de otro femenino.

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Hermano del mismo sexo	Mayor	Hembra	— *riiiko*
		Varón	— *akon*
	Menor		— *pasi*
Hermano de sexo contrario	Hermano de una hembra		— *pi (rika)*
	Hermana de un varón		— *paruchi*

Este es el sistema que especifica si las partes son del mismo sexo o no y precisa los sexos de ambas, excepto en el caso de un hermano menor del mismo sexo, pero determina las edades relativas sólo tratándose de hermanos mayores del mismo sexo.

La orientación psicológica peculiar o formación de categoría es en este respecto completamente obvia y muy interesante.

Los hermanastros abundan naturalmente en una sociedad polígama como ésta, pero el parentesco se sitúa igual que si ambos padres fuesen los mismos y no hay téminos especiales ni conceptos de semi-hermandad.

Padres: Refiriéndose a uno de los progenitores el sexo de la persona aludida (el hijo) no se toma en cuenta y, como en los idiomas Europeos, sólo se especifica el sexo del progenitor. Hay, no obstante, dos formas para cada palabra, una de trato directo, usada únicamente al dirigirse al propio progenitor, y otra general, usada en referencia a un progenitor cualquiera, incluso el propio.

	Kamarakoto		Makuchi (Williams)
Trato directo	Padre	— *papai.*	*pa - pa*
	Madre	— *paiköi* (168)	*ma - ma*

(168) Los Kamarakotos tienen conocimiento del hecho de que esta palabra es peculiar de su lengua y dijéronme que los Indios de la Gran Sabana llaman a sus madres *amai*, pero que ésta no es palabra Kamarakota.

General	Padre	— *yun*	(*y*)*un*
	Madre	— *sen*	*sen*

No hay palabras especiales para padrastro ni madrastra, porque estos parentescos se consideran envueltos en la paternidad y la maternidad naturales.

Hijos: Al referirse a los hijos se especifica el sexo de ambas partes, vale decir, que el parentesco del padre o la madre respecto al hijo varón se determina de manera distinta que respecto a una hija, poco más o menos como en los idiomas Europeos, y, contrariamente a los que sucede en éstos, el parentesco del padre respecto al hijo se precisa de diferente modo que el de la madre. Naturalmente, la cuestión de la edad relativa no entra en juego aquí.

Sexo del Progenitor (aludiéndole, o quien habla)	Sexo del hijo	Palabra Kamarakota	Palabra Makuchi (Williams)
Varón	Varón	*mumun* ("mi hijo" = *umo*)	*mumu* (*umu*) } *mure*
Varón	Hembra	(*y*)*entsi*	*enji*
Hembra	Varón	(*u*)*rme* } (*u*)*rme*	(*u*)-*n*-*re* } (*u*)-*n*-*re*
Hembra	Hembra	*manon*	(no dice)

(*u*)*rme* y su emparentado (*u*)-*n*-*re* se usan tanto el uno como el otro no sólo específicamente para el hijo varón de una madre sino para cualquier hijo suyo. Williams da la palabra Makuchi *manon*, evidentemente la misma que la Kamarakota, y dice que su significado es soltera.

Los hijos adoptivos, corrientes en esta comunidad, son llamados *narimanga* (cualquiera que sea su sexo) pero se les habla normalmente como si fuesen propios.

Abuelos: Lo mismo que con los padres, solamente se toma en cuenta el sexo de la persona a quien se hace referencia.

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Abuelo	*tamo*	*tamo,tə tamo*
Abuela	*noi'*.	*no, go-go*

Como en la mayoría de los idiomas Europeos, estas palabras también se usan para referirse a personas de edad y (como regla) venerables.

Nietos: En distinción marcada con la especificación de la mayor parte del sistema de parentesco, se hace caso omiso del sexo de cualquiera de las partes al referirse a un nieto.

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Nieto	*pa'*	*pa*

Si por una razón u otra debe mencionarse el sexo, hácese como si se tratara de cualquier persona o animal, es decir posponiendo la palabra correspondiente a "macho" o "hembra":

Nieto	*pa-waraton*,	literalmente	"nieto-varón"
Nieta	*pa-wari*,	literalmente	"nieto-hembra"

Tío, tía, suegros: Tíos y tías se designan descriptivamente, por ejemplo, *papaiyakon*, literalmente "padre - hermano menor", o sea, el hermano menor del padre. Sin embargo, en este caso el concepto es de parentesco entre los hermanos, de los cuales se especifica uno, y no realmente de parentesco entre tío y sobrino. Al tratar más directamente este último parentesco se emplean palabras especiales que dependen del sexo de las tres partes interesadas, es decir, de la persona en referencia (el sobrino o la sobrina) del progenitor a través de quien existe el parentesco y de la persona a quien se hace referencia (el tío o la tía).

Sexo de la persona aludida	Sexo del intermediario	Sexo de la persona que alude	Palabra Kamarakota	Palabra Makuchi (W)
Varón	Varón	Varón	"padre" o sea *papai*, *yun*	*inton* / no dice — *papai*
Varón	Varón	Hembra		

Sexo de la persona aludida	Sexo del intermediario	Sexo de la persona que alude	Palabra Kamarakoto	Palabra Makuchi (W)
Varón	Hembra	Varón	*mui*	*tori*
Varón	Hembra	Hembra	*awo*	*awo*
Hembra	Varón	Varón	*wani*	*wanɔ*
Hembra	Varón	Varón	*wari*	*awobu*
Hembra	Hembra	Hembra	"madre" o sea *paikoï, san*	*mamai*
Hembra	Hembra	Hembra		

(Ejemplo, *mui* significa "tío materno de un varón"; *wari* "tía paterna de una hembra", etc.).

Hemos visto que se emplean palabras especiales para el hermano de la madre (tío materno) y para la hermana del padre (tía paterna) y que estas denominaciones son diferentes para varón y hembra (sobrino y sobrina), pero los dos sexos se dirigen al hermano del padre y le hablan como si fuese el padre, y a la hermana de la madre como si fuese la madre. Esta interesante clasificación no es meramente verbal. En cierto sentido, un tío paterno es un padre; por ejemplo, si el padre del hijo fallece o está ausente, el tío hace las veces de padre para el hijo en todo respecto. (Sin embargo, Williams da en Makuchi una palabra separada para tío paterno del hombre).

El parentesco entre cualquier persona y los progenitores de su marido o mujer, es decir, sus suegros, se considera del mismo grado que el existente entre una persona y los hermanos de su madre y las hermanas de su padre. Así:

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Padre del marido - tío materno de una hembra..	*awo*	(No dice)
Madre del marido - tía paterna de una hembra..	*wari*	(No dice)
Padre de la mujer - tío materno de un varón..	*mui*	*tori*
Madre de la mujer - tía paterna de un varón..	*wani*	*wanɔ*

Estas palabras son (en Kamarakoto) las empleadas habitualmente en trato directo. Hablando de la persona a alguien que no sea ella, es usual ser más específico, empleándose entonces locuciones adjetivas especiales para los suegros:

Padre del marido — *tamöipuyun* (por *tamupüi -yun*).
Madre del marido — *yawoi'-pə*.
Padre de la mujer — *nopuyun* (por *nopüi -yun*).
Madre de la mujer — *yawoi'-pə*.

Así, *yawoi'-pə* es "suegra" generalmente y al suegro se le llama "padre del marido" o "padre de la mujer", según el caso.

Sobrino, sobrina.—Como sucede con "tía" y "tío", las palabras empleadas para "sobrino" y "sobrina" envuelven no sólo el sexo de la persona a quien se refieren, sino también el de la persona a través de quien existe el parentesco, es decir, el padre o la madre del sobrino o la sobrina. Sería lógico que también estuviese envuelto el sexo de la persona aludida, es decir, el de la tía o tío, pero, según mis informantes, ello no es así. El sexo de la persona aludida está envuelto en las palabras para "tío" y "tía", complementarias de las correspondientes a "sobrino" y "sobrina". En cambio, se indica en Makuchi, lengua por lo demás muy afín del Kamarakoto en estos respectos.

		Kamar.	Makuchi (W)
Hijo del hermano del varón.	"hijo", o sea	*mumun*	No dice.
Hijo del hermano de la hembra..	"hijo", o sea	*(u)rmu* (?)	
Hija del hermano del varón.	"hija", o sea	*yentsi*	
Hija del hermano de la hembra..	"hija", o sea	*manon* (?)	
Hijo de la hermana del varón...		*poitoru*	No dice, pero véase a continuación.
Hijo de la hermana de la hembra.. . .		*poitoru* (?)	
Hija de la hermana del varón...		*patsu*	*pase*
Hija de la hermana de la hembra.. . .		*patsu* (?)	*amu*

Aunque Williams sólo da las palabras correspondientes a la hija de una hermana, estas palabras muestran una clasificación basada en los sexos de las tres personas implicadas. En el Makuchi de Williams se presenta evidentemente una raíz emparentada con *poituru* :*i-*(*poi-to-rə'-*) *be wai*, "servir", que Williams compara con *pai-to*, yerno de un varón o cualquier joven subordinado. Sea válida o nó esta comparación más bien dudosa, lo probable es que ese *poi-to-rə'* esté relacionado con el Kamarakoto *poitoru*. Por lo demás parece no haber sido indentificado en Makuchi ni en lenguas afines, excepto en Taurepán, donde Koch-Grünberg da *poitoli* (= *poitore* o *poitorü*) por "yerno" o "sobrino" sin ulterior especificación esencial.

Primos.—Mis informantes Kamarakotos dijeron desconocer palabras especiales para primo. En ciertas circunstancias los primos son considerados hermanos o hermanas y tratados como tales. Por ejemplo, un muchacho o una muchacha le llaman a su tío paterno "padre" y, si viven juntos o en asociación íntima con su familia, les llamarán a sus primos "hermano" y "hermana", empleando las palabras apropiadas para las edades relativas.

De las seis palabras que da Williams como correspondientes a "primo" en Makuchi, cuatro parecen ser más o menos ejemplos casuales del mismo género de sistema; verbigracia, un muchacho le llama al hijo del hermano de su padre (presuntamente menor que él) *mo-yi*, que en Makuchi corresponde a "hermano menor de un varón". *e-ru*, que significa "hermana del marido", también se define como una hija hembra de la madre del hermano. La única palabra especial para "primo", definido como hijo del hermano del padre de un varón (para quien, no obstante, se dan otras dos palabras) que proporciona Williams en Makuchi es *-a-mi-bə*. Esta palabra, cosa curiosa, es casi idéntica a la que significa el dedo meñique de la mano o el chiquito del pie ("pequeño"). Parece muy dudoso que el Makuchi, como tampoco el Kamarakoto, tenga realmente una nomenclatura especial para el parentesco de primo.

Si se considerasen los sexos de las cuatro personas implicadas, un sistema completo tendría 16 clases, y si se considerasen las edades relativas de la dos generaciones, serían necesarias 64

denominaciones. Huelga decir que ninguna lengua Caribe lleva realmente esto hasta su extremo lógico.

Marido y mujer.—Aquí no va envuelto concepto de edad relativa entre los cónyuges y el parentesco especifica automáticamente el sexo de ambos al ser mencionado uno de ellos, de manera que las palabras tienen los mismos límites generales que en los idiomas Europeos.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Marido	—	*tamupüi*	*ni-yo,-nyo*
Mujer	—	*nopüi*	*no-bu,-pə-san*

Excepto, posiblemente, cuando es necesario para una adjetivación diferencial, no se hace distingo entre las palabras aplicadas a las varias mujeres diferentes de un hombre.

Otros parientes por matrimonio.—Al hablar de un yerno o de una nuera, el sexo de la persona en referencia (suegra o suegro) no se considera:

Yerno { sin hijos — *payunu*
con hijos — *payun*

Nuera — *patsɛ*

payun significa padre efectivo del nieto de úno y *payunu* aparentemente quiere decir padre en potencia del mismo nieto, o sea, *pa* "nieto" + *yun* "padre".

patsɛ es la misma palabra que la empleada para hija de una hermana, equivalencia análoga al uso de la misma palabra para suegra y tía paterna.

En Makuchi, Williams da *pa -se*, (vocablo emparentado con *patsɛ*), para nuera, pero especifica que sólo lo emplean los varones, y pone *pai-to* (emparentado con Makuchi *pai- to-rə*, "criado", y no el Kamarakoto *payun*) para yerno del marido. No dice qué palabras usan las hembras para un yerno o una nuera, aunque puntualiza que las palabras transcritas las usan los varones (solamente?).

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Al hablar de cuñados y cuñadas se indican los sexos de la persona en referencia y de la persona aludida.

Hermano del marido — *pipi*
Hermana del marido — *yerui'*
Hermano de la mujer — *(y)etsɛ*
Hermana de la mujer — *parətsi*

En Makuchi, Williams no da estas palabras, pero advierte que *pi*, palabra correspondiente a hermano menor de una hembra en ese dialecto, significa a veces hermano del marido. Los Kamarakotos distinguen entre la palabra correspondiente al hermano de la mujer, *pi*, *pirika*, y la que designa al hermano del marido, *pipi*.

Por otro lado, la palabra Kamarakota para hermana de la mujer, anotada como *parətsi*, parece emparentada con la correspondiente a hermana menor de un varón, *paruchi* y francamente, yo no estoy seguro de que no sean la misma palabra pronunciada de modo distinto por personas o en contextos diferentes, pero creo que no.

Un hombre llama a toda mujer a quien conoce mucho, aunque no esté emparentado con ella, *parətsi*, vale decir, "cuñada. Del mismo modo, una mujer les llama a sus amigos *pipi*, "cuñado". No hay vocablo análogo para designar los amigos varones de un hombre ni para las amigas hembras de una mujer. Me dijeron taxativamente que *yetsɛ* y *yerui'* no tienen esta aplicación, y que un hombre no puede emplear la palabra *pipi* ni una mujer la de *parətsi* sin caer en ridículo.

MATRIMONIO

Lo mismo que algunas otras costumbres, el matrimonio entre los Kamarakotos parece actualmente en vías de modificación, siguiendo dos direcciones: por la simplificación u omisión de elementos anticuados,—costumbres sociales que fueron más complejas y al mismo tiempo más rígidas que en la actualidad—y por la

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tendencia, fomentada por los individuos más *progresistas* de la tribu, de acercamiento a las costumbres Venezolanas en la medida que éstas se conocen. Sin embargo, ninguna de las dos desviaciones es aún lo bastante fuerte para haber modificado ya la sociedad Kamarakota. Así, se tiene la impresión definida de que la poligamía y las que son, en otros niveles, uniones incestuosas, no deben fomentarse, pero tales ayuntamientos son comunes todavía, y, por lo que se refiere a la otra tendencia, la compra de la novia, como requisito esencial del matrimonio, se abandonó ya, pero aún sobreviven claros vestigios de esa costumbre.

Claro está que no existe el matrimonio en sentido legal Venezolano. No hay en Kamarata autoridad ni registro para el matrimonio civil, como tampoco hay sacerdote para el eclesiástico. Sin embargo, puede y debe hablarse de matrimonio, y no, como lo hizo en la Guayana Inglesa un investigador algo inquisitorial, meramente de "cohabitación de varón y hembra". Ciertamente se dan casos de cohabitación, pero son aislados, y los mismos Indios los distinguen claramente del matrimonio, unión que es permanente por la intención y en la que las consideraciones sociales y económicas son siquiera de tanto peso como la sexual. La circunstancia de que se omiten ceremonias y formalidades en boga en comunidades civilizadas no desvirtúa el hecho de que éste es un matrimonio verdadero en todas las acepciones propias del vocablo.

La iniciativa del matrimonio puede ser tomada por cualquiera de las partes interesadas, el novio, la novia y los padres de ésta. Los padres del novio no se consideran al parecer parte interesada. El matrimonio no puede efectuarse sin consentimiento de la novia, requiriéndose también normalmente el consentimiento de sus padres, o el de la madre siquiera. Puede el novio hacer regalos a los padres de la novia, especialmente a la madre, para obtener el permiso de casamiento, pero, según me aseguraron, esto lo hace el novio por galantería y no como requisito previo para el logro de su amor. Sin embargo, acaso sea éste un vestigio de la antigua costumbre, quizás general, de comprar esposas. La compra tomaba comunmente forma de prestación de servicio personal al padre de la novia, según vemos un ejemplo típico en la leyenda Kamarakota de Maichak, pero esta costumbre está ya

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abolida casi por completo. El galán, naturalmente bien dispuesto hacia los padres de la novia, puede ayudarlos voluntariamente, pero, según me dijeron, no está obligado a hacerlo. El consentimiento reiterado de la madre de la novia, de preferencia al del padre, es también peculiar y significativo de la alta consideración de que gozan en la tribu las mujeres.

Para el matrimonoio no hay ceremonias ni formalidades de ningún género. Una vez que las partes están acordes, el novio y la novia comienzan simplemente a vivir juntos.

Los Kamarakotos son polígamos, es decir, políginos. Advertí cierta renuencia a proporcionarme informes sobre el número de mujeres—indicio del despertar de una conciencia de costumbres cristianas—pero era evidente que la mayoría de los hombres tenía solamente una mujer y ninguno estaba seguramente dispuesto a tener más de seis. El cacique, aunque su tendencia sea en general la de conducir a la tribu a normas más Europeas, posee varias.

El hombre tiene derecho a repudiar a la mujer que no le satisface y la mujer es libre de abandonar un hombre, quedando en ambos casos automáticamente disuelto el matrimonio. Estas aseveraciones se vieron confirmadas con tanta plenitud que no cabe duda alguna a su respecto, pero, agregaron los Indios, siempre que los maridos y las esposas no suelan separarse de hecho. Según nuestras propias observaciones y anotaciones es indudable que los matrimonios son normalmente vitalicios. Ahora bien, los viudos y las viudas se vuelven a casar a deseo y sin restricción. No supe de ningún caso en que una viuda pensara casarse o normalmente se casara con el hermano de su difunto, como ocurre en algunos pueblos primitivos, pero nadie se lo prohibiría si tal fuese su deseo.

Parece no haber ningún reparo serio contra el incesto. Es dudoso que haya matrimonios entre parientes de primer grado—hermano y hermana o progenitor y vástago,—pero los matrimonios entre primos hermanos (aunque no sean obligatorios, como en ciertas tribus) están seguramente permitidos, ocurriendo lo propio con los matrimonios entre tío y sobrina y entre tía y sobrino. No hay pues requisito de exogamía (ni el incesto de

primer grado está rechazado terminantemente por razones morales) y hay ausencia idéntica de endogamía obligatoria. Los matrimonios con miembros de otras tribus no son comunes, por falta de oportunidad, pero ocurren y no se consideran anormales ni reprensibles en modo alguno. Dos veces han ocurrido matrimonios con Venezolanos, sin que se manifestase oposición mayor, pero dejábase traslucir cierta tendencia a criticarlos, resultando curioso el hecho de que, entre todos los registrados por nosotros, fuesen estos dos los únicos que no tenían hijos. A juzgar por rumores y díceres, carentes de razón exacta, pero con alguna base probable, parece ser que la cohabitación más bien casual con Venezolanos (y otros no-Indios) es sin embargo causa de amargo resentimiento y que los infractores forasteros purgan caro su delito, habiendo sido muerto uno de ellos siquiera.

Hay muy pocas hembras casaderas que no tengan ya s[illegible] rido. Entre los Indios de nuestro censo sólo aparece una [illegible] no casada, y ésta tiene un hijo, hecho que no la desacredita [illegible]yormente a ella ni incapacita al retoño. Este caso de ilegitimidad es tan anómalo que puede adscribirse, más que a una moral cualquiera, a la costumbre de casarse todos temprano.

El matrimonio de niños fué antes común en algunas de las tribus afines—aunque usualmente no se consumaba antes de la pubertad—, otro punto confirmatorio de que la base del matrimonio no es exclusivamente, ni acaso principalmente tampoco, sexual. Al parecer ya no ocurre entre los Kamarakotos, donde las muchachas parecen casarse por lo regular dos o tres años después de la primera menstruación.

Todos los hombres adultos están casados, al parecer sin excepción. Aunque la poligamía no sea general ni mucho menos, es lo bastante común para que el número de mozas sea constantemente menor que el de mozos, de modo y manera que hay un grupo definido de jóvenes sexualmente maduros y (como grupo) no hombres hechos y derechos todavía que no están casados y que constituyen en la tribu una clase definida de jóvenes célibes.

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DIVISION DEL TRABAJO

Los Kamarakotos tienen un nivel de vida muy definido y al que casi todos llegan. Trabajan duro para mantener un hogar propio, con buena casa, conuco adecuado, chinchorros, cestas y todo el ajuar que necesiten, adornos personales, y demás propiedades inherentes a su modo de vivir. Cuando estas necesidades se satisfacen por el momento, los Indios descansan y se divierten. El amontonar riquezas, el ahorrar para el futuro y cualquier acumulación de bienes que no sean para el disfrute cotidiano, ni siquiera se intentan. Sólo en este sentido pueden ser considerados como verdaderos vagos. Tomando en cuenta su standard propio y la abundante energía que despliegan cuando, con ese mismo standard, tienen una razón cualquiera de trabajar, resulta completamente injusto aplicarles en absoluto el calificativo de "haraganes".

Tampoco es cierto, dígase lo que se quiera de otros Indios, que los Kamarakotos asignen a las mujeres una proporción no equitativa de trabajo. La tarea del hombre y la de la mujer están, como regla, definidas muy claramente. Hombres y mujeres ejecutan faenas diferentes, efectuándolas a menudo en horas distintas, pero unos y otras rinden aproximadamente la misma cantidad de labor. Puede verse un hombre contemplando como una mujer trabaja, pero con igual frecuencia se ve una mujer cruzada de brazos ante un hombre atareado. También es digno de mención el hecho de que hombres y mujeres efectúen juntos trabajos, haciendo rara vez la misma operación, pero realizando partes integrantes de una faena común. Y aunque por regla general el hombre no haga la labor de la mujer, la hace en determinadas circunstancias. Por ejemplo, ningún trabajo más propio de la mujer que el cargar una criatura; y yo he visto un hombre que lo hacía para que su mujer, después de largo trecho, descansase.

Las características más importantes de la división del trabajo son las siguientes:

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HOMBRES

Tumbar árboles, desbrozar el terreno y la construcción efectiva de todos los edificios.

Preparar los conucos, sembrar y plantar.
Toda cacería y pesquería, excepto, en parte, la de barbasco.
Al pescar con barbasco, preparar el veneno y regarlo en el río.
Manufactura de trenzas y cordeles (curagua, moriche, etc.).
Manufactura de alpargatas.

Manufactura (y manejo) de todas las armas, aparejos de pesca, etc.

Todo trabajo de cestería.

Manufactura y uso de todos los instrumentos musicales (excepto adornos simples de cascabeles o maraquitas).

Todo trabajo de carpintería (bancos, curiaras, etc.).
Ayudar al cuidado de los niños.
Ayudar a transportar cargas pesadas (como en los viajes).

MUJERES

La mayoría de las faenas de recoger y transportar los materiales de construcción, aunque los hombres las ayuden en ciertos casos.

Cuidar las plantas, cosechar los frutos y llevarlos a la casa.

En la pesquería con barbasco, recoger el pescado, aunque los hombres colaboren con ellas a menudo después de terminar la propia faena.

Toda preparación de alimentos.

Manufactura de hilos y trenzas (algodón).

Manufactura de todos los tejidos de algodón; tirantes para cargar criaturas, pakaras, chinchorros, etc., así como toda costura de vestidos y adornos Europeos.

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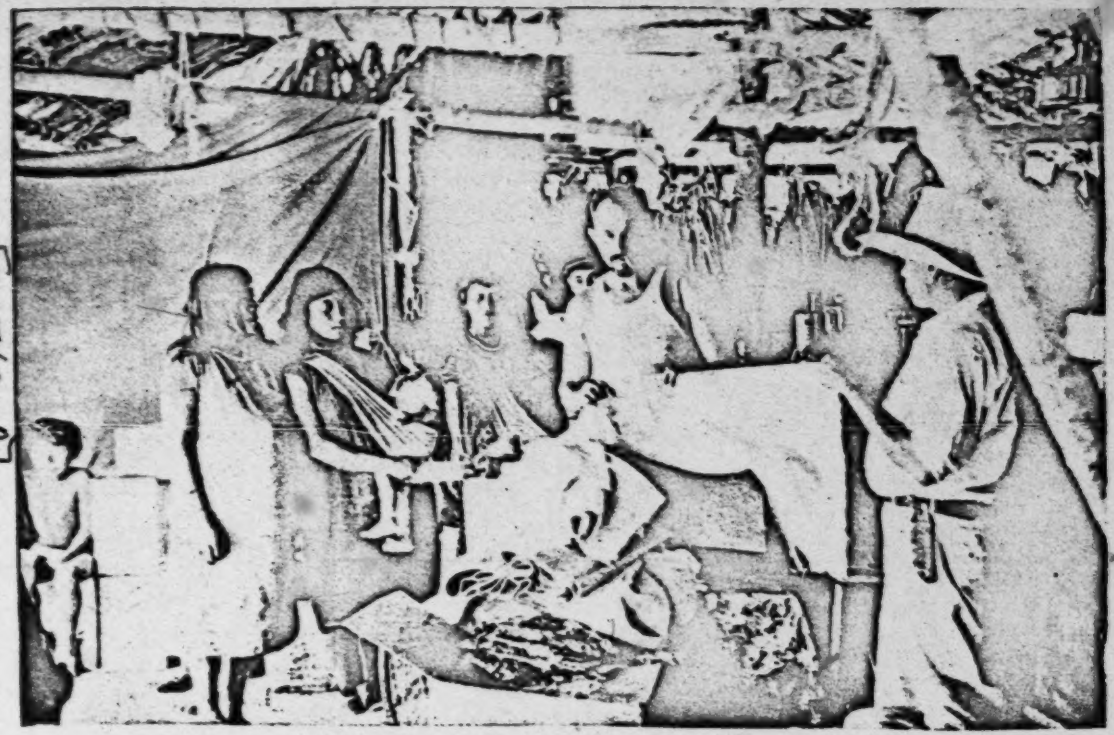

Ilust. Nº 74.—Mujeres Kamarakotas recibiendo tela en pago de su trabajo para la Expedición.

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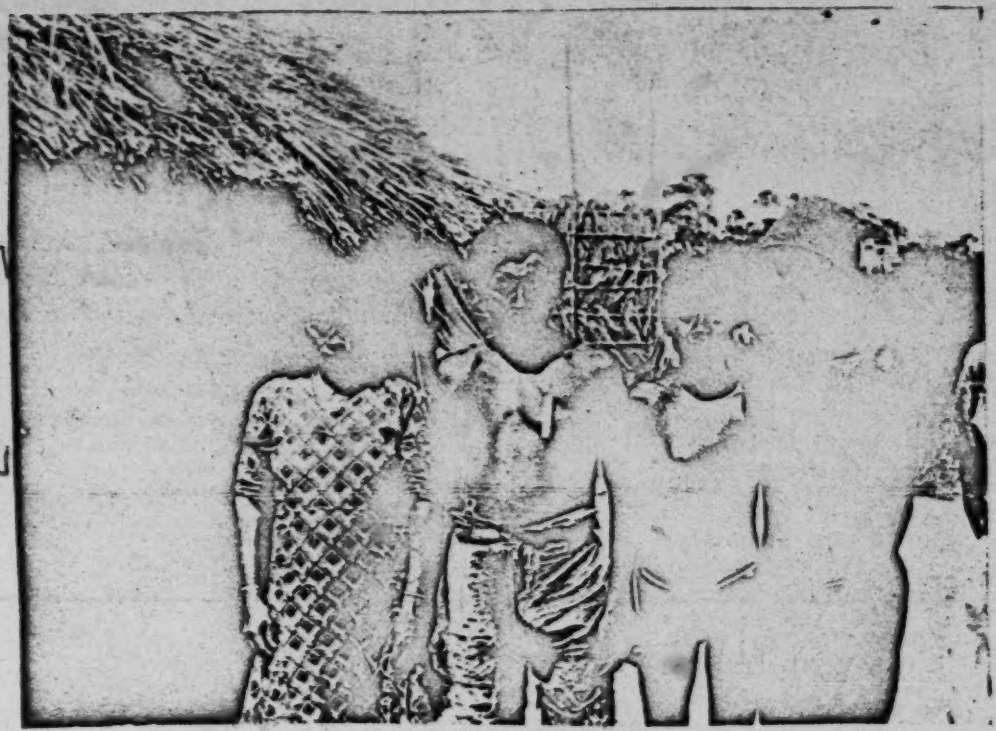

Ilust. Nº 75.—Piache Kamarakoto con su familia.
Un piache, su mujer y los dos hijos de ésta. De izquierda a derecha estos individuos son los Nos. 38, 39, 40 y 41 de nuestros apuntes detallados. Los dos muchachos son hijos de un matrimonio anterior de la mujer, habiendo sido adoptados por el actual marido. Esta familia vive en Benné, donde el marido (cuyo pseudónimo es "Lorenzo") es *to'-esa'*.

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Todo trabajo de cuentas.

Alfarería.

Casi todo el cuidado de los niños, el cual no es pesado, excepto el cargarlos con un tirante.

Buscar y cargar incidentalmente lo necesario para la casa (agua, leña, etc.).

Transportar la mayor parte de las cargas pesadas, muchas veces la parte del león (como en los viajes)

El censor de más prejuicios Europeos difícilmente podrá juzgar de manifiestamente desigual esta división del trabajo, la cual hasta tiene la base familiar Europea; en general, el hombre hace, defiende y abastece la casa, mientras la mujer la cuida. El único aspecto bastante peculiar, para ojos no-Indios, es el de que la mujer efectúe más de la mitad del transporte pesado, pero ya he dicho que el hombre está realmente dispuesto a prestarle ayuda en caso de necesidad, y el lector ha visto que los hombres hacen considerables trabajos, como el muy laborioso de la cestería, que pudieran creerse, a priori, labor femenina.

La pauta general de esta división del trabajo es típicamente Caribe, pero los detalles varían mucho entre tribu y tribu. Por ejemplo, sembrar y plantar el conuco lo hace aquí el hombre, siendo en otras partes labor de la mujer, mientras que aquí tejen los chinchorros las mujeres y acullá los hombres.

CONCEPTOS LEGALES

Propiedad.

Los Indios no son capitalistas en el sentido de que no tienen título permanente de propiedad efectiva, ni disposición personal de los medios de producción, ni riqueza acumulada ni hereditaria, ni derecho de propiedad sobre el trabajo del prójimo. Sin

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embargo, al propio tiempo, tienen un sentido muy real y vivo de la propiedad personal y en otros aspectos también su sociedad es decididamente anticomunista. Por regla general, lo que un individuo hace o usa es suyo. Cuando deja de usarlo, es bien mostrenco.

Así, pues, pudiera decirse que la tierra, en principio, pertenece a la tribu en común o que no pertenece a nadie, pero cuando un hombre desbroza un conuco o edifica un rancho sobre un terreno, este terreno es suyo. Nadie tiene derecho a usarlo, ni siquiera a entrar en él sin su permiso, mientras él lo ocupe, y sus productos son exclusivamente suyos, no teniendo obligación de compartirlos ni dividirlos. Sin embargo, cuando lo deja, no puede transferir a otro el título de propietario; la propiedad vuelve a la comunidad y el primer venido puede ocuparla y gozar de su usufructo. Lo mismo que con las tierras labradas sucede con las casas.

Pudiérase decir que tal propiedad pertenece al grupo de hogares o al *to'-esa'* como dirigente y representante de la comunidad. Otro caso especial y muy importante de tal propiedad es el de los derechos de pesca. De acuerdo con la costumbre, la cual, naturalmente, equivale a una ley no escrita, una vivienda asentada a orillas o en la cercanía de un río posee los derechos de pesca en él y en el trecho comprendido entre ella y la casa próxima. Estos derechos se mantienen con sumo rigor. Hasta el pescado que arrastra la corriente río abajo, no pertenece ya al pescador si éste no lo recogió en su agua. Claro está que varios o muchos hogares efectúan mancomunadamente el envenenamiento con barbasco, en trecho más o menos largo del río, repartiéndose la pesca entre todos, pero se hace solamente por invitación de quien posee el derecho en el agua aquella. La violación de este derecho se cuenta entre los agravios más serios que conocen los Indios, como lo indica el hecho de que la última guerra sangrienta, de la que conservan un recuerdo vivo aunque confuso, fué motivada, según dicen, por una de estas violaciones. Cuanto a la cacería, parece no haber derecho de propiedad.

La carencia de título formal de propiedad sobre las tierras, de acuerdo con el sistema legal Venezolano, no presenta por el

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momento problema especial, por cuanto se refiere al uso para edificar, labrar, cazar y pescar. No apremia tal región y actualmente no se muestra tendencia alguna a disputársela a los Kamarakotos, por más que un esquema de colonización como el que ya se ha propuesto puede presentarles repentinamente a los Indios un problema muy serio y acaso insoluble. Ya tienen, no obstante, conocimiento de las posibles dificultades respecto a los títulos de propiedad sobre los depósitos de oro de su territorio, aunque el metal descubierto hasta ahora no sea suficiente para motivar una invasión temible en aquella región remota. Su actitud razonada a este respecto tiende a establecer para el cacique el título de propiedad de las minas. Según reflexionan ellos, el cacique no es, sin embargo, un propietario personal, sino solamente un custodio que actúa en representación de todo el grupo, del mismo modo que la propiedad del hogar puede considerarse como perteneciente, en sentido vago, pero efectivo, al cabeza de familia, por más que todos los miembros de ella gocen libremente del usufructo. Existe aquí una analogía íntima con los bienes de la Corona en una Monarquía constitucional, donde, según la letra, el título de propiedad es del rey, quien, de hecho, es propietario tan solo porque representa al Estado, como entidad, siendo la propiedad comunal efectivamente.

Este carácter comunal de las minas que "pertenecen" al cacique se refleja en la práctica con el hecho de que cualquier varón adulto de la tribu tiene derecho a trabajar en ellas, siendo propiedad personal suya todo el metal que encuentre sin pechar nada en absoluto por concepto de canon de explotación, renta o tributo. Más aún: en caso de descubrir alguien una veta extraordinariamente rica, es costumbre que lo notifique a los demás miembros de la tribu, de modo que todo aquel que lo desee pueda compartir las ganancias.

Los bienes muebles tienen posesión más rígida que los raíces, y en este caso la propiedad se considera habitualmente como puramente personal y no comunal, ni siquiera en el sentido de que las tierras de una familia pertenecen a todos sus miembros y no específicamente al *to'-esa'* como individuo. Aquí predomina el principio de propiedad derivado de la manufactura, entre diferentes hogares, y del uso, dentro de un hogar. Así, la hamaca

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hecha por una mujer de un hogar determinado es propiedad del hogar y puede ser vendida a otro grupo por la obrera o por el *to'-esa'* como representante del hogar; pero si la hamaca se le asigna a un miembro determinado del hogar y éste la usa, es de su propiedad personal. Lo mismo sucede con las compraventas que se efectúan con otras tribus Indias o con Venezolanos: el negocio puede hacerse sobre base puramente personal o por el *to'-esa'* en representación del hogar, y la propiedad personal subsecuente recae en el individuo que usa el objeto o el material en cuestión.

Es digno de mención que en nuestro comercio con los Kamarakotos se puso de manifiesto, por ejemplo, que una cesta hecha, naturalmente, por un hombre, pero ya usada por una mujer, no podía venderse sin el consentimiento expreso de ésta, quien cobraba el precio o se beneficiaba con la transacción. Por otro lado, una cesta sin estrenar la vendía y cobraba al propio obrero. Las mujeres invierten por lo general el producto de su trabajo en objetos para ellas y sus muchachos, no para el marido. En cambio, es corriente que el hombre se haga pagar su trabajo en mercancías para el hogar, no para su personal disfrute. Entre los mismos Indios no es habitual la prestación de trabajo, pero cuando ocurre se retribuye, ya sea con trabajo igualmente o con mercancías como cestas y otros objetos de fácil trueque. Por ejemplo, un hombre puede contratar definitivamente los servicios de otro (no perteneciente a su hogar, porque todos los varones adultos de una casa están naturalmente obligados a colaborar sin estipendio) para que le ayude a fabricar su casa, y en cambio le hará una suma equivalente de trabajo o le dará una cantidad equitativa de víveres o artículos de comercio. Esta práctica lleva en sí los gérmenes de una diferenciación definida de clase entre quien proporciona el trabajo y quien lo ejecuta, pero la tal diferenciación no ha salido hasta ahora a la superficie. Hablando en términos generales no hay diferencia notable de riqueza entre los distintos hogares, y nadie puede llamarse patrono, siendo todos obreros.

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Delito y sanción.

De acuerdo con las declaraciones actuales, el antiguo código penal de la tribu, si es que puede denominarse así la solución del problema del delito de acuerdo con un procedimiento consuetudinario, indefinido y no escrito, reconocía solamente un crimen: el de ser indeseable sin remedio, y únicamente un castigo: la muerte. La sentencia de indeseabilidad de un miembro de la tribu se basaba en la perpetración de actos contra la comunidad, entre los cuales mencionábanse específicamente el homicidio injustificado, la violación de los derechos de pesquería y el latrocinio reincidente. Podía un hogar resolver sus propias cuestiones haciendo justicia a sus miembros, pero esto se tenía por inconveniente, y el procedimiento regular y por así decirlo verdaderamente legal consistía en someter la queja al cacique, quien juzgaba de su exactitud y gravedad, pero sin que al parecer se constituyese un tribunal formal, audiencia ni nada análogo. Si el cacique condenaba al delincuente, delegaba la función de ejecutarlo en un miembro o miembros cualesquiera de la tribu, aunque por lo regular fuesen los demandantes varones, llevándose a cabo la sentencia sin más formalidad ulterior en cuanto la ocasión se presentara.

Hoy en día, según dicen los Indios, los delitos ocurren tan rara vez que no hace falta un sistema regular de sanción. Es fácil de comprender que los delitos graves sean en extremo raros entre los Kamarakotos, tomando en cuenta la armonía pasmosa que los une. Ni cuando se embriagan disputan, y mucho menos se acometen y hieren. No obstante, son humanos y parece increíble que jamás se cometa entre ellos un crimen. De las respuestas sobre qué se haría en caso de ocurrir un delito grave, resulta evidente que el viejo código es tenido todavía por natural y justo; y yo no dudo de que se aplicase, y probablemente se aplica aún, de presentarse la ocasión. Específicamente se declaró que el homicidio no provocado y la violación grave de los derechos de pesca merecen pena de muerte, la cual sería administrada bajo la dirección del cacique, aunque también pudiera llevarse a cabo por el hogar perjudicado y a su propia iniciativa. El robo, por otro

lado, se considera actualmente en teoría (y probablemente también en la práctica, aunque no se citó ningún ejemplo concreto) como suficientemente compensado con la restitución forzosa de los objetos robados o con la indemnización equivalente, sin otra sanción. Ahora bien, dentro del grupo central, el robo tiene que ser raro necesariamente, pues determinaría la detención del ladrón casi en el acto (169). La pena de prisión, castigo no-Indio en absoluto, se desconoce entre los Kamarakotos, quienes tampoco aplican, según nos dijeron, latigazos ni hormigas bravas, sanciones conocidas entre otras tribus Caribes.

Como actos específicamente criminales de concebible perpetración, únicamente nos citaron el daño físico, el allanamiento de un derecho (particularmente el de las aguas de pesquería) y el robo. La cohabitación voluntaria entre no casados no es delictiva, ni siquiera reprensible, y el rapto y el adulterio no se conocen, según nos dijeron, declaración en extremo inverosímil, pero que no podemos refutar por carecer de testimonios en contrario. Ha de recordarse, no obstante, que recogimos rumores de que siquiera un viajero no-Indio fué ejecutado por rapto o seducción, pero después se desmintió la especie general y categóricamente, como era de esperarse, fuese el caso incierto o verídico. En tal cultura y comunidad, la mayoría de los delitos que constan en nuestros códigos son imposibles o casi imposibles: el fraude difícilmente puede prosperar, las deudas se contraen rara vez, y el pago inmediato resulta inevitable, y no hay allí impuestos, licencias ni ninguna de las innumerables causas prolíficas de delitos y desmanes comunes en culturas más complejas.

Acaso debamos también dejar aquí constancia de que, en los casos que presenciamos, los desmanes de menor cuantía co-

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(169) Nuestro campamento, con su desbordante abundancia de objetos apetecibles, mal guardados o no guardados en absoluto, debió representar una tentación irresistible para los ladrones; pero, en conjunto, la probidad de los Indios, sometida a prueba tan dura, salió incólume. Bien es cierto que algunos objetos pequeños fueron robados, aunque quizá apropiados fuese palabra más equitativa; pero en algunos casos, por ejemplo, tratándose de cartuchos disparados, los autores del hurto reflexionarían después sobre lo hipotético de su valor. En un caso, la queja al cacique determinó la restitución de un objeto que se apropió un Indio, quien explicó haberlo creído abandonado. Un solo objeto de valor, un lápiz de oro, nos desapareció para siempre.

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metidos por los muchachos no fueron castigados en modo alguno, habiéndosenos dicho que tal castigo no era necesario ni habitual.

COMERCIO

A juzgar por las condiciones presentes, los Kamarakotos no tienen ni jamás han tenido una economía de completo contenido propio. Es verdad que pudieran sustentarse y hasta vivir holgadamente con los productos de su propia región y de su propio trabajo, pero no menos cierto es que no lo hacen y que la necesidad de hacerlo significaría un cambio notable en su manera de vivir. Y esto tampoco se debe simplemente a que hoy usen algunos artículos y materiales no-Indios. También necesitan varios productos que obtienen de otras tribus. No cabe duda de que las tribus de las Guayanas en general tenían rutas mercantiles bien establecidas y un vasto sistema de comercio inter-tribual antes del advenimiento de los blancos. Este comercio florece todavía.

Todo comercio es de trueque, en la acepción más estricta. Las partes cambian normalmente los objetos que desean para su propio uso en un momento determinado, no aceptando artículos que pudieran servir de signo monetario para negocios ulteriores o guardarse para empleo futuro. El único progreso más allá de este tipo básico de intercambio consiste en que el trueque intermediario también se practica en cierta medida. Un Indio aceptará y hasta solicitará algo que él mismo no necesite por el momento, pero solamente si sabe que podrá endosárselo en oportunidad próxima a otro que lo necesita en cambio de algo que él desee adquirir (170). Ni el mismo oro puede ser considerado

(170) Cuando comenzamos a negociar con ellos, los indios no querían aceptar dinero, excepto algunas monedas pequeñas de plata que usan como adorno, y se quejaban de que una expedición anterior les hubiese pagado en dinero que no les era de ninguna utilidad. Cuando se enteraron eventualmente del valor (para nosotros) de la moneda Venezolana y pudieron gastar lo que tenían comprándonos artículos de valor efectivo (para ellos), aceptaron gustosamente el cambio. No era raro ese un trabajador Indio pidiese su paga en plata y volviese poco después a nuestra tienda para gastar todo el dinero en géneros comerciales que hubiese podido adquirir al principio y sin uso del dinero. Esto llegó a convertirse en un juego divertido para nosotros, excepto el cajero. (Véase Ilustr. 74).

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como signo monetario desde el punto de vista Indio. El oro es simplemente un producto natural que el blanco solicita y que puede negociarse por cosas que solicitan los Indios.

En el comercio estrictamente inter-tribual, los Kamarakotos no están muy favorecidos por el carácter de su propia habilidad, ya que producen pocos artículos susceptibles de cambio, aparte alfarería tosca y cestería de buena calidad. Pese al hecho de que todas las tribus hacen cestas, todas las negocian, aunque no haya muchas especialidades locales. Así, un Kamarakoto puede darle gran valor a una *o:apa* Maquiritare, no obstante sea completamente capaz de confeccionar él mismo una parecida o idéntica y que el negocio no le resulte notablemente ventajoso desde el punto de vista del trabajo que representa el objeto. Los artículos de alfarería son evidentemente más fáciles de negociar, porque se usan en todos los hogares y algunas tribus no los hacen, aunque los gastan.

En el curso de la última o de las dos últimas generaciones, el comercio Kamarakoto se fomentó mucho con sus actividades de intermediario para mercancías no-Indias. Durante algún tiempo los Kamarakotos cosecharon mucho balatá y todavía cosechan algo de sarrapia y oro. Estos no son objetos de comercio intertribual, pero pueden negociarse con los Venezolanos, directa o indirectamente, por mercancías no Indias. En medida menor, los chinchorros, cestos y otros artículos de manufactura indígena y algunos otros productos silvestres, como aves vivas, particularmente moriches, entran en el mismo comercio. En cambio de estos artículos manufacturados y productos silvestres, los Indios piden principalmente cuchillos, machetes, limas, anzuelos, rifles, municiones, abalorios y telas. La oferta de estos artículos siempre ha sido muy limitada y su demanda se ha hecho grande, pero los más esenciales de ellos, especialmente cuchillos, machetes y rifles, saturan rápidamente el mercado Kamarakoto, ya que con uno de ellos está equipado un hombre para muchos años, por no decir toda la vida. Sucede así que frecuentemente consiguen un pequeño sobrante de tales objetos, y todo sobrante se negocia inmediatamente con Indios más remotos todavía, particularmente los Maquiritares (incluídos los Maiongones) y sus vecinos. Los rifles y las municiones son apreciados, pero no se han convertido en

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artículo de primera necesidad. Hasta ahora las telas no eran necesarias sino en muy pequeñas cantidades, pero, con el incremento de la moda femenina de vestirse hasta los pies, son uno de los artículos más esenciales del comercio. Las cuentas de vidrio constituyen al propio tiempo un lujo y una necesidad, siendo todavía casi imposible para los Kamarakotos conseguir un sobrante negociable de ellas. Hasta ahora no las han adquirido directamente, de un mercado blanco, sino a través de los Arekunas de la Gran Sabana.

Los productos Indios más solicitados por los Kamarakotos son principalmente rallos para yuca, que ellos mismos pudieran fabricar, pero no lo hacen; curare, cuya preparación ignoran y para la cual acaso carezcan de materia prima, y cerbatanas. Unas veces importan la cerbatana entera y otras solamente el tubo interior, de una caña que no crece en su región. También importan todo género de retazos y accesorios, cestas, remos, etc., que hacen ellos mismos. Los perros también se mencionan como importación deseable de otros Indios, pero yo tengo la impresión de que este comercio no es considerable. Todos los objetos mencionados aquí se obtienen habitualmente de los Maquiritares (Maiogones), mercado principal de los Kamarakotos para artículos de consumo Indio y principal fuente India de importaciones.

No puede omitirse aquí un aviso dirigido a los futuros exploradores de esta región general. Algunos grupos de Indios, que han tenido ya el máximo contacto posible con negociantes y misioneros, conocen el valor de las monedas (no de los billetes de banco) y las aceptarán, pero la mayoría de los Indios todavía no. Los artículos de comercio más útiles, porque su valor para los Indios guarda sobre todo relación con el tamaño, y porque es difícil colmar el mercado con ellos, son los objetos pequeños como anzuelos, agujas y cuentas de vidrio. Las cuentas de vidrio han de ser pequeñas (dentro de un límite razonable, el valor de una cuenta está en razón inversa de su tamaño) y principal o completamente azules y blancas, ya que los otros colores se aprecian menos. Las telas deberán ser de color rojo vivo. Las de otros colores se aceptarán, pero únicamente en el caso de que no se consigan rojas. La comprensión India del valor de estos artículos está muy afinada y, aunque le deja amplio margen

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ganancial, no le permite al negociante poner precios exagerados, según su antojo. Sin embargo, algunas novedades de aspecto halagador pueden permitir beneficios enormes, porque los Indios ignoran su valor comercial—en la Guayana Inglesa le ofrecieron a Roth una vaca por dos sortijas que costaron 16 centavos; y cualquier viajero puede contar anécdotas iguales o más asombrosas todavía;—pero si el traficante no conoce el negocio, corre riesgo de no encontrar mercado alguno para sus "gangas" (171).

Como todo sér humano, los Kamarakotos, y los Indios Guayaneses en general, tratan de comprar barato y vender caro, y, poseyendo larga tradición mercantil, no es posible que se dejen engañar con artículos que no les sean familiares en absoluto. Actuando de acuerdo con instrucciones recibidas y por motivos encomiables, aunque contrarios a mi opinión personal como política prudente, nuestra expedición no regateó los precios con los Indios y fijó para su trabajo y sus productos, tarifas excesivamente altas; pero, probablemente, esto será temporal y el comercio futuro volverá a establecerse sobre bases más equitativas para ambas partes.

MAGIA Y RELIGION

Las actividades y creencias que pueden clasificarse como religiosas en el más amplio de los sentidos son con mucho las más difíciles de observar y comprender al estudiar una cultura ex-

(171) La literatura, especialmente la de viajes, en contraposición a la de estudios científicos, está plagada de ironías a costa de los Indios, porque ignoran el valor intrínseco de los artículos. Tales declaraciones son por lo general cándidas, ya que demuestran que es el viajero quien ignora el significado de "valor intrínseco". Excepto para joyas y otros usos que desconocen los Indios, el oro no tiene valor intrínseco. En nuestra civilización, pero no en la de los Indios, tiene un valor extrínseco como signo monetario de un valor efectivo que de por sí, intrínsecamente, no tiene. Cuando un Indio encuentra una pepita de oro —"sochano" que dicen en Venezuela— y lo cambia por una aguja, hace con mucho el mejor negocio sobre base de valor intrínseco, ya que obtiene algo que él no podría hacer, y que le es de suma utilidad, por algo que no le costó en realidad trabajo y que carece de valor para él, de manera que consigue algo por nada. Esto no obstante, no debe suponerse que todavía quedan Indios, allende los límites de la exploración intensa, que no tengan concepto más aproximado del valor (para el viajero) del oro u otros artículos de comercio regular.

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traña. Los mejores investigadores que han pasado años enteros con tribus Caribes no alardean de plena comprensión de sus ideas religiosas, siendo por tanto obvio que mis observaciones puedan ser superficiales solamente. Sin embargo, serán suficientes para mostrar el tipo general y la tendencia de tales credos entre los Kamarakotos, aunque dejen de tocar muchos detalles y problemas generales.

El sistema religioso Indio en general (y, a veces menos claramente, el de todas las religiones) puede clasificarse de manera aproximada, por un lado, como teístico, ritualista, colectivo y sacerdotal y, por otra parte, como animístico, no-ritualista, individual y exorcista. Los primeros conceptos son religiosos en sentido más limitado, en tanto que los segundos son predominantemente mágicos en contraposición a estrictamente religiosos. Una tribu determinada muestra corrientemente una mezcla de los tipos generales, a veces en un solo sistema inseparable, actuando los mismos individuos de sacerdotes y magos, y a veces en sistema dual, con las funciones sacerdotales y mágicas diferenciadas y delegadas en individuos distintos. Las religiones Caribes en general, y la de los Kamarakotos específicamente, son casi todas puramente exorcistas.

El piache

Como la mayoría de los demás Caribes, los Kamarakotos sólo tienen una especie de mediador con lo sobrenatural y éste es técnicamente un brujo, un médico, no un sacerdote. Llamaré a este individuo piache, nombre común en Español-Venezolano, derivado de un vocablo Caribe que en Kamarakoto es *Piatsan*. Hay cuando menos tres piaches en el grupo central de los Kamarakotos y, según dicen, hay varios más entre Indios más alejados, pero afiliados libremente a esta tribu. En su vida cotidiana, los piaches se distinguen apenas de los demás individuos. (Véase Ilustración 75). Sus presuntos poderes sobrenaturales no añaden prestigio particular en asuntos civiles y, a diferencia de la mayoría de los sacerdotes Indios (en contraposición a magos) no son

en la tribu poderosa fuerza política. La función del piache es principal y casi exclusivamente médica, pero su sistema terapéutico es espiritual o religioso, que no material. Como médico, el piache, deriva su poder, no de ningún conocimiento efectivo de diagnosis ni de tratamiento físico, sino de su habilidad para comunicarse con el mundo sobrenatural y controlarlo en cierto grado, o influir siquiera sobre él. Para desempeñar estas funciones el piache necesita conocer ciertos trucos físicos, no muy distintos de los que posee un medio espiritista en cualquier parte, y saberse de memoria varios ensalmos y rezos, la mayor parte cánticos, que los legos ignoran.

Para iniciarse en el oficio, el aprendiz debe ser aceptado como colega por un piache ya establecido, quien ha de iniciarle en los secretos de la profesión. Necesita ayunar largo tiempo, dos o tres meses seguidos, bebiendo únicamente agua y comiendo lo estrictamente necesario para no perecer, de manera que se queda en extremo flaco. Después de esta preparación, viene la iniciación propiamente dicha y en la que al parecer sólo toman parte el novicio y su mentor. Le dá éste a aquél una infusión de tabaco verde que ha de sorberse por la nariz. El novicio pierde el conocimiento y así permanece por espacio de varias horas, normalmente alrededor de medio día. El piache canta, estando el novicio inconciente todavía, o en "trance", hasta que termina por pararse y cantar también con el piache. Y cuando el iniciado vuelve en sí, ya es piache por derecho propio. Los detalles exactos de éste y otros procedimientos y el texto de los cánticos son secretos rigurosos que no conocía ninguno de mis informantes, siendo los piaches mismos completamente inabordables sobre el particular (172).

Piaimá, un sér o espíritu sobrenatural, fué quien inició, según dicen, a los primeros piaches en los misterios exactamente por el mismo procedimiento que hemos descrito para el noviciado del aprendiz. También cuentan que Piaimá es ahora visible corporalmente, pero sólo para los piaches, y que conversa con ellos y les da consejos. Aunque carezco de informes exactos so-

(172) Koch-Grünberg, quien parece haber penetrado más hondo que nadie en la religión Caribe, transcribe los textos de varios rezos mágicos en Taurepán, pero probablemente éstos serían del dominio público y no exclusivos de los piaches.

bre este punto, parece lógico y sumamente probable que la iniciación constituya una invocación a Piaimá, practicando también el piache en su presencia y con su colaboración siquiera algunos de los diversos procedimientos curativos. Sea como fuere, queda asentado que los piaches están en comunicación con Piaimá, quien es también su cooperador en cierto grado, pero que para los otros Indios, y no interviniendo un piache, es un espíritu en extremo peligroso, pudiendo presentarse en guisa de salvaje homicida. Así, pues, Piaimá es esencialmente malo, en realidad un demonio, y los piaches adquieren gran parte de su poder por el trato personal que tienen con este enemigo y por su habilidad para temperar su furia o encauzar sus actividades por buenos derroteros.

Teoría de la enfermedad.

Aunque no entraré en detalles al tratar este tema, digo que la teoría Kamarakota del origen de las enfermedades está tan inextricablemente enmarañada con la magia y la religión que es preferible resumirla brevemente. No es verdad que los Kamarakotos crean, como se ha dicho de varios otros Indios, y probablemente no es cierto en ningún caso, que todos los achaques y dolencias sin excepción son de origen sobrenatural. La relación manifiesta entre las mordeduras y picaduras de serpientes e insectos con sus efectos inmediatos (excluyendo, naturalmente, las fiebres perniciosas y otros efectos secundarios) se reconoce lógicamente. Todas las hinchazones y úlceras se achacan a esas causas, por más que esto no sea exacto. Nosotros no logramos averiguar, por ejemplo, si una úlcera se supone debida a una mordedura real, que no se advirtió en el momento oportuno, o es obra de un insecto o una serpiente del otro mundo. Aunque en esto no hay conocimiento claro de la causa, el catarro, la indigestión e indisposiciones parecidas (pero no la fiebre que ellas pueden engendrar) también suelen considerarse como consecuencias de hechos naturales, por más que en este caso tampoco estoy seguro de si tal opinión no es relativamente reciente. Para las dolencias que se creen de origen natural pueden aplicarse no obs-

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tante remedios espirituales. Así, las úlceras diz que se curan con una danza del piache. Sin embargo, también se usan comunmente para estos males remedios físicos, incluyendo varias hierbas, raíces y hojas aplicadas frescas, secas, asadas o cocidas sobre la parte dolorida o en infusiones; pero éste es un tema puramente médico que no cabe en mi informe.

Las enfermedades cuyas causas físicas no son evidentes, particularmente fiebres de todo género, se consideran de origen francamente sobrenatural. Por lo general, los causantes de estas enfermedades son los *kanaimaton* (plural de *kanaima*).

Kanaima.

El concepto de *kanaima*, común por así decirlo, a todos los Caribes, con algunas variantes de nomenclatura, es difícil de asir. No obstante su aparente disposición absoluta a hacerlo, los Kamarakotos no lograron darme una definición concreta y clara de *kanaima;* y ésta parece haber sido la experiencia de todo investigador cuyo interés fuese más que superficial y no se agarrase al clavo ardiendo de que un aspecto cualquiera del *kanaima* equivale a su descripción completa. (Casi toda la literatura sobre el particular ha sido sumariada por Roth, y Koch-Grünberg agrega algunas observaciones interesantes al hablar de los Taurepanes). Evidentemente el concepto que los propios Indios tienen del *kanaima* es muy complejo y más bien vago. El hecho básico es que el *kanaima*, como tal, es hostil (vale decir que no es *kanaima* con respecto a una persona a quien no hostiliza) y que por medios sobrenaturales causa casi todas las enfermedades y casi todas las muertes.

Un kanaima puede ser una persona de carne y hueso, pero entonces no daña por medios físicos, sino solamente mágicos y su enemistad es habitualmente secreta. Los Kamarakotos niegan que en su tribu haya *kanaimaton*, aunque indudablemente tiene que haber varios desde el punto de vista de las otras tribus. Algunos Maquiritares son *kanaimaton* para los Kamarakotos, y los

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Indios malos o perversos, naturalmente de tribus enemigas o siquiera, extrañas, son tenidos por tales corrientemente.

En este aspecto, las actividades de un *kanaima* son las típicas de un monstruo humano. Los Kamarakotos niegan que haya o, cuando menos, que ellos conozcan, rezos especiales o maniobras mágicas para hacer daño, pero tal mentís es inevitable, desde luego que la confesión de tal conocimiento suscitaría la peligrosa sospecha de que quien lo posee es un *kanaima*, como luego se vería obligado a confesar. Informes poco precisos indican que otras tribus conocen estas tretas. Así, un Taurepán le dijo a Koch-Grünberg que ciertos *kanaimaton* Makuchis meten esputos de sus enemigos en un tubo de bambú y los usan como proyectil mágico para causar la muerte; y esto encuentra analogía exacta en la brujería Europea. Es sumamente probable que la negativa a revelar los nombres verdaderos, según hemos visto en los Kamarakotos, se deba siquiera en parte a la creencia de que este conocimiento puede emplearse para dañar al así llamado; y que el recelo excesivo que los Indios nos mostraron en este respecto indica que no estaban muy seguros de que no fuésemos *kanaimaton*.

Algunos *kanaimaton* son animales y pueden tomar figura de hombre; o, si son hombres, pueden aparecer como animales. Aquí el concepto cae en el complejo extendido mundialmente del hombre-fiera (como el "werwolf" de los folkloristas), pero aun en este caso, el daño no se infiere, como sucede con los monstruos humanos de la fauna supersticiosa de otros Continentes, por vía física, sino solamente sobrenatural.

No hay distinción precisa entre un *kanaima* que sea una persona de verdad y otro que no lo sea. Un *kanaima* tenido por persona verdadera puede no serlo efectivamente. Así, los Kamarakotos creen que en las selvas de sus alrededores existen Indios de carne y hueso que son *kainamaton*, aunque éstos probablemente existan tan solo en la imaginación Kamarakota. Otros *kanaimaton*, por más que aparezcan, si es que lo hacen, con figura humana, son reconocidos como seres sobrenaturales y no realmente humanos. Otros son espíritus que pueden materializarse en casi todas las formas imaginables; y hay otra categoría más de *kanaimaton* completamente invisibles e informes, seres sobrenaturales o bien

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representantes de una potencia ultraterrena que difícilmente puede concebirse como posesora de individualidad o personalidad. Ni siquiera estas distinciones indefinidas parecen estar establecidas muy claramente en la mente de los Indios.

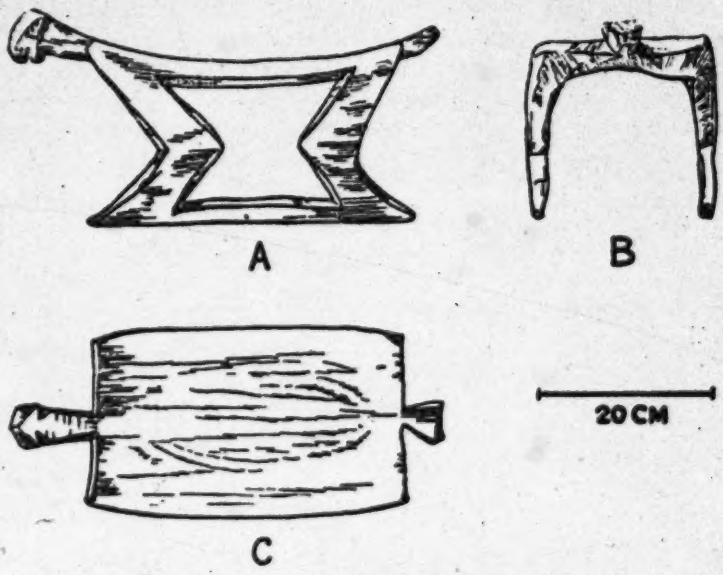
En sentido más amplio, *kanaima* es el principio de los males del universo y sus manifestaciones son infinitamente proteicas y esencialmente indefinibles. Es un ente que se aproxima al *mana* de los Polinesios. (Véase el análisis de Karsten, el cual, sin embargo, no incluye una comprensión explícita de aspectos más específicos del *kanaima* Caribe).

Cualquier cosa inesperada, un ruido, una luz, una rama que cae, un ave poco corriente, una sombra repentina, puede arrancar el grito de *kanaima*, palabra que está constantemente en labios Indios, ya sea por terror o bien por chanza. En general, cuanto les sorprende y cuya causa normal y lógica no pueden explicarse en el acto es *kanaima* y esto tiene relación obvia con su miedo efectivo a espantarse y con sus esfuerzos por evitar que el pánico cunda.

Pero esto tampoco agota la descripción del *kanaima*, puesto que incluye también verdadera posesión del espíritu. El *kanaima* o un *kanaima* puede entrar en el cuerpo de una víctima y permanecer en él, especialmente en el pecho, causando fiebre y hasta la muerte si no se exorciza.

Esta posesión del espíritu está esencialmente relacionada con las funciones del piache al contrarrestar los efectos de los *kanaimaton*, ya que médicamente su papel más importante es el de exorcista. Afortunadamente no ocurrió ningún caso durante nuestra permanencia en Kamarata, pero el procedimiento general de exorcismo me fué explicado fidedignamente por testigos oculares Indios. El piache hace una infusión de tabaco verde y se la sorbe por las narices hasta ponerse completamente ebrio. Luego pega un brinco descomunal y desaparece. Mis informantes no tienen idea de adonde va, pero esto ocurre siempre en el interior de un rancho y por la noche, estando los fogones bajos o apagados, y es de suponer que el piache trepa por las vigas y se esconde en el soberado. Pasado cierto tiempo, reaparece y se sienta en su banco. Este banco, llamado *murei*, no es como los ban-

cos ordinarios, *apanoi'*, sino más alto y tallado en forma de animal (Ilust. 76). Tiene el piache en ambas manos fajos de varitas y rollos de hojas con los que golpea de vez en cuando el suelo, cantando al mismo tiempo (173). De repente, lo envuelve un nimbo luminoso. (Mis testigos dicen que este círculo de luz no lo ve



Ilust. Nº 76.—Banco de Piache Kamarakoto.
mureí típico, labrado en un solo bloque de madera.

nadie, excepto el piache, quien les haría la confidencia). Luego aparece el *kanaima*, sentado sobre el pecho de la víctima. (Tampoco ésto lo ve nadie, sino el piache). Se oye un rezo: el piache le pide al *kanaima* que abandone su presa. El piache le trasmite al doliente la contestación del *kanaima*. Si es afirmativa, sanará dentro de dos días. Si es negativa, morirá fatalmente.

(173) Nunca se ha consignado aquí que el piache use maracas y, como quiera que esta es costumbre casi general en todos los Caribes, temí haber omitido un punto importante. Sin embargo, ahora me entero, por la autoridad indiscutible de Koch-Grünberg, de que los piaches Taurepanes tampoco usan maracas; y esto debe de ser cierto también de los Kamarakotos.

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Los Kamarakotos creen que los piaches han conseguido ya limpiar más o menos completamente de *kanaimaton* los alrededores de Kamarata, aunque todavía quedan algunos en la región y abundan aún en la Gran Sabana. Las guaridas favoritas de los *kanaimaton*, al menos en los aledaños de Kamarata, son las selvas y esta es la razón principal de que los Kamarakotos se muestren muy renuentes a construir sus viviendas en los bosques y titubeen al atravesarlos, lo cual no suelen hacer con frecuencia.

Aunque los *kanaimaton* desempeñen importante papel como instigadores teóricos de dolencias físicas, también es cierto que la creencia en éllos produce enfermedades serias y hasta mortales cuyo origen es completamente psíquico. Un Indio que gozaba habitualmente de salud perfecta, se cree de pronto atacado por un *kanaima;* se acuesta en el chinchorro y niégase a incorporarse y a tomar alimento; cae en un estado de absoluta indiferencia; se recluye dentro de sí mismo, no haciendo caso de lo que sucede en su torno; y frecuentemente se le desarrolla una fiebre alta. Si el piache no consigue exorcizar al *kanaima*, su víctima fallece de esta enfermedad que empezó siendo psíquica (pero, naturalmente, efectiva en absoluto) y que termina tan fatalmente como si su origen hubiese sido físico.

No es que yo crea la anécdota que voy a contar, pues me parece completamente inverosímil el acto presunto del sacerdote, pero la repito porque los Kamarakotos la tienen por verídica y porque arroja un poco más de luz sobre este tema sombrío. Dijeronme que un misionero residente en una tribu vecina le mandó cierto día a un Indiecito a un conuco aislado en la selva, y después se fué él mismo por un atajo, escondiéndose cerca del conuco. Cuando llegó el muchacho, el sacerdote gritó desde su escondite. Fué una agresión mortal, actuando el misionero como *kanaima*. El muchacho llegó despavorido a su casa, se acostó en el chinchorro, subióle la fiebre y estaba a las puertas de la muerte, cuando el sacerdote se decidió a confesar su falta, salvándose el muchacho, ya libre de la influencia maléfica. Yo personalmente no presencié ningún caso parecido, pero algunas de las enfermedades misteriosas que me relataron los Indios parecían no envolver causa física posible, y las declaraciones de testigos no-Indios dignos de crédito, viajeros por tierra de Kamarakotos y varias otras

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tribus afines, no dejan lugar a duda sobre la ocurrencia efectiva de tales casos (174).

Otra magia médica y similar.

Aunque el piache es el brujo y el médico, el uso de la magia no se limita a él exclusivamente. Hay algunos rezos que no son de propiedad personal y que pueden ser recitados por la víctima o sus parientes y amigos aunque éstos no los juzguen al parecer realmente eficaces en casos graves o cuando con toda seguridad anda de por medio un *kanaima*. Koch-Grünberg suministra el texto de varias de estas oraciones entre los Taurepanes. Algunas de ellas se refieren al nacimiento, la pubertad y otros acontecimientos físico-críticos y constituyen una especie simple de ceremonial médico que tiene implicaciones mágicas, pero que realmente no puede llamarse religioso. La idea de invocar seres sobrenaturales, aspecto esencialmente religioso de las actividades de los piaches se encuentra aquí muy atenuado o casi ausente.

Hay también danzas médicas que son análogas a estas simples plegarias y se denominan genéricamente *ɑɑmba*. La más común es la *oköyima-ɑɑmba*, "danza médica de la serpiente grande", que resulta eficaz para mordeduras y para úlceras, las cuales, en teoría, son mordeduras enconadas. Para esta danza no hay atavío especial, excepto collares de cuentas, y, a diferencia de lo que sucede en las danzas sociales, los hombres y las mujeres bailan en grupos separados. La danza empieza al anochecer y sigue hasta que amanece.

(174) El siguiente incidente notable me fué contado por la señora María Angel, quien lo presenció durante una de sus visitas anteriores a la tribu. Uno de los muchachos empleados en el campamento fué asaltado por un *kanaima* y se acostó en el chinchorro para esperar la muerte. No hacía caso de nada ni a nadie, hasta que Mrs. Angel dijo en su presencia, por boca de un intérprete, que si se quería morir, lo hiciese pronto, pues ella no lo iba a tener toda la vida en el campamento, y que iría por la escopeta y, si el muchacho estaba todavía en el chinchorro, lo mataría para que así acabase de sufrir de una vez. Mrs. Angel llegó con el rifle, el muchacho saltó del chinchorro y echó a correr completamente curado. Como quiera que los Indios mueren efectivamente a consecuencia de los ataques de los *kanaimatos*, esta anécdota no debe tomarse como prueba de que tales ataques son fingidos.

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También hay una danza de piache, llamada *mari*, que puede bailarla todo el mundo, bajo la dirección de un piache, quien canta y grita. No pude enterarme de ningún significado religioso especial de esta danza, pero la presidencia del piache (tomando en cuenta que las danzas sociales las dirige el cacique o cualquier *to'-esa'* competente) hace suponer que tiene o tuvo en principio tal carácter particular.

Es probable que la mayor parte de las danzas tuviera antiguamente algún significado mágico, si es que no surgieron definidamente como ritos mágicos, o religiosos. Así, las canciones de la *parichara* dadas en otras páginas, tienen todo el aspecto de conjuros de cacería. Sin embargo, los Kamarakotos de hoy me informaron que las danzas (excepto la *remba*, por supuesto) no tienen en absoluto para ellos significado utilitario, mágico ni religioso, y que las bailan por puro placer. Ciertamente no son tratadas como si encerrasen algún sentido místico ni tienen traza de ritualismo verdadero.

Apartando la medicina, la magia no figura en proporción importante en la vida Kamarakota, por más que también hay una magia cinegética. La típica cacería mágica con una *maraka* y un conjuro cantado aparece en la leyenda de Maichak que transcribimos más adelante (el episodio del segundo instrumento mágico que le robó Maichak a un cachicamo (armadillo). Es razonable suponer que esto representa una magia que antiguamente empleaban los mortales, pero los Kamarakotos la han heredado simplemente como parte de la tradición y no hacen uso de ella. Usan sin embargo, dos medios muy curiosos, aunque típicamente Caribes, de magia para aumentar la eficacia de la cacería. Consiste uno de ellos en introducirse un guaral de fibras de moriche trenzadas en una de las ventanas de la nariz, empujándolo con el dedo hasta que pase a la boca. El otro de los medios mágicos es levantarse el pellejo de los brazos y después restregar en la escarificación una planta machacada, llamada *kumi*, la cual se cultiva a veces especialmente para este objeto. Los cazadores de nuestra expedición desmintieron rotundamente que ninguna de las dos brujerías cinegéticas fuese en verdad eficaz.

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Ideas religiosas y generales.

La mayor parte de los mitos, inclusos los varios que forman juntos la leyenda de Maichak, según la presentamos en esta monografía, abundan en sucesos y seres sobrenaturales. En este sentido, y también en el de que comportan explicaciones de fenómenos naturales y de la creación del mundo, incluyen ideas relacionadas habitualmente con la religión. Sería, no obstante, erróneo suponer que forman o asumen la existencia de algún cuerpo coherente o fijo de doctrina religiosa. Son meramente tradiciones, leyendas poéticas si se quiere, en las cuales lo pasmoso se da por natural.

Se cree firmemente en la existencia de espíritus, la mayoría maléficos, de los cuales el más típico e importante es Piaimá. Piaimá y los *kanaimaton* están todavía muy arraigados en la mente de los Indios. Se cree que existen varios espíritus más, pero en ellos se piensa rara vez y pocos Indios conocen sus nombres siquiera. Por simple que fuese la teología de la tribu antiguamente, parece haberse esfumado en su mayor parte, no quedando de ella más recuerdo que el inherente a la vida cotidiana de los Kamarakotos, es decir, lo relacionado con las enfermedades y los infortunios. Los rezos, o una forma cualquiera de comunicación con lo sobrenatural, parecen haberse olvidado si existieron, excepto en lo que hemos dicho al hablar de los piaches.

En este sistema rudimentario y probablemente degenerado, la desgracia se explica adecuadamente por *kanaima*. El mal y el pecado no se consideran al parecer sobrenaturales o innaturales y no tienen relación evidente, moral o ética, de religión con la vida de los Indios, lo cual indudablemente puede llegar a explicar (o al menos guarda correlación al respecto) su existencia despreocupada, feliz y, en cierto sentido, sin culpa. Los Indios no necesitan cargar ningún fardo de pecado original. Consideran que la felicidad es el estado normal del hombre y que por ella no les son debidas gracias a los poderes de las alturas. No supe que tuvieran dioses ni ceremonias para la siembra ni la cosecha, lo cual no deja de ser curioso en un pueblo agricultor.

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Tampoco conseguí ninguna declaración concreta de doctrina indígena respecto al alma y la vida del más allá, pues lo que me contestaban corrientemente los Indios era "No sabemos nada de esas cosas" o bien "Nunca he pensado en éso".

Un informante me dijo que, "los Indios salvajes e ignorantes", es decir, quienes no eran como él, solían creer en la supervivencia de las almas, tanto de las personas como de los animales, y que el lugar donde las almas seguían viviendo era *la casa de Dios;* pero que "los Indios inteligentes", o sea, quienes eran como él, no sabían si esto era cierto o no. La idea pseudo-Cristiana de la supervivencia en la mansión divina probablemente indique que ésta no es declaración fidedigna de credo indígena, como lo desmintió el mismo informante al adjudicársela a los salvajes.

Se ven algunos ligeros rastros de influencia Cristiana, pero éstos no han afectado significantemente la mentalidad ni la vida del pueblo y no pueden considerarse como causa de degeneración del credo indígena. Los dos o tres Indios que hablan Español adquirieron con este idioma el conocimiento de la existencia de la religión Cristiana y muestran cierta tendencia a que los visitantes crean que esta Doctrina es conocida y reverenciada allí, principalmente porque piensan que es aditamento indispensable de civilización y les disgusta ser tenidos por incivilizados. Uno o dos individuos afirman haber recibido el Bautismo, lo cual es verosímil, ya que vivieron en ciudades Venezolanas, y hasta tener hijos bautizados, no por sacerdotes sino por los mismos indios, cosa no probable. Eran sin embargo incapaces de explicar ningún punto de la doctrina Cristiana, ni siquiera el significado del Bautismo, y yo no pude averiguar si este conocimiento iba más allá del aspecto superficial de Sacramento y del reconocimiento de la Cruz como símbolo Cristiano. Una mujer cuando menos poseía una medalla piadosa, que portaba como otras moneditas de plata y que parecía no tener para ella significado mayor. Sobre las tumbas aparecían varias cruces, y otra frente a la vivienda abandonada de un difunto. En la pared de barro de una choza vimos cruces rayadas al azar, al lado de varios garabatos profanos. Parece haber una actitud receptiva respecto al Cristianismo y seguramente no se le presenta hostilidad, pero esto se debe sin

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duda en gran parte a que los Indios no se dan en absoluto cuenta del antagonismo existente entre esta Religión y su actual modo de vivir y manera de pensar. Por ejemplo, al menos uno de los que se manifiestan más deseosos de la introducción del Cristianismo está casado felizmente con varias mujeres.

A juzgar por el aspecto actual, su propia religión es casi completamente arritualista. No implica ningún culto verdadero, ni sacrificios, ni ofrendas, ni iglesias, ni altares, ni imágenes ni otros objetos sagrados, nada que tenga carácter esencial de funciones o ceremonias religiosas, ni de consagración efectiva, ni invocaciones propiciatorias, excepto algunas actividades de los piaches que pueden ser consideradas como tales si se juzgan con criterio liberal. El contraste con las religiones Indias eminentemente ritualistas y teísticas de los Andes, México y muchas partes de Norte América no puede ser mayor.

Entierro.

Las maneras de inhumar los cadáveres son habitualmente muy reveladoras respecto a las creencias religiosas, y, aunque las de los Kamarakotos, en la medida que yo las conozco, son menos de lo usual, se mencionan aquí lo mejor posible. Como quiera que tuvimos la fortuna de que ninguno de los Indios muriese durante nuestra permanencia en Kamarata, mi conocimiento se basa en el exámen de las tumbas (175) y declaraciones de los Indios sopesadas y comprobadas en cuanto a su veracidad. Aquí, las normas "progresistas" de varios "líderes" están surtiendo un efecto definido y es necesario distinguir cautelosamente entre las viejas costumbres y las actuales tendencias.

Un *to'-esa'* (cabeza de un grupo familiar) todavía se entierra frecuentemente en su casa y es probable que así fuera enterrado invariablemente en tiempos pasados. Así es como el antiguo propietario-fundador del hogar aparece inhumado en su abandonada

(175) He de advertir que no las abrí, porque esto seguramente les hubiese dolido a los Indios, cuya amistad era más esencial para mi trabajo que este leve conocimiento adicional de la muerte.

vivienda de Uruyén y he indicado en el plano su tumba (Ilust. 6 A). Esta tumba está construída con palos y barro, alzando del suelo como unos 50 centímetros y calculo que su profundidad bajo tierra deba de ser igual aproximadamente. La superestructura es rectangular y mide alrededor de un metro cuadrado. Dijéronme que el cadáver está sentado en cuclillas, lo cual concuerda con la forma peculiar de la tumba. Nadie excepto el *to'-esa'* es enterrado dentro de la casa y, como la casa se desaloja siempre en cuanto muere su dueño, nadie vive en una casa que contenga una tumba. Sin embargo, esta tumba (u otra cualquiera) no infunde al parecer miedo, ni tampoco la casa, en la cual se entra libremente si se presenta ocasión.

Aparte los *to'-esa'*, se entierra a la gente en desplobado, aunque no muy lejos del lugar, y todo caserío suele tener un trozo de sabana que sirve de cementerio, por más que nada indique su presencia, exceptuando las tumbas. Antes enterraban a todos en cuclillas (posición fetal), aunque no metidos en urnas, tinajas ni cestos. Ahora es común el entierro en posición supina, pero es reflejo de la influencia "progresista". En cada fosa se deposita un cadáver solamente. A veces se entierran con el cuerpo del difunto varios de sus objetos personales, pero ello no es usual ni obligatorio. Los demás miembros del hogar continúan usando los objetos del muerto, o los abandonan y puede recogerlos el primer venido. Las tumbas en la parte afuera de la vivienda, como las descritas en una de ellas, se revestían y se techaban antiguamente con palos y barro, de manera que la tierra que se iba amontonando encima no tocara el cadáver, pero por lo general no sobresalían del piso. Este revestido y techado de las tumbas todavía suele hacerse, pero ya no es invariable. Algunas de las viejas viviendas con tumbas en el interior habían sido pasto de las llamas, pero ello debióse, según parece, más a la casualidad o a un mero accidente de la quema de las sabanas, que a una práctica ritual que ciertamente no se considera necesaria.

Había antes la costumbre de desenterrar los huesos después de un año más o menos, limpiarlos y guardarlos en un cofre o cesta, pero tal hábito se desechó hace mucho tiempo y no vimos ningún vestigio de él.

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Aunque el cadáver se deposita en la tumba, ni siquiera se intentaba marcar ni conservar el sitio sino hasta muy recientemente. Ahora se levanta a veces una cruz. En el cementerio de Uruyén hay dos, y una tumba (de enterramiento supino) tiene dos palos amarrados con un bejuco. Son éstas tentativas evidentes de copiar los entierros vistos en las aldeas de Venezuela, según las versiones de los dos o tres individuos viajeros de la tribu. Claro está que no hay inscripciones en las tumbas y que nadie las cuida. No hay culto de difuntos, ni en las tumbas se depositan ofrendas.

NOCIONES DE TIEMPO

Los pocos Indios que hablan Español y están relativamente avanzados tienen cierto conocimiento del calendario Europeo y del sistema de contar el tiempo, por lo cual hablan a veces de meses, horas y otros conceptos que nada tienen de Kamarakoto. Es evidente sin embargo, que aún esos individuos no saben a ciencia cierta en qué año vivimos ni conocen exactamente las horas ni los meses. El grueso de la tribu ignora todavía totalmente estos conceptos extranjeros que carecen de uso práctico para los pocos que se dan cuenta de que existen. Los Kamarakotos no tienen un sistema definido de cronometría. Reconocen y designan la hora del día por la altura del sol y hablan de amanecer, de mañana, de tarde y de anochecer, como nosotros cuando no tenemos reloj, pero carecen de subdivisiones fijas del día. Cuentan los días apenas por los cortos intervalos que tienen importancia para ellos, pero no llevan un registro permanente o contínuo. Parecen, por ejemplo, no tener idea de cuántos días entran en el año y por lo general no saben precisar ni remotamente los días transcurridos desde un acontecimiento que data de más de una o dos semanas.

Es probable que no reconozcan ninguna unidad de tiempo entre el día y el año. Nuestro intérprete hablaba a veces de meses, pero yo no pude cerciorarme de que los Indios observasen

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los cambios de luna ni se sirviesen de ellos para determinar las fechas, aunque puedo estar equivocado en este particular. Los Kamarakotos conocen naturalmente el año como la sucesión de una temporada lluviosa y otra seca, y en el intervalo de las dos estaciones suelen distinguir bien la posición relativa. Por ejemplo, pueden predecir casi exactamente el cambio de estación y saben cuándo han de madurar los diversos frutos, florecer los árboles, poner las aves, etc. No llevan cuenta seguida de los años y casi no perciben los lapsos largos, aparte expresiones como "Cuando yo era joven", "En tiempos de mi padre", "Cuando Fulano hizo su casa", etc., etc. Ningún Kamarakoto sabe a ciencia cierta su edad ni la de sus hijos. Hasta tratándose de niños chiquitos, el recuerdo de cuyo nacimiento debiera estar todavía fresco en la mente de sus padres, las declaraciones referentes a la edad eran con frecuencia manifiestamente absurdas.

En resumen, los Kamarakotos parecen huérfanos por completo de todo sentido, sistema, terminología o registros cronológicos de que no suelen carecer en absoluto los seres racionales.

Suelen presentarse no obstante ocasiones en que un cálculo exacto de los días transcurridos es absolutamente esencial; y entonces recurren los Indios a un tipo primitivo de cordel de contar, el cual, interesantemente, muestra la primera fase del desarrollo del "quipo" complicado de los pueblos Andinos. El quipo Kamarakoto consiste en una cuerda, habitualmente un trozo de torcido de algodón, en la que se hacen nudos. No hay diferencia entre los nudos, cada uno de los cuales representa un día. Los nudos tienen dos usos: restar y sumar. En el primero de los casos se cuentan los días que van transcurriendo hasta un acontecimiento esperado, por ejemplo, el regreso de un viaje o el punto requerido de fermentación del kachirí. Entonces se hacen tantos nudos como días tienen que pasar; y cada día que pasa se deshace un nudo. Así, cuando se desata el último nudo, es que ha llegado la fecha esperada. Para sumar, el quipo empieza no teniendo ningún nudo, haciéndose uno cada día que pasa, de modo que al completarse de anudar el quipo se sabe cuántos han transcurrido desde el comienzo. Este sistema se usa, por ejemplo, para contar la duración de un viaje (*a posteriori*) o las jornadas de trabajo, (algunos de los peones empleados en nuestro campa-

mento presentaban quipos al hacer la cuenta, pagándoseles de acuerdo). Este método primario es susceptible de ampliación hasta convertirse en calendario permanente y contínuo, pero entre los Kamarakotos no se ha desarrollado hasta ese punto ni mucho menos. Una vez transcurrido el corto lapso de una quincena, cuando más veinte días, la cuenta se interrumpe y el quipo se desecha.

Los quipos de restar también sirven para las invitaciones. Por ejemplo, un *to'-esa'* que se proponga dar un baile o cualquier otro convite social, calculará los días necesarios para la preparación y el número de invitados a quienes puede atender. Hecho el cálculo, tomará tantos cordeles como invitados (más uno para él mismo) y en cada uno de ellos hará tantos nudos como días falten hasta el convite. Después, enviará a cada uno de los invitados su quipo, haciéndole saber de palabra con el mensajero el motivo de la fiesta y el lugar donde ha de celebrarse. Cada invitado irá desatando un nudo cada día y en la fecha indicada estarán todos reunidos. Estos quipos de invitación se ven frecuentemente guindados de las vigas en las casas.

Nordenskiöld (1930, Mapa 3) demostró que los quipos se encuentran generalmente en todos los Andes, en el Norte del Amazonas y hasta en la Colombia Británica. Se encuentran también en la mayoría de las tribus afines de la Kamarakota, incluyendo los Taurepanes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (Im Thurn), Kaliñas (Hildebrand) y otros, pero no siempre se sabe claramente si son de sumar o de restar.

Los conceptos relativos a la numeración ya se resumieron adecuadamente en capítulo anterior.

BAILES Y DIVERSIONES

La diversión favorita y más típica de los Kamarakotos es una asamblea báquica, *etaripan*. El anfitrión prepara una cantidad asaz considerable de *kachirí* o *paiba* e invita a numerosos

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huéspedes, dándoles un plazo prudencial para que se dispongan y reunan. Comenzada la orgía, continúa sin interrupción día y noche (176), hasta que la bebida se acaba. Suele durar ésto, por lo regular, dos o tres días, aunque a veces una semana entera y más aún. Participan en la orgía, sobre pie de igualdad, hombres, mujeres y niños, aunque éstos y algunas mujeres son relativamente sobrios en la libación. Las bebidas, agradables cuando se toman moderadamente, resultan nauseabundas con el gran trasiego, y es corriente que los convidados se mareen al cabo de ronda y ronda, vomiten, y luego vuelvan a empezar. Los bebedores que pierden el conocimiento se acuestan en el suelo o en un chinchorro, mientras dura el abasto, hasta recomponerse. Estas libaciones ciclópeas carecen de atractivo para el observador sobrio, pero rara vez dan margen a desmanes violentos o disputas y riñas que serían inevitables en orgías de tal calibre entre gentes más "civilizadas", y que suelen ocurrir en otras tribus Caribes, según cuentan los viajeros.

Un convite de estos Kamarakotos va acompañado casi invariablemente de bailes, puramente sociales en el propósito, lo mismo que las reuniones báquicas. La música es por así decirlo contínua y no cesa mientras quedan danzantes en pie.

Danzas.

Hay alrededor de una docena de danzas especiales. Algunas se reservan para ocasiones determinadas, pero en una orgía larga suelen interpretarse siquiera dos y habitualmente varias, seguidas o alternas.

La danza más común es la parichara, que, con variaciones, se baila en toda esta parte de Sur América y hasta en algunas tribus no Caribes. Puede bailarse a cualquier hora del día o de la

(176) Huelga decir que todos los individuos duermen a ratos, pero siempre hay algunos despiertos, haciendo alarde casi permanente de gazaate y euforia.

noche, llevando acompañamiento de tambores y trompetas (*kamai*) y canto, pero no de flautas. Algunos o todos los hombres portan un atavío especial, el *parichara-pon*, que consta de una corona, *aro'* y un faldellín, *imaripadai*, de hojas de *maripada*. Cuando nosotros presenciamos esta danza, únicamente el cacique, que la dirigía y llevaba el canto y la música, portaba el *aro'*, pero muchos de los varones tenían el *imaripadai*. Las mujeres también participan en esta danza, no usando atavío uniforme, aunque habitualmente se adornan con escarapelas de algodón tejido que se ponen en el pelo y de las cuales penden sartas de borlitas y otros colgantes a lo largo de la espalda. Cada persona baila por separado, pero la mujer de un *to'-esa'* o varias mujeres suelen acompañar al "solista" y los dos sexos no aparecen divididos ni cada uno de ellos hace determinado paso de la danza, por más que los tocadores son exclusivamente hombres. También los músicos bailan y no se ponen aparte como en una orquesta.

La danza resulta monótona para el observador, repitiéndose indefinidamente el "leit-motiv" sin variaciones notables, con una simple sucesión de compases largos y cortos. En el compás largo se da un paso levantando una pierna bien estirada (por lo regular, aunque no siempre, la derecha) y en el compás corto se da un salto rápido con el otro pie. El cuerpo se mece hacia adelante y hacia atrás siguiendo el ritmo, lo cual hace que el faldellín de los hombres se mueva de un modo que recuerda la "hula" Polinesia o el "bumping" del "American burlesque". Todo el grupo danza en procesión, haciendo ruedas irregulares de uno a tres individuos, dando vueltas en sentido contrario y deteniéndose de cuando en vez o retrocediendo algunos pasos. Como todas las danzas, ésta se efectúa bajo techo, en una casa de las oblongas, si bien no está prohibido salir al aire libre y bailar alrededor de la casa.

Se entonan diferentes canciones para esta danza y la improvisación tampoco está excluída. Entre los Kamarakotos, cuando menos, todas las canciones tienen por tema invariable que los danzantes representan o imitan a los báquiros, suponiéndose que las trompetas *kamai* remedan el gruñido de estos animales. Ofrecemos tres versos de una canción de *parichara*:

(1) *woto woto waire paökɔ uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi.*

Del animal, del animal el grito imitando ya vine, ya vine, ya vine, ya vine

(3) *poi:nimo waire paökɔ uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi*
Del báquiro el grito imitando..... etc.

(3) *tauka:namo waire paökɔ uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi*
Del báquiro salvaje grito imitando..... etc.

Cada verso se repite tres veces y, terminada la estrofa, el cantador vuelve al primer verso o al segundo, siguiendo así hasta cansarse.

Aquí tenemos otra canción de *parichara*:

(1) *iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ*
Como un animal he venido de visita

(2) *poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ*
Como un báquiro he venido de visita

(3) *wöyöpüi iyekuni pöyukɔ ade-polumɛ*
Caminando por las laderas de los cerros he venido de visita (177).

También esta canción se repite "ad libitum" verso por verso.

Cuando por fin termina la danza, los tocadores de *kaimai* alargan una nota fuerte y el cantador grita *tuwɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ*, estirando la última vocal hasta que acaba con un hilo de voz. No se trata de un vocablo, sino de una simple interjección convencional de placer y satisfacción por el baile (178).

Roth (1924, páginas 477-478) transcribe una canción de *parichara* (probablemente Makuchi y con toda seguridad Caribe, aunque no lo hace constar) que amalgama las ideas de las dos que he copiado, aunque con diferentes palabras y en otro orden.

(177) Esta versión es libre, nó literal. El lenguaje de estas canciones, no obstante el hecho de que puede incluir alguna improvisación, no es corriente, sino "poético", probablemente arcaico, y no resulta muy claro ni para los mismos Indios. La precedente traducción expresa el sentido de las palabras según las entienden los Kamarakotos.

(178) En lenguaje prosaico el equivalente sería una expresión parecida a *estimbo daí*, "estoy satisfecho, contento".

También incluye la canción de Roth alusiones que significan al parecer flautas o carrizos que los Kamarakotos no usan en la *parichara* ni se mencionan en sus canciones para esta danza.

Estas canciones tienen parecido pronunciado con los conjuros cinegéticos y dijérase que toda la danza es una pantomima de cacería mágica, pero los Kamarakotos no la interpretan así ahora, considerándola como mera diversión.

Aparte la *parichara*, la danza más corriente es la del *tukiii'*, (Ilust. 77), literalmente colibrí o tucusito en Venezolano, la cual se ejecuta habitualmente, aunque no siempre, entre dos *parichara*, como nosotros alternamos un valse y un fox-trot. Para bailar el *tukiii'*, los danzantes se quitan el *parichara-pon* y no se ponen otro atavío, por más que pueden llevar el cuerpo pintado de negro y blanco (179). También se baila a cualquier hora del día o de la noche y con los instrumentos usados para la *parichara*, más flautas, carrizos o ambas cosas. El ritmo es más simple todavía que el de la *parichara* y casi invariablemente 1-2, y el paso es ligeramente resbaladizo y cadencioso.

Una danza menos común (y que yo no ví personalmente) es la del *warepan*, que se baila solamente por la tarde. Los danzantes están embadurnados desde los tobillos hasta la cabeza con onoto (colorante vegetal rojo) y envueltos, de manera que no aparece muy clara en las descripciones, en una tela de algodón.

Las danzas *ware* y *katoi'* se bailan solamente por la noche sin vestido especial.

La danza *mari* la dirige, a la vez que canta, un piache y está considerada como una "danza de piache", pero la baila todo el mundo en reuniones sociales. Por otro lado, las diversas danzas *oemba* son estrictamente medicinales.

Caracteriza las danzas el canto de los hombres, pero no se limita al sexo masculino ni a estas ocasiones. Las mujeres tam-

(179) La canción Makuchi que transcribe Roth hace referencia a la pintura blanca —de tiza—, la cual es evidentemente esencial para la danza de su forma más primitiva o clásica, pero en todas las danzas Kamarakotos todos estos requisitos pseudo-rituales ya no son obligatorios y frecuentemente se omiten. Bastede lo mismo hasta con el *parichara-pon*.

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bién cantan a menudo mientras trabajan, así como al adormecer a los niños, etc.

Otros pasatiempos.

Bailar y beber son las diversiones favoritas de los Indios, pero no las únicas ni mucho menos. Algunas actividades productivas, particularmente la pesquería con barbasco, son reuniones tan alegres que más parecen juego que trabajo. También hay juegos verdaderos que suelen reemplazar o, generalmente, completar la danza, aunque la bebida sea insustituible. De tales juegos, el favorito es una combinación de carrera y lucha que suele coronarse con *kachirí* y, frecuentemente, baile. Se da la salida en un punto determinado, a cierta distancia (puede ser a varios kilómetros) de la casa donde les espera a los contendores una gran batea de bebida. Aquí, en la meta, se sitúan otros hombres y cuando llegan los corredores bloquean la entrada de la casa, empezando entonces la lucha. Si un corredor consigue abrirse paso sin ser derribado al suelo, entra y toca la batea. Acto seguido, las mujeres que están en el interior de la vivienda, le derraman sobre la cabeza una buena ración de kachirí—trofeo deportivo bastante singular. Luego vienen las rondas generales.

La lucha (Ilust. 78) es el deporte favorito de hombres y muchachos, pero es muy distinta de la greco-romana. Un contendor le pasa a su rival el brazo por la cintura, y sin cambiar de postura, trata de tumbarlo o arrodillarlo a sus pies. El presunto campeón no debe hacer presa el primero, sino defenderse solamente del "challenger", considerándose vencedor si no cae al suelo.

La natación, el gran deporte de los muchachos, se menciona en otro capítulo.

Los niños se dedican generalmente a las mismas ocupaciones que las personas mayores, sólo que, en vez de hacerlas en serio, las hacen jugando, como nosotros hacíamos casas de chiquitos. El juego, así, es un verdadero aprendizaje en todas partes, pero aquí más que en ninguna, pues los niños imitan en pequeño los objetos que usan los grandes. Por ejemplo, el primer juguete de

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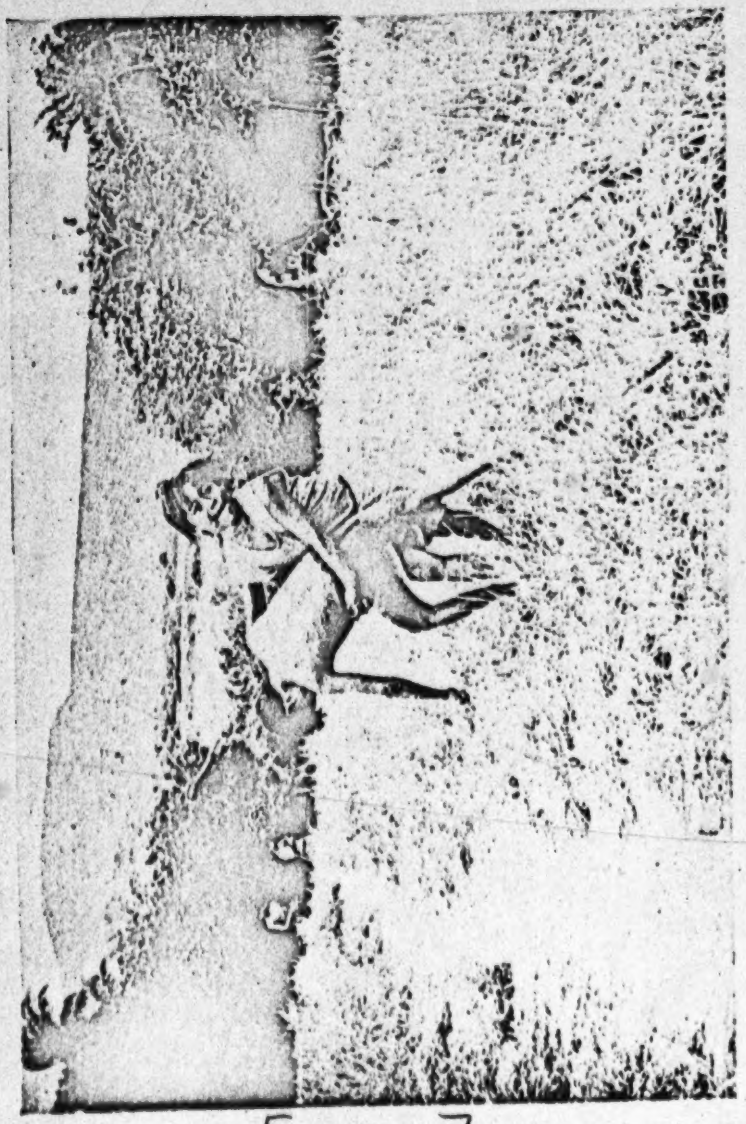
Ilust. Nº 77.—Danza Kamarakota.
El tocador de tambor y otro varón participante en la danza *tukgi*. Este es el tambor mostrado en la Fig. 68.

[p. 574-A]



Ilust. Nº 78.—Lucha de Muchachos Kamarakotos.

[p. 574-B]

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un indiecito es un arco con sus flechas de miniatura (Ilust. 79). Algunos muchachos dan muestra de mucho ingenio imitando armas, herramientas, etc. (180).

Los Kamarakotos hacen *cat's-cradles* (figuras de cordel), pero yo no apunté ninguno como no ví ninguno de estos dibujos que no estuviese ya en las colecciones Makuchis o Akawais (véase especialmente Roth, cuya compilación esmerada de estos muñecos *de cuerda* incluye cuanto yo ví entre los Kamarakotos).

(180) Un mozalbete de Uruyén construyó un modelito de avión notablemente bueno, incluso con sus ruedas giratorias y una hélice que daba vueltas con el viento. No logré averiguar si había recibido ayuda o inspiración de alguna persona mayor y "progresista", y él afirmaba haberlo hecho solo y por propia iniciativa, pero esto me parece casi increíble y no lo registro como verídico.

[p. 576]

MITOLOGIA

Como todos los Indios, los Kamarakotos tienen un acervo considerable de mitos y leyendas. No obstante, es probable que estas leyendas y mitos estén muriendo ya, desde luego que muy pocos miembros jóvenes de la tribu parecen conocerlos a fondo ni tener mayor interés en ellos, excepto como si fuesen cuentos cualesquiera. Indudablemente, algunos de ellos se recuerdan todavía con exactitud, pero nosotros no tuvimos tiempo sino para recoger textualmente uno solo (181). Se trata de un ejemplo típico, representativo, y se presta excelentemente para ilustrar las características de la mitología Kamarakota y sus probables orígenes y afinidades.

Puedo garantizar la exactitud y la autenticidad del texto que doy aquí, a despecho de las dificultades lingüísticas y de otro género. Me contó la leyenda Antonio Montesdeoca, durante cuatro sesiones, el mes de marzo de 1939. Hizo el relato Antonio, valido no solamente de su memoria, sino ayudado por las versiones más o menos análogas de otros miembros numerosos de la tribu, varios de los cuales estuvieron presentes en las cuatro sesiones y con quienes consultó meticulosamente todos los puntos dudosos. La leyenda, en conjunto, fué traducida al Español, por Antonio, pero algunos pasajes los transcribí yo en Kamarakoto como fueron recitados por él o por los circunstantes. La leyenda íntegra la escribí en Inglés y luego, del Inglés, vertí el todo al Es-

(181) Como verá el lector, esta leyenda o mito se compone de varios relatos completamente distintos a los que da llación el mismo protagonista.

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pañol, y así, párrafo por párrafo, se lo leí a Antonio, quien escrupulosamente me corrigió todos los puntos que no estaban de acuerdo con el texto Kamarakoto (182). Conviene advertir que el mismo original varía según quien lo cuente, por más que el sentido sea invariable, y este procedimiento garantiza que en la presente versión se ha conservado íntegramente.

Leyenda de Maichak (183)

Maichak era un indio que vivió hace mucho tiempo en lo que hoy llamamos Kamarata. Por aquel entonces, los hombres vivían siglos y siglos. Cuando Maichak se hizo hombre, cumplidos los veinte años, no sabía hacer nada. Ni siquiera sabía lo que sus cuñados. No sabía cazar, ni pescar, ni tejer, y, como era tan ignorante, era muy pobre. Hasta no cumplir los cuarenta años no lo supo todo. Solía ir de pesquería y de cacería sin llevar nada consigo, ni arco, ni flechas, ni barbasco, ni redes.

Un día que salió a pescar, cuando tenía alrededor de treinta años, tampoco pescó nada, como de costumbre, porque no sabía cómo se atrapaban los peces ni tenía con qué hacerlo. En esto, un hombre salió del agua y le dijo a Maichak:

—Qué te sucede, Maichak? Por qué no pescas nada?

—Estoy muy triste—contestó Maichak.—No puedo pescar porque soy muy ignorante.

—No te apures—dijo el hombre del río.—Te voy a dar una taparita (184), pero no se la enseñes a nadie, porque la perderás.

—Y qué tengo que hacer con la taparita?—preguntó Maichak.

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(182) Es interesante saber, porque dice de su propia comprensión e insistencia en el valor de la exactitud completa, que el mismo Antonio me pidió este procedimiento, negándose a seguir el relato hasta no convencerse de que yo lo había comprendido todo y bien.

(183) Hemos adoptado esta ortografía por ser la mejor transcripción no técnica del nombre maicha.

(184) Frasco pequeño de calabaza, usó en Kamarakoto.

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—Pondrás en ella agua del río. Entonces, el río se secará y podrás coger todos los peces. Pero ten mucho cuidado; no la llenes del todo, sino sólo hasta la mitad, porque, si la llenas, se derramará el agua y se inundará todo el país.

Maichak hizo lo que le mandó el hombre del río, y así cogió muchos peces. Todos los hombres y mujeres, su suegra, su suegro y sus cuñados se decían el uno al otro:

—Cómo habrá podido coger este tonto tántos peces?

Siempre que Maichak iba de pesca solía llevar consigo a su hijo. Le enseñó el empleo de la taparita, pero advirtiéndole que no se lo dijese a nadie. Y así pasaron unos cuantos años.

Todo el mundo quería saber cómo se las arreglaba Maichak para coger tantos peces. Un día, la familia intentó averiguarlo. Le invitaron a la casa, diéronle de beber kachirí y paiba hasta emborracharlo, y después le preguntaron cómo era que cogía tantos peces. Pero, ebrio y todo, Maichak nada dijo.

Un día, el cuñado de Maichak le llamó aparte a su sobrino, el hijo de Maichak, y en el bosque, donde nadie los veía, le preguntó cómo era que pescaba su padre.

—Mi padre tiene una taparita—le dijo el muchacho a su tío,—pero está escondida.

El tío contestó:

—Bueno, vamos a buscarla porque necesitamos pescado para comer en casa.

Y así fué como el hijo de Maichak le enseñó a su tío dónde estaba escondida la taparita y le explicó la manera de usarla, advirtiéndole que no la llenase del todo, sino hasta la mitad. Lo hicieron así. El río se secó, y cogieron muchos peces y se los llevaron a la casa para hacer una buena comida. Cuando Maichak vió que llegaban con toda aquella pesca, les preguntó cómo la habían cogido, y su hijo le contestó que con la taparita.

Otro día, el hermano más pequeño del cuñado se fué a pescar con el hijo de Maichak cargando la taparita. Dijo:

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—Vamos a llenarla hasta arriba. Así cogeremos más peces.

—Eso, no—replicó el sobrino—mi padre me dijo que nunca debía llenarse más de la mitad.

Pero el tío la llenó del todo. El agua se derramó e inundó todo el país. El tío botó la taparita. La arrastró la corriente y se perdió.

Maichak se puso muy triste. Durante meses y meses buscó y rebuscó la taparita, pero no volvió a encontrarla. Ahora que no tenía la taparita, no podía coger un solo pez. Solía ir de caza y de pesca, pero siempre volvía con las manos vacías.

Un día, Maichak estaba cazando en la selva. Se encontró con un cachicamo (185) que hablaba como una persona. El cachicamo cargaba una maraca (186) en la patica y entonaba una canción.

La canción era ésta:

taka: naimo poi: nimo maraka i sakauma-nöi
"De salvaje báquiro la maraca yo toco"
("Yo toco la maraca del báquiro salvaje")

sakauma-nöi, sakauma-nöi
"Yo toco, yo toco".

El cachicamo repitió la canción tres veces. Después se paró sobre las paticas de atrás; tocó la maraca otras tres veces; y se metió en su cueva. Inmediatamente apareció a todo galope una manada de báquiros (187), pero como Maichak no tenía con que cazarlos, regresó a casa vacío.

A Maichak se le puso en la cabeza que tenía que conseguir la maraca para poder cazar báquiros, de manera que volvió a la selva para quitársela al cachicamo. El cachicamo asomó la cabeza por su cueva y se puso a entonar su canción, mientras Maichak

(185) Nombre venezolano del armadillo. Se trata aquí de la especie que se llama en Kamarakoto, *eisipomo*.

(186) *maraka*, en Kamarakoto, el instrumento musical común a todos los Caribes.

(187) Pecarí grande, llamado en Kamarakoto *pojipo*. El pequeño, chácharo de Español-Venezolano, es *pakira*.

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lo apuntaba con una flecha. Cuando el cachicamo terminó la canción sacó la patica de la cueva, empuñando la maraca para sonarla. Entonces Maichak pegó un brinco y le quitó la maraca. En cuanto la tuvo en la mano, empezó a tocar, pero los báquiros no acudían al reclamo. El cachicamo salió de su cueva para ver quién le había quitado la maraca.

—Por qué me quitaste mi maraca?—le preguntó el cachicamo a Maichak.

—Porque la necesitaba—contestó Maichak.—Quiero cazar báquiros con ella.

—Está bien—dijo el cachicamo—Ya la tienes, pero te voy a dar un consejo. Tenías una taparita y la perdiste, de modo que no pierdas la maraca. Si te arrodillas en el suelo o si te encaramas en una mata y tocas la maraca más de tres veces, los báquiros vendrán y te quitarán la maraca.

Maichak regresó a su casa.

Un día salió de cacería. Había armado un parapeto entre las ramas de un árbol y allí tenía guardada la maraca. Aquel día trepó al parapeto y entonó tres veces la canción del báquiro. (Aquí se canta como antes). Después tocó la maraca otras tres veces. Acudieron los báquiros y mató cuatro, cinco o seis con su flecha. Escondió su maraca y regresó al rancho con la caza. Su cuñado le preguntó cómo había cazado tántos báquiros.

—Ah, querido — contestó Maichak — tuve que caminar bastante!

Su cuñado no creyó que Maichak hubiese ido a cazar tan lejos.

Por este tiempo murió el hijo de Maichak (188).

Un día, Maichak fué a cazar y su cuñado le siguió para ver cómo conseguía tántos báquiros. Maichak se encaramó en su parapeto y el cuñado le oyó cantar y tocar la maraca. Después, se marchó. Maichak trajo al rancho aquel día como cinco báquiros.

(188) Esta muerte nada tiene que ver con el relato. Se trata de una declaración entre paréntesis de las varias que hacen los Indios, agregando un detalle circunstancial sin razón aparente.

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El cuñado de Maichak se fué a la selva, cogió la maraca de Maichak y entonó la canción del báquiro. Después tocó la maraca cuatro o cinco veces. Se presentó una manada de báquiros y más báquiros, y rodearon al cuñado de Maichak y le quitaron la maraca. Cuando Maichak volvió a su parapeto, vió que había desaparecido la maraca. La había perdido lo mismo que la taparita.

Pasaron días y días.

Maichak no sabía hacer sebucanes (189) ni cedazos (190), pero sus cuñados, sí. Un día los cuñados le dijeron que fuese con ellos a un lugar que se encontraba a dos días de camino. Cuando llegaron allí, preguntaron:

—Quién quiere quedarse aquí y hacer un sebucán y lo demás que necesitamos para cocer casabe?

—Yo—contestó Maichak, aunque no sabía hacer un sebucán ni lo demás que se necesita para cocer casabe.

—Está bien,—dijeron los cuñados—pero hazlo todo lo más pronto que puedas. Nosotros vamos a cazar y por la tarde volveremos con báquiros, de manera que las mujeres tienen que tener ya cocido bastante casabe para cuando regresemos (191).

Los cuñados se fueron de cacería. Maichak se dirigió a coger fibras (192) para hacer el sebucán y las otras cosas. Salió después del desayuno y volvió a eso del mediodía. Ya tenía las fibras preparadas, pero no sabía tejer un sebucán. Así, pues, nada podía hacer. Las mujeres habían rallado ya la yuca (193) y esperaban el sebucán y el cedazo para preparar la masa del casabe. Los cuñados llegaron con cuartos de báquiro.

—Dónde está Maichak?—preguntaron a las mujeres.

—Se fué a hacer un sebucán—contestaron las mujeres.

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(189) *tanpöl.*

(190) *pangaf.*

(191) La confección de sebucanes y tamices (labor de costura) es trabajo de hombres y por esto se le encomienda a Maichak. La elaboración del casabe es tarea femenina.

(192) Tiritas, *manare* en Kamarabote.

(193) *kiaura.*

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

Mandaron a un muchacho en busca de Maichak. Tenían mucha hambre.

—Hiciste el sebucán?—le preguntaron a Maichak.

—No, no sé cómo hacerlo—contestó Maichak.

—Entonces, por qué lo intentaste?—le replicaron. Y se enfadaron mucho y maltraron a Maichak.

Los cuñados hicieron un sebucán en cosa de dos horas.

—Muy bien—dijeron—Ahora te vamos a dar tu merecido.

Dicho y hecho. Le amarraron a Maichak las manos y los pies, lo colgaron a lo largo del sebucán y después lo ensartaron en una vara y lo remataron. Pero Maichak resucitó y se puso en pie.

Los cuñados y Maichak emprendieron el camino de regreso con los báquiros. Maichak les dijo, que fuesen delante y que él iría detrás; y ellos dijeron que estaba bien. Maichak se fué entonces con su mujer a cazar báquiros y mató algunos. Luego le dijo a su mujer:

—Tu familia me maltrató y ahora voy a vengarme de tí.

Le mató a su mujer, saló su cadáver y lo puso en el parapeto donde había salado los báquiros. Después hizo un mapire (194) muy grande; y metió en él el salón de su mujer y el de los báquiros: y se los llevó al rancho de sus suegros. La suegra le dió un poco de casabe y algunos ajíes (195). Le daría tres o cuatro ajíes chiquitos nada más. Luego le preguntó a Maichak:

—Quieres comer ahora mismo?

Maichak contestó:

—No, quiero bañarme primero.

Maichak fué a bañarse, y su suegra cogió el mapire y sacó

(194) *ahaf*. El uso de esta especie de mochila está ahora reservado casi exclusivamente para las mujeres entre los Kamarakotos, siendo notable que en algunas tribus afines sean los hombres quienes carguen todavía el *ahaf*, como Maichak.

(195) La clase pequeña, llamada *polapahaf*.

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la carne y vió que una parte era carne de su hija. Se espantó, chilló y los cuñados corrieron en busca de Maichak para matarlo. Pero Maichak se escondió en la selva.

Maichak partió un pedazo de casabe, cortó por la mitad uno de los ajíes, puso las dos cosas en la rama más baja de una mata y le dijo al casabe:

—Tú me dirás si pasan por aquí mis cuñados.

Más adelante, partió otro pedazo de casabe, cortó por la mitad otro ají e hizo lo mismo con las dos cosas. Llevaba caminada como media legua en la espesura del bosque, cuando oyó que el casabe daba gritos, pero no supo que se lo llevaba un pájaro.

—Viene gente—se dijo Maichak.

Se metió en una curiara que estaba amarrada en la orilla de un río, pero no sabía remar. Como lo arrastraba la corriente, un pájaro le dijo con su canto:

—Agarra el canalete; agarra el canalete!

Otro pájaro, éste era un chupacacao (196), le advirtió de que sus cuñados le seguían todavía. Maichak remó durante dos días río abajo, hasta que desembocó en un río más ancho. Siguió remando diez días, hasta que llegó al manantial. Cargaba un mapire chiquito con yucas, cambures y toda clase de plantas y semillas. Se detuvo, hizo un rancho, sembró un conuco y vivió allí él solito.

Piaimá, un hombre-fiera que vive en los cerros y en los bosques y que nadie puede ver, no siendo piache, porque para todos los demás Indios es invisible, se le acercó a Maichak y le enseñó a hacer sebucanes y toda clase de tejidos. Así que Maichak aprendió muy bien a tejer y hacer todas las cosas de los hombres, de un modo que vivía muy feliz.

Mientras no cogió la primera cosecha del conuco, se alimentaba con frutos silvestres. Después pudo comer casabe. Cuando se obstinó de comer casabe solo salió de cacería y mató un

(196) Andon-bodon en Kamarakoto. No se dijo de qué especie eran las dos aves anteriores.

venado. Al día siguiente, mientras comía asado, pensó en lo solo que vivía. Se dijo:

—Voy a cazar vivo al rey (197) de los zamuros para que me haga compañía.

Maichak salió del rancho y mató una danta. Entonces se untó todo el cuerpo con grasa rancia, y, cuando la danta empezó a podrirse, se tendió a su lado haciéndose el muerto.

Llegaron los zamuros a comerse la danta y el hombre, y entonces Maichak le agarró al rey de los zamuros (198) y se lo llevó al rancho. Le daba de comer carne y vivieron varios días juntos. Maichak salía de cacería antes de salir el sol y regresaba al anochecer. Encontraba en el rancho la cena ya preparada. Casabe, kachirí y otras cosas de comer y beber. Pero allí sólo estaba el zamuro. La verdad era que durante el día el zamuro se convertía en persona y hacía todas aquellas cosas, y por la noche se volvía zamuro otra vez.

Maichak preguntó:

—Quién puede hacer el casabe y el kachirí?

Un día, Maichak dijo que iba de cacería y que no estaría de regreso hasta después de anochecido, pero se presentó en el rancho a eso del mediodía y vió que una mujer muy bella estaba haciendo casabe, kachirí y otras cosas. Maichak preguntó:

—De dónde viniste?

La mujer contestó:

—Soy la reina (199) de los zamuros y vivo aquí contigo.

Vivieron juntos mucho tiempo y la reina zamura se quedó como mujer.

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(197) Al emplear las palabras de "rey" y "reina" (abajo) me limito a copiar lo que Antonio Montesdeoca, mi informante, dijo en Español. Debía ser "princesa", porque se trata de la hija del rey; y los términos indios de "cacique" o "hija del cacique" son naturalmente más propios; pero, como digo, no quiero apartarme de la versión de Antonio.

(198) Según se demostró más tarde no era el rey, pero la leyenda se cuenta aquí desde el punto de vista de Maichak.

(199) Véase la nota 197.

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Un día, la reina zamura dijo:

—Quisiera verle a mi papá. Vamos a su palacio.

Y le llevó a Maichak al palacio de su padre. Cuando llegaron a la puerta del rey de los zamuros, cuyo nombre era Atitó (200), ella le dijo a Maichak:

—Quédate aquí, que voy a preguntarle a mi papá si quiere recibirte.

Cuando llegaban curiosos a visitar al rey de los zamuros, éste los mataba a todos y se los comía. La reina zamura le dijo:

—Te traigo un yerno que se llama Maichak (201).

El rey zamuro dijo:

—Muy bien, mi hijita; vamos a ver qué carácter tiene.

La reina zamura salió a la puerta, y le dijo a Maichak que entrase, y se lo presentó a su papá. El rey zamuro dijo:

—Está bien. Si Maichak es buen trabajador, puede quedarse. Pero, si no lo es, me lo comeré.

Para probar a Maichak, el rey zamuro lo mandó a secar un lago. Era un lago muy grande, el mayor de todo el mundo, y Maichak tenía que secarlo en un día y coger muchos peces para que se los comiese el rey zamuro. Tenía que hacer toda la tarea en una tarde, so pena de morir.

Maichak estaba sentado caviloso en la orilla del lago, cuando se le acercó volando un caballito del diablo (libélula) y le dijo:

—Por qué estás triste, Maichak?

Maichak le contestó:

(200) Mis informantes no supieron o no quisieron decirme el nombre de la reina. Recuerde el lector la renuencia habitual de los Kamarakotos a revelar el nombre de las personas.

(201) La unión no era válida por haberse efectuado sin consentimiento de los padres de la novia. Ahora se solicita el consentimiento del padre para legalizar el matrimonio, y los trabajos extravagantes que el rey de los zamuros impone a Maichak son evidentemente una forma exagerada de la compra de esposa por prestación personal.

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—Estoy triste porque tengo que vaciar este lago enorme en un día si no quiero que el rey de los zamuros me mate.

El caballito del diablo dijo:

—No te apures, yo te ayudaré.

Vinieron muchos caballitos del diablo, toda una nube, para ayudar a secar el lago.

En esto se acercó volando un pájaro—era una ancoreta (202)—y le preguntó a Maichak:

—Qué te sucede?

Maichak respondió:

—Tengo que vaciar este lago enorme en un día si no quiero que me mate el rey de los zamuros.

El pájaro dijo:

—Yo cantaré para avisarte cuando llega la reina zamura, de manera que no vea que los caballitos del diablo te están haciendo el trabajo.

El pájaro se fué y se puso de centinela a poca distancia. Cada media hora (203) venía la reina zamura para ver el trabajo, pero el pájaro siempre le avisaba a Maichak.

Los caballitos del diablo y Maichak vaciaron todo el lago y terminaron la tarea para la mediatarde. Llegó la reina zamura y vió que ya estaba hecho el trabajo, y Maichak y élla le llevaron al papá una cantidad enorme de pescado.

Al día siguiente dijo el rey zamuro:

—Muy bien, mi hijita, parece que Maichak es buen trabajados. Ya veremos. Lo vamos a tener tres días a prueba. Si sale bien, podrás casarte con él; si no, me lo comeré. Ahora tiene

(202) *cimi* en Kamarakoto.

(203) Aquí y en otros lugares la expresión del tiempo en horas es la empleada por Antonio en español y equivale al concepto cronométrico, naturalmente distinto y vago, de la versión india, ya que los indios no usan la hora como unidad de tiempo.

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que hacerme una casa. Aquí hay una piedra enorme. Quiero que Maichak me haga la casa aquí mismo.

La reina le dijo a Maichak:

—Mañana, en un día, tienes que hacer una casa encima de aquella peña.

Maichak fué a ver el sitio. No había nada más que una piedra enorme. No había barro ni cañas. Maichak se puso muy triste.

Hay que recordar que habían pasado años desde que abandonó a sus cuñados, a su padre, a su madre y a todos los amigos. Todos ellos lo daban por muerto (204).

Maichak se dijo:

—No puedo construir una casa en esta roca. En cualquier otro sitio estaría bien, pero no aquí (205).

Pero poco después del amanecer se fué al bosque a tumbar unos cuantos árboles. Reunió a los animales y pájaros de toda especie. Todos ellos se pusieron a trabajar juntos y recogieron todos los materiales necesarios para la construcción de una casa. Pero después no podían hacer en la roca los agujeros para hincar los postes.

Entonces se apareció un gusano y le dijo a Maichak:.

—Tienes que hacer esta casa en un día? Cómo te las compondrás?

Maichak contestó:

—Qué sé yo; no puedo hacer agujeros en esta roca!

El gusano dijo:

—No te preocupes, Maichak, yo taladraré la roca y podrás hincar los cuatro postes en los agujeros que yo haga (206).

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(204) Otro comentario entre paréntesis que no añade ningún detalle esencial al relato.

(205) La dificultad nace de que la primera operación para construir una casa es hincar en el suelo los postes, cosa que no puede hacerse si el piso es de roca.

(206) La especificación de cuatro postes parece implicar que Maichak planea la edificación de un tinglado cuadrangular.

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Dicho y hecho, Maichak terminó la casa y los animales la techaron. Todo el mundo venía a verla. El rey zamuro preguntó:

—Ya está hecha la casa?

La reina le contestó que sí estaba hecha, y muy bien.

El rey dijo:

—Muy bien; mañana Maichak tendrá que hacerme un banco de piache (207). Tendrá que ser de piedra. Grande, enorme. Y tendrá que caminar solo, y parecerse a mí.

Unicamente la reina zamura sabía el aspecto exacto de su papá. El rey zamuro tenía dos cabezas y en las dos cargaba zarcillos.

Al día siguiente, Maichak intentó hacer el banco. Un comején (208) se le acercó y le dijo:

—Qué estás haciendo, Maichak?

Maichak contestó:

—Tengo que hacer un banco que se parezca al rey zamuro, pero no puedo.

Maichak no sabía que el rey zamuro tuviese dos cabezas. Entonces llegó volando un tucusito y le preguntó:

—Qué estás haciendo Maichak?

Maichak contestó:

—Tengo que hacer un banco que se parezca al rey zamuro y no sé qué cara tiene.

El tucusito fué a ver qué cara tenía el rey zamuro. El rey zamuro nunca les hacía caso a los visitantes. Como no volteaba

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(207) *mureí*. Es obvio que la dificultad del siguiente trabajo no estriba solamente en el material (la piedra jamás se labra para bancos), sino en el modelo. Un comején ejerciendo de tallista en piedra es todavía más extravagante que el grácano taladrando una roca que acabamos de ver, pero hacer cuatro agujeros es más fácil que toda una escultura como la que pretende ahora el rey zamuro.

(208) *mumu'*.

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sus dos cabezas, nadie conocía su aspecto. El tucusito volaba y revoloteaba cerca del rey zamuro intentando verle la cara, pero no lo conseguía.

Entonces se le acercó a Maichak otro pajarito (209) y le preguntó qué estaba haciendo, y Maichak se lo dijo. Este pajarito también voló al palacio del rey zamuro y cerca de él se puso canta que te canta. El rey zamuro volteó por fin sus cabezas para ver el pajarito. Entonces el pajarito vió que tenía dos cabezas y fué y se lo dijo a Maichak, y también que cargaba zarcillos en las dos.

Maichak le dijo al comején que hiciese un banco, y el comején fué y lo hizo, y lo terminó para antes del mediodía. Así, pues, Maichak terminó sus tres días de prueba en dos días y medio.

Maichak llevó el banco al palacio del rey zamuro y solicitó al rey y la reina.

El rey zamuro dijo:

—Es posible que se me parezca?

El banco contestó:

—Soy el vivo retrato del rey—y se acercó caminando lo mismo que un perro.

El rey zamuro se espantó y echó a correr.

Después de serenarse un poco, dijo:

—Maichak me asustó, de modo que voy a matarlo.

La reina zamura fué y le contó a Maichak las intenciones de su papá. Maichak se escapó. Primero tuvo que huir de sus cuñados y ahora del rey de los zamuros.

Llegó a un cerro muy alto, el Auyán-tepúi, u otro cerro parecido, muy cerca del Auyán-tepúi. Los soldados del rey zamuro todavía lo perseguían y Maichak no sabía cómo bajar del cerro.

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(209) Un kwiñaté.

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En esto se acercó un lagarto (210) y preguntó:

—Qué está sucediendo?

Maichak le contó al lagarto todas las cosas que le pasaban con el rey zamuro.

El lagarto dijo:

—Perfectamente. Móntate en mi lomo y te bajaré al valle.

Maichak hizo lo que dijo el lagarto. Caminaron cerro abajo. Encontraron un gran árbol caído (211). Cuando estaban ya cerca del valle—faltarían por bajar unos cien pasos—el lagarto le dijo a Maichak que se apease. Pero Maichak dijo que todavía estaban muy lejos. Finalmente llegaron al valle.

Maichak no sabía dónde se encontraba. Caminó a la ventura hasta llegar a un río muy ancho, y entonces siguió por la orilla. Llegó a una quebrada y la saltó. Ahora sí conocía el lugar; estaba cerca de Kamarata y pronto distinguió el rancho de su familia, pero no se atrevió a presentarse allí porque le había dado muerte a su mujer. Estuvo escondido tres días.

Maichak tenía dos hermanas y un hermano. Cuando él abandonó la casa, una de sus hermanas era todavía una muchachita y ahora era una mujer hecha y derecha. La otra hermana era una criatura cuando él se fué y no le recordaba a Maichak. Solía preguntar:

—Cuántos hermanos somos nosotros, tres?

Y los otros contestaban:

—No, somos cuatro. Mejor dicho éramos cuatro, porque Maichak murió.

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(210) Era una *ewarara*, lagarto que vive en las peñas. No como parte de este relato, sino como leyenda aparte, los indios me dijeron que el *ewarara* (entonces nombre personal de este lagarto particular, y ahora denominación común de todos los lagartos de esta especie) se convirtió en una peña cuando el gran terremoto (véase más adelante) y que esta peña es la que le da su nombre al Enwarapaimá-tepúi, cerro que se encuentra al Sur de Kamarata.

(211) Era un ceibo, *asara-yu'*. El encuentro de este árbol caído es un detalle que carece de interés, lo mismo que la negativa de Maichak a apearse, pero tiene importancia para el estudio de la leyenda, como veremos más adelante.

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Las muchachas solían ir al río a bañarse. Maichak se había convertido en un pez chiquito, para poder estar en el río oculto. Cuando las muchachas se estaban bañando, Maichak le hizo cosquillas a la mayor.

La muchacha dijo:

—Voy a buscar un cedazo (212) para coger este pez que me hace cosquillas.

Volvió con el cedazo y se metió otra vez en el río. Le pasó el cedazo a su hermanita y le dijo que atrapase el pez cuando ella gritase. Cuando Maichak volvió a hacerle cosquillas, la muchacha gritó y su hermanita lo pescó. Maichak era un pescadito.

La hermana menor dijo:

—Por haberle hecho cosquillas a mi hermana, te voy asar y te comeré.

Entoces Maichak se convirtió en hombre y dijo:

—Yo soy el hermano de ustedes. No me conocen ya?

Los tres hermanos se contentaron mucho.

(Esto sucedió en el Río Aichá, que acaso se llame así por Maichak (213)).

La hermana menor corrió al rancho gritando:

—Llegó mi hermano Maichak!

Maichak había aprendido mucho en sus viajes y ahora sabía de todo. Estuvo algún tiempo en la casa y recibía muchas visitas. Todo el mundo quería verlo.

Maichak lo sabía todo y todo podía hacerlo. Predicó y enseñó a los demás indios cómo se hacían todas las cosas que ellos necesitaban. Su fama se extendió muy lejos y de todas partes venían indios a ver al maestro.

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(212) *pangal*. Los cedazos no se usan normalmente para pescar.

(213) El paréntesis es de Antonio. La etimología no es digna de seria consideración.

Un día, Maichak estaba sentado en su casa, haciendo un arco, y una mujer estaba también en la casa, comiendo. Esta mujer (214) tenía un defecto en la lengua. Era muy gaga, casi muda, y apenas se le entendía lo que hablaba. Además en aquel momento tenía la boca llena de comida. Se volteó hacia maichak y dijo:

pemon-don	*yeupüi*	*maicha'*	*enese.*
"Gente (indios)	vienen	Maichak	para ver".

Ahora bien, todavía entonces, Maichak tenía miedo de sus cuñados y del rey de los zamuros, de quien había huído. La mujer hablaba tan enrevesadamente, que él entendió que decía:

pemon-don	*yeupüi*	*maichá'*	*ereukai.*
"Gente (indios)	vienen	Maichak	para matar".

Y efectivamente llegaron muchos Indios. Entre ellos había (215):

Kamarakotos: del valle donde el propio Maichak vivía.

Karopakois: de cerca de Luepa.

Karosiais: de la Gran Sabana.

Nungakois: del Brasil.

Mwerwanes: del Caroní.

Y muchos más.

Como Maichak le había entendido a la mujer que le iban a matar, tenía mucho miedo y se puso a temblar. Temblaba tanto, que todo el rancho temblaba, y temblaba también toda la tie-

(214) Antonio no dijo cómo se llamaba ni qué parentesco tenía con Maichak. Los diversos narradores convinieron en que Maichak no tenía mujer para aquella época, después de haber matado a su primera esposa y abandonado a la reina zamura.

(215) Cada uno de ellos representa una tribu y la lista equivale a una enumeración de las tribus que antiguamente eran vecinas de los Kamarakotos. Ninguna de estas tribus, excepto la Kamarakota, existe actualmente y los nombres no han sido identificados. Respecto a los Mwerwanes (o Mueruanes), los Kamarakotos dicen que después de una larga y pacífica asociación con ellos, fueron diezmados y finalmente extintos a raíz de la gran guerra India.

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rra en muchas leguas a la redonda. El mundo entero estuvo temblando tres días seguidos. Los Indios que llegaron, a fuerza de temblar, se convirtieron en piedras. Kamarata se llama así, porque en esta región vivió el Indio Kamarakoto y la piedra en que quedó convertido Kamarakoto todavía se encuentra cerca de aquí. Nosotros nos llamamos Kamarakotos, porque Kamarakoto fué uno de nuestros abuelos. Maichak también vivió en Kamarata.

La mujer tartamuda que le habló a Maichak se convirtió en un pájaro (216). Maichak no tenía ya mujer, pero su mamá se convirtió en un venado.

Justo antes de suceder esto, Maichak le había mandado a uno de sus cuñados que recogiese bejucos (217) para hacer cestas. El cuñado había recogido un fajo muy grande y lo traía al rancho. Los bejucos le colgaban por la espalda como si fuesen una cabellera. En esto ocurrió el terremoto, y quedó convertido en oso hormiguero (218)) y los bejucos se convirtieron en los pelos largos de la cola del oso.

Aquellos días ocurrió un desastre terrible. Todas las personas quedaron convertidas en piedra, pájaros o animales.

Maichak se fué muy lejos. Nadie sabe adonde fué ni dónde está ahora.

Comentario.

Este largo cuento consta de diferentes leyendas y la comparación con las conocidas de tribus afines demuestra que algunas de estas leyendas no son de origen común. Puede ser un artificio Kamarakoto el haberlas unido, adjudicándoselas a un solo héroe, pero la unidad del relato se mantiene firme. Por ejemplo, en el comienzo del cuento no pueden faltar los instrumentos mágicos y los últimos episodios no pueden darse como leyendas separadas.

(216) Este era un guardacamino, taburu en Kamarakoto.
(217) tirita, manare.
(218) wereme.

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La estructura es ésta:

I. La historia de los instrumentos mágicos:

a. La taparita.
b. La maraca.
Estos dos episodios aparecen indisolublemente unidos y forman juntos una leyenda.

II. La historia de Maichak y la familia de su mujer:

a. La disputa con los cuñados y el uxoricidio de Maichak.
b. La fuga.
Esta es una leyenda con dos episodios más o menos separables.
(Un episodio de transición, contando cómo Piaimá le instruyó a Maichak).

III. El Rey y la Reina de los Zamuros:

a. La captura de la Reina.
b. Los tres grandes trabajos.
1. Drenaje del lago.
2. Construcción de la casa sobre una roca.
3. El banco mágico.
Esta leyenda se compone de cuatro episodios distintos.
(Un episodio de transición, contando cómo Maichak huyó del Rey de los Zamuros).

IV. Regreso a Kamarata:

No obstante su brevedad, este curioso episodio está desligado completamente de los demás y constituye una leyenda separada.
(Un episodio muy corto de transición en el que Maichak aparece como apóstol cultural).

V. El terremoto (representa una especie de leyenda Kamarakota de la creación del mundo).

La historia completa consta de una serie de trece episodios diferentes, cada uno de los cuales es en potencia una historia se-

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parada, y varios de los cuales aparecen como historias distintas en otras tribus, exceptuando los dos episodios de los instrumentos mágicos y los tres de los trabajos para el Rey Zamuro, que no son tan fácilmente separables. En este largo relato se han amontonado tántos elementos que casi constituye de por sí un sistema completo de mitología.

No obstante su carácter compuesto, la historia como conjunto tiene una especie de ilación o trama general que la relaciona con el complejo casi universal del creador de un pueblo. Maichak aparece primeramente como individuo ignorante e inútil en absoluto. Subsanan hasta cierto grado sus deficiencias los instrumentos mágicos, pero los pierde, debido en gran parte a su estupidez. Su querella con sus cuñados y su fuga subsecuente son también fruto de su ignorancia, es decir, del hecho de que no sabía hacer labores de cestería (219).

Luego viene el breve, pero instructivo intermedio en el que Maichak es aleccionado por Piaimá, sér sobrenatural, en las artes que ignoraba, revelándose así la fuente divina de los conocimientos del héroe cultural. Finalmente, Maichak regresa al seno de su tribu, enseña las artes que ha adquirido y, en el último episodio, aparece como instrumento de la creación de las cosas tales como hoy son, esfumándose él mismo.

Juzgados desde este amplio punto de vista, los episodios del rey y la reina de los zamuros son interpolaciones no anudadas por el hilo sútil de la trama general.

Sería tarea larga, y que no cuadra aquí, indagar la distribución y genealogía de cada uno de los diferentes episodios, pero sí podemos mencionar que varios de ellos, como el de la maraca mágica, están muy extendidos por todo Sur América, y que algunos, como el del banco mágico, tienen huellas hasta bien en el interior de Norte América. Koch-Grünberg suministra una ver-

(219) El hecho de que a continuación confecciona un ahaí, labor evidentemente más complicada que el sebucán y el cedazo que no supo hacer antes, es una de las incongruencias que suelen abundar en leyendas de esta especie y no basta a alterar su general tendencia. Lo mismo puede decirse del hecho de que en esta parte del relato los otros personajes parecen conocer las artes que al final les enseña Maichak. Estas incongruencias pueden también servir, en parte, para demostrar que los diversos episodios fueron en principio leyendas separadas y que la trama general que aquí aparece es artificio ulterior.

sión Arekuna (220) de la leyenda del instrumento mágico, "Wewe und seine Schwager" — (Wewe y sus cuñados), cuyo protagonista es un tal *Wɔ̃wo*, y una versión Taurepana de la leyenda del Rey de los Zamuros ("Der Besuch im Himmel" — La visita al cielo), cuyo protagonista es Maichaura (indudablemente = Maichak). Difieren estas versiones de la presente en muchos detalles, pero son similares por tener evidentemente origen común.

En la citada segunda leyenda transcrita por Koch-Grünberg, el Rey de los Zamuros se llama *Kasaná-podoré* y sus cabezas tienen nombres distintos: *Mönyimön* y *Etetó*. El nombre Kamarakoto de Atitó es claramente el de una de las cabezas (la izquierda) del Rey de los Zamuros Taurepán. Todos los elementos de esta leyenda están muy extendidos y son familiares en numerosas versiones y combinaciones distintas: la captura del zamuro fingiéndose muerto el cazador, la metamorfosis del ave en mujer, los tres trabajos (y cada uno de ellos), los animales colaboradores, etc.

Habitualmente se advierte que estos últimos episodios suceden en el cielo, o en las nubes, como lo indica el nombre general del complejo, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., pero en la versión Kamarakota no se hace constar. Que esto es así en la leyenda original explica el hecho, de otro modo anómalo, de que Maichak aparezca en su huída como bajando de una montaña infranqueable (221), la cual, aparentemente, no subió o no pudo subir. Los puntos, curiosamente intranscendentes y circunstanciales, referentes al árbol derribado y a la negativa de Maichak a apearse del lagarto, parecen indicar que este breve episodio de la fuga es un retazo o, al menos, una versión abreviada de una leyenda larga que se ha olvidado.

Roth (1924, páginas 486-488) suministró una "Story of Maichoppa", evidentemente igual a Maichak, Makuchi, que es reco-

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(220) No dice de qué rama de los Arekunas, aunque advierte que el narrador era Taurepán.

(221) Aquí se representa como el Auyán-tepúi u otro cerro parecido, siendo obvio que cada tribu inserta detalles locales en todas estas leyendas difundidas. Se jugaba por lo general divertido que Maichak y la expedición aérea que aterrizó en la cima de la montaña y bajó a pié al valle hubiesen sido las únicas personas que descendieron del Auyán-tepúi sin haberlo escalado. Se ha dicho entre paréntesis que los indios jamás habían subido al Auyán-tepúi hasta que, muy recientemente, les enseñaron el camino los exploradores blancos, por lo cual, en la leyenda, figura todavía la ascensión como obra imposible sin ayuda sobrenatural.

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nocible como equivalente a la leyenda de Maichak y a la del Rey y la Reina de los Zamuros, aunque difiere en muchos detalles. Al final, cuando Maichoppa regresa al valle, tiene que derribar un árbol, el cual es un ceibo, lo mismo que el árbol, al parecer nada significativo, de la leyenda Kamarakota. Un lagarto se brinda para cargar al héroe, pero lo que intenta en realidad es devorarlo. Maichoppa logra huir por fin, deslizándose por la cola del reptil. Este relato más amplio ofrece una versión que pudiera relacionarse con el original olvidado de la versión Kamarakota, la cual contiene actualmente detalles y vestigios casi incomprensibles, y me confirma en la opinión de que un episodio de una leyenda distinta fué abreviado aquí absurdamente. No he hallado versión más detallada de este episodio ni ninguno que se relacione más claramente con la leyenda Kamarakota en este punto.

Otra omisión peculiar es la de que en casi todas las otras versiones de la leyenda extraordinariamente extendida del banco mágico, este banco tiene púas, espinas, puntas de pedernal o cosa parecida (el motivo del "Stachelsitz"—asiento de púas) que causan dolor físico a quien lo usa, vale decir, al Rey de los Zamuros. En la leyenda Kamarakota el agravio es emocional, no físico: el ave mitológica se espanta. Esto está claramente relacionado con el "miedo del miedo" Kamarakoto a que hacemos referencia en otro lugar. Para los Kamarakotos infundir pavor es siquiera tan serio como causar dolor.

El episodio final amalgama un cataclismo con la creación del mundo. Los Kamarakotos poseen también leyendas de catástrofes motivadas por el agua, pero tales leyendas contienen evidentemente elementos de intrusión reciente o son fragmentos de leyendas importadas por Indios que tuvieron contacto con Misioneros, por lo cual yo creí imposible cerciorarme de si algunos de los elementos eran verdaderamente indígenas, y así opté por no recogerlos. Esta leyenda catastrófica causada por un terremoto que determina la petrificación es extraordinaria, por más que el elemento que encierra: la creencia de que las rocas y cerros de la región son personas y animales petrificados, está muy extendida. Compárese la leyenda Taurepana de Koch-Grünberg "Taten des Makunaima" — Hazañas de Makunaima, donde se explica así el origen de las rocas y farallones de cerca del Roraima.

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El progenitor petrificado de los Kamarakotos, a quien, cosa extraña, se designa por este nombre, aunque propiamente significa una tribu y no una persona, todavía existe en Kamarata, y nosotros lo visitamos y fotografiamos (véase la ilustración Nº 80). Consiste en un fragmento redondo de roca, con un pequeño saliente en forma de espolón, obra de la intemperie, en el tope. No tiene parecido verdadero con una figura ni un rostro humano. La roca no tiene incisiones ni grabados, no presentando en absoluto evidencia de culto ni otras actividades humanas, y los Indios que nos acompañaron no daban muestra de respeto ni veneración por la roca, por más que conviniesen solemnemente en que era, en efecto, el antepasado de la tribu. Las preguntas acerca del origen y el nombre de la tribu recibían habitualmente por toda contestación referencias a la leyenda aquí expuesta.

El otro motivo del episodio final, o sea el del origen humano de los animales, es uno de los elementos más comunes en el folklore Indio y efectivamente en la demosofía en general. Es casi tan elemental en mitología primitiva como el motivo, ejemplarizado en casi todos los episodios de toda esta leyenda, de los animales que hablan y actúan como personas. La transformación inversa, igualmente común, del animal en persona, está de manifiesto en el episodio de la Reina Zamura. La mitología en general y la Kamarakota en particular no hacen distinción básica entre el hombre y los animales. Muchas tribus Caribes, y creo que también los Kamarakotos, aunque no pude determinar inconcusamente este punto, suelen aplicar nombres de animales a las personas. Las otras concomitancias frecuentes de semejantes mitos animales, como la de tótemes y tabúes, parecen, no obstante, completamente ausentes entre los Kamarakotos.

Como comentario final, el papel extraordinario que desempeña Piaimá en esta leyenda es digno de mención. En otros mitos, y en la mentalidad Caribe en general, Piaimá, se representa como un sér que no merece confianza, sangriento y maléfico de ordinario. Aquí aparece en figura de mentor benévolo. Un punto de relación entre estas funciones de anómalo contraste puede verse, no obstante, en el hecho de que a Piaimá se le representa corrientemente como familiar de los piaches, por más que sea fatalmente peligroso para los demás Indios, y hasta como instructor de los piaches en sus conjuros y artimañas peculiares.

[p. 599]

CARACTER Y COSTUMBRES

Gran parte del carácter Kamarakoto salta a la vista en lo ya descrito, desde luego que el carácter es inherente, no sólo a la cultura social de un pueblo, sino también a lo que hace y usa, a lo que come y bebe y a cómo habla. Claro está que los Kamarakotos acusan diferencias marcadas en el carácter personal, pero puede hablarse perfectamente también de una norma tribual en este respecto. Sacamos efectivamente la impresión de que estos Indios son más uniformes en carácter que la mayoría de las comunidades civilizadas; y ello es natural si se toma en cuenta la uniformidad casi absoluta de sus vidas, la falta de división del trabajo o de diferenciación tanto en las costumbres en los individuos como en los diversos grupos familiares, el contacto social frecuente entre unos y otros y la herencia genética perfectamente uniforme.

Los Kamarakotos son Caribes y los Caribes tienen mala fama en la Historia. Muchos de ellos fueron antropófagos y de ellos viene precisamente la palabra "caníbal" (222).

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(222) El que los Caribes, o algunos de ellos, fueran antropófagos es problema aun debatido, dentro mas consta. Las opiniones autorizadas varían al parecer hasta el extremo de decir unos que el único caso de canibalismo entre estas tribus fué el de un blanco que devoraba a los Indios, mientras otros aseguran que todos los Caribes comían carne humana, como plato imprescindible de su menú habitual. Creemos, sin embargo, que el lector juicioso difícilmente puede substraerse a la convicción de que muchos Caribes no fueran antropófagos, por lo cual, en cualquier definición aceptable del vocablo, eran efectivamente caníbales. Es evidente que el consumo de carne humana era raro y no fué nunca parte regular de la dieta, pero se efectuaba en circunstancias definidas, rituales, siendo probable que jamás fuese práctica común en todas las tribus Caribes, sumamente diversas. En nuestro estudio, ésta es mera digresión académica.

Muchos Caribes eran pendencieros y belicosos, un flagelo para sus vecinos y un terror para los blancos invasores. Algunos de ellos, especialmente los Motilones, no han sido conquistados hasta el día de hoy, y todavía perpetran carnicerías espantosas con quienes se atreven a viajar por sus regiones remotas. Pintar cuadros de éstos refiriéndose a los Kamarakotos es completa y ridículamente falso. Los rasgos más salientes de su carácter son, como hemos visto, la dulzura y la alegría. Son gente feliz y cariñosa que rara vez pelea y que rara vez también exterioriza el más leve signo de disgusto ni de oposición.

Humorismo.

Los Kamarakotos son todo lo contrario de retraídos y silenciosos; no entran en la categoría de los que algunos escritores populares de los Estados Unidos llaman "the ugh school of Indians". Por lo contrario, su cháchara es interminable y el rostro trasluce corrientemente sus emociones. La expresión habitual del rostro es una sonrisa amplia y cualquier incidente divertido les hace prorrumpir en sonoras carcajadas. Poseen un sentido acentuado del humorismo y siempre están de broma. Son muy inclinados a hacer chistes (ya apunté algunos de ellos en páginas precedentes). Otros varios incidentes señalan el género de cosas u ocurrencias que los Kamarakotos tienen por divertidas (y nosotros con ellos). El hecho de que de una camada de pollos saliesen gallos solamente dió margen a comentarios recibidos con hilaridad. Cuando yo estaba cubicando los cráneos de los Indios y nos disponíamos a visitar a "Kamarakoto", la roca que ellos tienen por su antecesor petrificado, me dijeron que no dejase de llevar mis calibradores (extensión aproximada 30 centímetros) porque aquella cabeza sí merecía la pena de medirse. Un joven soltero que había adquirido con una parte de su jornal un corte de tela como para hacer un vestido de mujer, fué rodeado por una multitud que lo hizo blanco de risas y burlas más o me-

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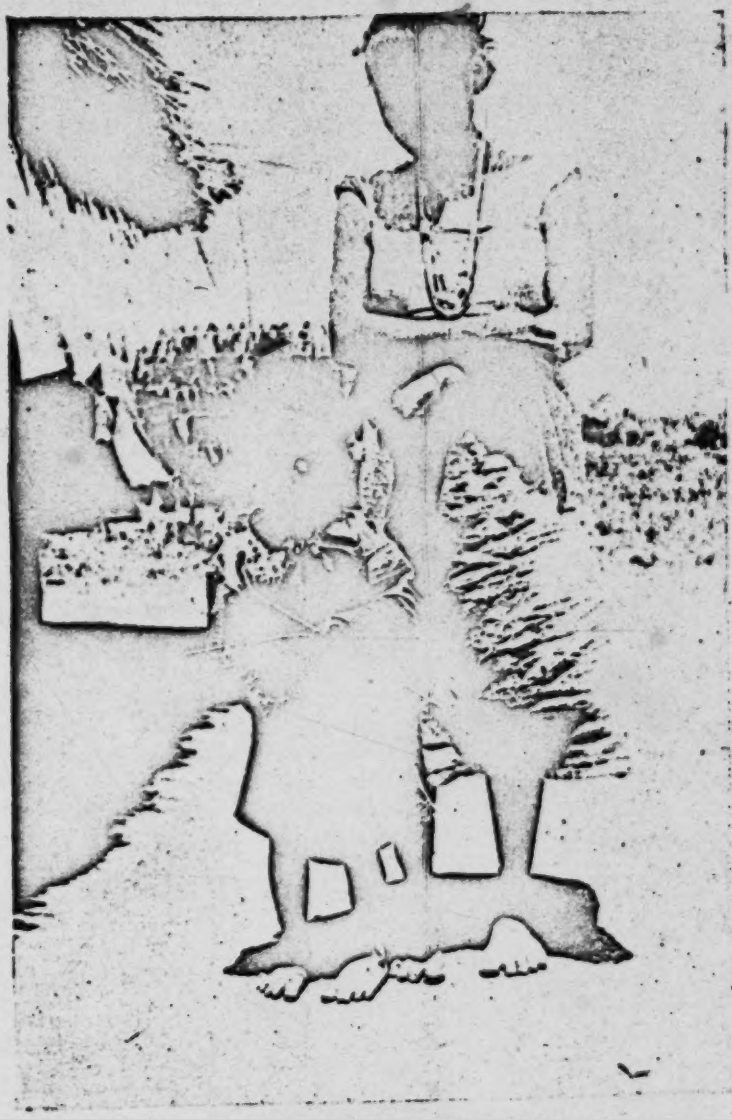
desde luego que los Kamarakotos y sus afines íntimos seguramente no comen carne humana en la actualidad, sea cual fuere la ocasión, ni tienen memoria ni leyendas de tal costumbre



Ilust. Nº 79.—Muchacho Kamarakoto.
Este muchacho (Nº 35 de nuestros apuntes detallados) está jugando con un arco y una flecha improvisados. Nótese su collar (*yaichi*) con objetos diversos colgantes. Su vestido no es corriente en muchachos.

[P. 600-A]

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Ilust. Nº 80.—La peña llamada Kamarakota.
Según la leyenda Kamarakota, esta piedra que se encuentra en el extremo superior del valle de Kamarata, es el progenitor petrificado de la tribu.

[P. 600-B]

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nos insultantes, a las que él correspondió en forma idéntica sin alterarse. Hasta una sorpresa grata, que no fuese esencialmente humorística, como, por ejemplo, el encuentro inesperado de una mata llena de carutos maduros (empleados para pintarse la cara) es motivo de extentóreas carcajadas.

Anotamos dos diferencias dignas de mención con el humorismo presuntamente más civilizado, y las dos hablan decididamente en favor del Kamarakoto: no presenciamos ningún caso en que el daño físico o la indignidad se tuviesen por cosa divertida, y los juegos brutales o el asustar al prójimo se evitaban deliberadamente y eran considerados como todo lo contrario de graciosos.

Reacción emotiva.

Observamos en el Norte de Venezuela que la mayor parte de los peones son definidamente neuróticos (223). En efecto, la mayoría vive oprimida por la ansiedad, sobresaltada, recelosa de casi todas las cosas que la rodean, en un estado de preocupación o fastidio con pocos y breves paréntesis de animación o alegría. Lo contrario sucede con los Kamarakotos. Entre ellos no observamos individuos ni estados neuróticos. La zozobra y la inquietud parecen desconocidas casi, y toda la tribu exhibe un grado de equilibrio emocional que no superaría ninguna comunidad "civilizada" de igual tamaño. No será declaración que arranque aplausos, pero la conciencia científica me obliga a añadir que la ausencia casi completa de una religión formulada constituye ciertamente un elemento en este equilibrio admirable, del mismo modo que un lastre de tal religión juega un papel definido y grande en la ansiedad neurótica de la peonada del Norte (224). Otro elemento, probablemente el más importante, es la seguridad y cuidados de que gozan los niños, según señalo más adelante.

(223) Esta declaración y la siguiente, contraria, respecto a los Indios se apoyan en la opinión experta de mi esposa, la Doctora Rose, especialista en psicología clínica.

(224) Acaso no sea propio ampliar o comentar estas declaraciones, pero debo agregarse, como prueba confirmativa, que entre los Indios que han estado en contacto íntimo con Misioneros de varias sectas se manifiestan incidentalmente casos y tendencias claramente neuróticas.

No es cierto que el terror sea desconocido, y resulta contradictorio, al parecer, pero no en realidad, que los Kamarakotos estén casi libres de zozobra, y sin embargo se espanten a menudo y se hayan registrado casos de defunción por miedo. No temen seriamente el daño físico: lo que temen es el terror en sí: tienen miedo del miedo. Detestan que los asusten y frecuentemente dan muestras de consideración extrema evitando que alguien se sorprenda o sobresalte. Jugar al coco con un niño, cosa tan común entre nosotros. jamás se verá entre los Kamarakotos, quienes lo considerarían grave injuria. Temen al *kanaima*, pero en sus relatos de los peligros que puede presentar *kanaima*, el daño rara vez se expone como infligido por medios físicos, sino por un ruido o algo similar que no hace sino sobresaltar a la víctima. El lector ha observado conmigo el hecho curioso y revelador de que en su versión de la difundida leyenda del "banco mágico", éste no tiene púas, no es un "Stachelsitz", y causa daño por vía de miedo y no, como sucede en todas las demás versiones conocidas, con dolor físico.

Indiferencia ante el dolor.

La indiferencia ante el dolor se considera popularmente como uno de los rasgos generales del Indio y suele condenarse rotundamente por razones morales y sociales. Los Kamarakotos acusan esta característica antipática (para nosotros) en grado considerable, pero su base es evidente y no puede condenarse con severidad si se entiende como es debido. Parece incongruente que una tribu bien intencionada, suave, cariñosa y deseosa de no causar daño, sea al propio tiempo apática, al parecer, ante el dolor del prójimo, pero ambos rasgos no son incompatibles en realidad y son efectivamente distintos o divergentes aspectos del mismo carácter. Odian el dolor y, por simpatía, no gustan de infligirlo. Pero simpatía quiere decir en realidad (como el propio vocablo en su acepción prístina) compartir el sentimiento. Sentir simpatía por una persona que sufre, significa en cierto modo tomar parte en su dolor. Los Kamarakotos tienden a retirarse ante el dolor, reacción psicológica perfectamente normal, y el hecho mismo de sentir simpatía por una persona les hace apar-

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tarse de ella si sufre, ya que les duele verla sufrir. Esta también es una reacción normal, ya sea consciente o subconsciente, y se ve compartida por la mayoría de personas en nuestra sociedad. Pero en nuestra sociedad, la mayoría de nosotros ocultamos cautelosamente esta reacción, en parte por hipocresía, porque es contraria a nuestras costumbres sociales, y en parte por el motivo más plausible de esperar aliviar el sufrimiento del doliente. Esto no pugna con las costumbres Kamarakotas, más naturales o, si se prefiere, más primitivas que las nuestras, y, de acuerdo con sus creencias y conocimientos, no hay razón para que asistan a quien sufre, ya que una persona corriente nada puede hacer por aliviar el dolor. Si la dolencia es natural, lo único que puede hacerse es esperar la muerte o el restablecimiento. Si es sobrenatural, la curación sólo puede ser obra de un piache competente. En cualquiera de los dos casos, apartarse de una persona que sufre no es perfectamente lógico solamente, sino también la única actitud de acuerdo con las premisas Kamarakotas.

No obstante esta tendencia a apartarse del dolor, los Kamarakotos sienten ciertamente una conmiseración efectiva por el sufrimiento de cualquiera de sus deudos o allegados y, a su manera, demuéstranle verdadera consideración. Comprueba ésto el hecho de que cuando una persona se encuentra enferma, no ahorran esfuerzos para hacer lo que ellos creen debe hacerse, especialmente buscar un piache (y durante nuestra permanencia entre ellos, el médico de la expedición) para que asista al doliente. No se sientan sobre el lecho (chinchorro) del enfermo, ni le preparan alimentos especiales, ni enjugan su rostro sudoroso, etc., porque no ven que nada de esto lo beneficie, y continúan sus actividades habituales, procurando olvidar al doliente en la medida de lo posible.

Infancia.

El afecto personal y el orgullo familiar de los Kamarakotos son extremados y evidentes. El beso es totalmente desconocido y el abrazo, casual y raro, pero entre marido y mujer, o mujeres, padres e hijos y también entre amigos son elocuentes las mani-

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festaciones de regocijo y consideración, los cambios de regalos y los esfuerzos por agradar. Los niños juegan juntos en la mayor armonía, (Ilustr. 81-82) y es corriente ver entre los muchachos camaradas inseparables que frecuentemente caminan de bracete.

Los niños, por lo general, llevan una vida desusadamente feliz y libre de preocupaciones. Aunque no se les asigna ninguna tarea que esté por encima de su fuerza física, no son tratados de manera distinta que las personas mayores, sino que son considerados como miembros integrantes de la sociedad, como cualesquiera otros, y comparten todas las actividades comunes sobre pie de igualdad. Son objeto de atenciones y deferencias, no teniendo menos privilegios que los adultos. Rara vez es necesario castigarlos ni reprenderlos, pues se conducen como personas mayores, aparte divertirse más, pero en juegos completamente inocentes. No se les prohibe categóricamente ninguna actividad de los adultos. Nosotros no presenciamos un solo castigo de niños, aunque algunas veces lo mereciesen, según nuestro criterio. Las criaturas rara vez lloran, porque se las atiende a tiempo y como es debido. Varias veces, cuando un niño pequeño lloraba porque quería algo que tenía en la mano otro mayor, éste se lo daba, aunque sintiese el sacrificio.

Hasta que saben caminar, los niños casi nunca se apartan de sus madres, quienes los cargan a todas partes con sus tirantes especiales, a tal extremo que éstos parecen formar parte del atavío femenino (Ilustr. 83). El niño jamás se siente desamparado, porque su madre está siempre con él, y nunca está hambriento, porque tiene el pecho de la madre a su alcance y él mismo lo toma. Desde que nace, el niño es un miembro venerado y protegido de la tribu. Parece fuera de duda que la placidez y bonhomía de esta gente tienen su origen en la manera de cargar a las criaturas. La mayoría de las madres civilizadas pudiera aprender bastante de los Kamarakotos acerca del cuidado psicológico, ya que no físico, de los niños. Su sistema no produce, como algunos teóricos pudieran suponer, niños "maicados", sino seres felices y razonables.

Algunas tribus Caribes practicaban ampliamente el infanticidio y acaso sigan haciéndolo algunas. Ni que decir tiene que los Kamarakotos niegan tal costumbre entre ellos, y efectivamen-

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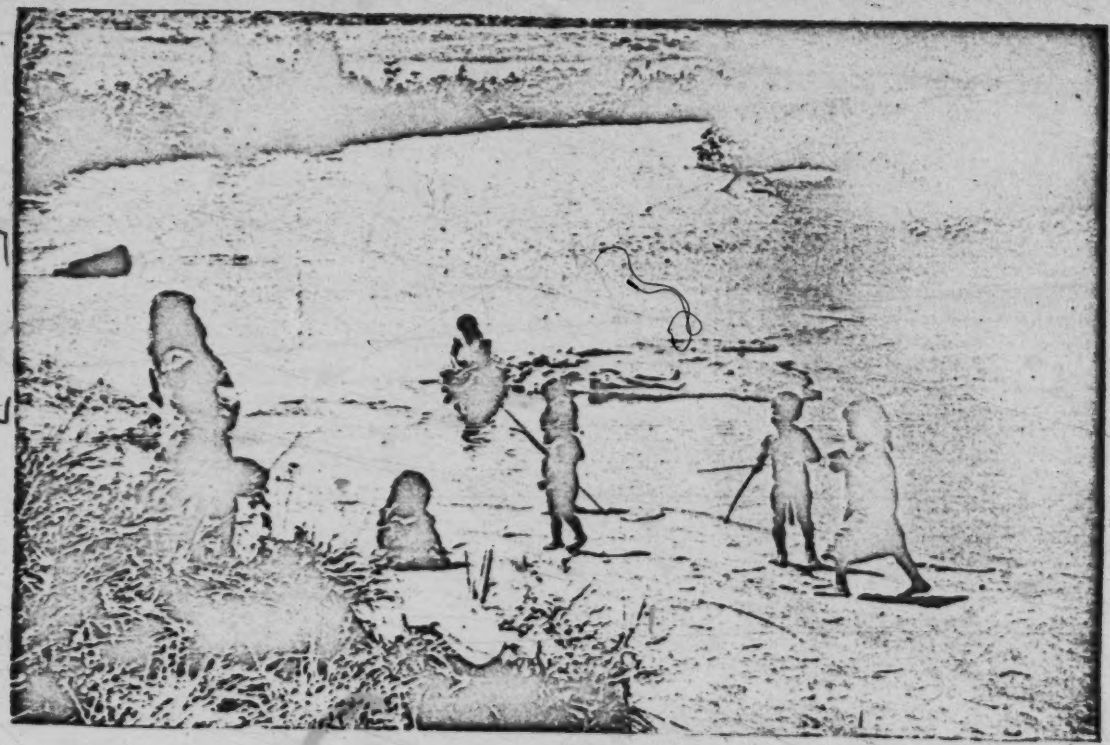

Ilust. Nº 81.—Grupo Kamarakoto.
Los niños juegan mientras la mujer lava en el Aichá.

[P. 604-A]

5:Simpson SS16 Pemon

Ilust. Nº 82.—Farniente Kamarakoto.
Los compañeros de juego toman el sol sobre una roca después de nadar.

[p. 604-B]

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te es contraria a su carácter, de modo que no cabe duda de su aseveración. Por el contrario, parecen desear con ansiedad tener hijos. Los huérfanos son adoptados habitualmente, pero no siempre, por un tío paterno, como cosa lógica, y son tratados en todo respecto lo mismo que los hijos propios. Ninguna mujer dijo o parecía pensar que tuviese demasiados, ni siquiera bastantes hijos.

Pudor.

Los Kamarakotos son en extremo pudorosos, pero solamente en un punto. Los adultos no exhiben la región púbica, así sea ante miembros del propio sexo. Ni los hombres ni las mujeres vacilan en ejecutar sus funciones fisiológicas a la vista de personas de cualquier sexo, pero se las arreglan de modo de no enseñar la parte pudenda. Los niños de corta edad andan completamente desnudos, pero en cuanto les ponen el taparrabo empiezan a mostrar recato. Tratándose de adolescentes, y, naturalmente, ello está establecido como regla general, el vestido no se pone por pudor, sino, que el pudor nace con el vestido. Los muchachos que portan taparrabo desde hace poco, frecuentemente se lo quitan para bañarse, pero al acercarse alguien, se tapan con la mano el pubis, o se salen del agua y voltean la espalda mientras se ajustan el excusalí.

Las demás partes del cuerpo no son objeto de pudor particular. Las mujeres no nos visitaban sino vestidas de pies a cabeza, pero la razón obvia no era de recato, sino de orgullo. En principio, un vestido, más que un tapado, es un adorno, un exponente de prosperidad y un emblema del deseo de parecer civilizado y progresista ante los ojos del blanco. Todavía no han llevado vestidos el tiempo suficiente para poder sentir que las partes que se cubren (y que no cubre el guayuco) son vergonzosas o deben cubrirse por razones morales. Los vestidos que llevaban tenían una forma que no tapaba efectivamente los senos, y es que los hacen así de propósito para poder amamantar sin desatárselos. Los hombres jamás vacilaban en quitarse parte del vestido o todo él, si lo tenían, excepto el taparrabo, y de esta guisa se aparecían en nuestro campamento. Esta despreocupación

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comparada con el atuendo civilizado de las mujeres, no quiere decir que los hombres estimen menos la ropa europea como símbolo de progreso, sino que consideran menos decorativo el traje masculino, como efectivamente lo es. Del mismo modo, pocas mujeres osaban presentarse en público sin el pergeño del mayor número posible de collares y otros adornos, en tanto que los hombres, aunque no libres por entero de tal vanidad, consideraban los arrequives menos esenciales para su dignidad e importancia.

Aseo.

Hablando con transigencia, los Kamarakotos son gente aseada. Alrededor de sus ranchos no se ven montones de inmundicias, lo cual se debe, en parte, a que su alimentación produce pocos desperdicios y, en parte también, a que tienen buen cuidado de botar las escasas sobras. Un poblado Kamarakoto no es completamente inodoro, pero tampoco tiene esa nauseabunda hediondez que con tanta frecuencia mencionan los viajeros como heraldo de la cercanía de una aldea indígena en otras partes de Sur América (225). Tampoco se acumula suciedad mayor en su ropa, pues frecuentemente la lavan, lo que no es fácil ni cómodo, y la blanquean al sol (226). Viven cerca de los ríos, de modo que tienen el baño a mano y todos ellos se meten en el agua libremente y se lavan con frecuencia, de modo que su aspecto es por lo regular notablemente limpio.

Natación.

Los hombres y particularmente los muchachos son muy aficionados a la natación y se pasan horas enteras en el río. Se chapuzan y riegan mutuamente entre risas. Es particular que

(225) Más tarde vimos Taurepanes que, bajo influencia mucho más "civilizada", vivían en una suciedad que no toleraría un Kamarakoto.

(226) Durante nuestra permanencia en Kamaruta nos lavaban la ropa las Indias, dejándola casi tan blanca como el chino, aunque un tanto estropeada. El que su propia ropa estuviese sucia podía deberse a lo mucho que se esmeraban en la nuestra.

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cuando intentan dirigirse en serio a cualquier parte del río, nadan bajo la superficie, permaneciendo un minuto y más sin sacar la cabeza y cruzando así cualquiera de los ríos de Kamarata, cuya anchura será de unos veinte metros. Su braceo es informe, pero eficaz. Se sostienen con facilidad en la superficie de los remansos profundos, sin moverse apenas, y yo nunca les ví dar más de una o dos brazadas sin meterse bajo la superficie. Esto no pasa de una suposición y no es enteramente probable, pero parece casi que aprendieran a nadar imitando a los peces y que no se han fijado en que es posible nadar y respirar al mismo tiempo.

Embriaguez.

Ya hemos mencionado los épicos trasiegos al hablar de las danzas con que los acompañan usualmente. Sus bebidas alcohólicas son lo bastante flojas como para requerir perseverancia considerable hasta llegar a la borrachera, pero en sus orgías interminables, la mayoría de los adultos, hombres y mujeres, acaban eventualmente en ese estado. Para quien no tome, o tome con sobriedad, esas bacanales son espectáculo poco o nada grato, principalmente debido a los vómitos entre ronda y ronda, pero, en la única a que yo asistí, las cosas no llegaron a extremo de escándalo serio. El máximo tributo que puede hacérsele al buen carácter Kamarakoto es que ni cuando el abuso del acohol anubló las mentes ocurrieron reyertas, ni se alzaron las voces, ni se oyeron insultos, persistiendo la cortesía y la cordura como si fuesen inalienables en su condición. Muchachos de todos los tamaños asistían a la juerga sin que fuesen desatendidos, antes bien participando sobre pie de igualdad en las chanzas, aunque sin beber (227).

Demás está decir que tales abusos no dejan de tener sus consecuencias naturales y, así, la única vez que vi taciturnos a los Kamarakotos fué al día siguiente a toda una semana de libaciones, cuando todos estaban muy enfermos y habían perdido todo interés por la vida de sus vecinos.

(227) Por otro lado, parece fuera de duda que los excesos sexuales que, según dicen, acompañan a las bacanales Indias en otras tribus, no ocurren en ésta.

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Piromanía.

Una costumbre curiosa, no mencionada en los capítulos anteriores, es la de provocar incendios durante la sequía. La hierba reseca de las sabanas se vuelve entonces sumamente inflamable y los Indios gozan prendiéndole fuego, nada más que para darse el gusto de ver cómo arde. Algunas tribus hacen ésto, o siquiera lo dicen como excusa, para sacar a las alimañas de sus guaridas y cazarlas o para hacer señales (228), pero los Kamarakotos declaran ingenuamente que experimentan gran placer dando candela a las sabanas y viendo cómo cunden las llamas. Al volar sobre esta región durante el "verano" se ven frecuentes incendios, por así decirlo en cada parcela de sabana. Cuando unos Indios que vinieron a vernos se alejaron en dirección del Caroní, grandes columnas de humo nos indicaron durante dos días al camino que seguían. Acaso los bosques no se quemen a posta, pero es lo cierto que a veces arden, si la sequía es mucha, comenzando por los linderos de las sabanas. Por ejemplo, nosotros vimos un gran trecho de bosque incendiado en la ladera del Auyán-tepúi, a una altura que jamás suben los Indios, y "quemas" similares se presentan entre Kamarata y Luepa. Esta costumbre tiene efectos desastrosos para la belleza del paisaje, de poca importancia para los Indios, y para el pasto de las sabanas, para ellos menos importante todavía; aunque estos dos puntos son de cierto interés potencial para el proyecto de colonización de esta región (229).

(228) Los Kamarakotos no hacen señales con tambores, ni fogatas, etc. Me contaron, con admiración evidente, que las partidas viajeras de Arekunas (es decir, Indios cualesquiera emparentados íntimamente con los Kamarakotos, pero no reconocidos por éstos como pertenecientes a su tribu) comunican de antemano, y mediante fogatas, noticias de su número, lugar de destino y fecha de arribo, pero que ellos no conocen este arte. Los exploradores confirman el empleo de señales de fogatas entre tribus afines, aunque los Kamarakotos acaso me exagerasen la amplitud y exactitud de tales mensajes.

(229) Esta costumbre de quemar las sabanas es general en todo el Norte de Venezuela, lo mismo que en Kamarata, y se extiende hasta Caracas inclusive, donde es fuente de alarmas y también de peligros y daños verdaderos. Es posible que esta desdichadísima costumbre Venezolana sea otra de las herencias de los Indios? En las regiones ganaderas se trata de justificar este hábito diciendo que mejora los pastos (aunque Pittier ha demostrado que lo cierto es precisamente lo contrario) y reduce el número de garrapatas (lo cual es dudoso en extremo), pero las quemas se practican también donde son inútiles y evidentemente perjudiciales, estando fuera de duda, o punto menos, que se intenta meramente enhonestar con sofismas una costumbre esencialmente irracional.

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LO VIEJO Y LO NUEVO

Lo más interesante de los Indios, desde muchos puntos de vista, es la supervivencia en su cultura de objetos y costumbres aborígenes, pero sería un error pensar que estos elementos puramente autóctonos constituyen la cultura India, real y verdadera, de hoy, estudiándolos solamente en esta perspectiva y desechando las modificaciones ulteriores por intrascendentes o intrusas. Los Kamarakotos, tal como existen hoy, están sujetos como todos nosotros a influencias cambiantes y poseen una cultura íntegramente propia, sea cualquiera la procedencia de sus elementos, y que se compone, como la nuestra, de una mezcla de fragmentos viejos y nuevos. Claro está que la mezcla de elementos tan diversos en su cultura es de por sí interesante e instructiva. El hecho de que los observemos ahora en pleno proceso de transición de su cultura primitiva a lo que nosotros tenemos por cultura avanzada, hace su estudio más interesante aún, y no menos que si se tratase de una tribu que no acusara ninguna influencia Europea, en el supuesto caso de que todavía existiese tal tribu.

Contactos culturales.

Aunque efectivamente nada sabemos de la historia de esta tribu particular antes de la presente generación, es posible inferir con alguna probabilidad de certeza el curso general de sus

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contactos culturales. Los elementos que no se han desarrollado por influencia Europea, directa o indirectamente, son por lo general fáciles de reconocer. Algunos casos se prestan a polémica, por ejemplo, la construcción de edificaciones cuadradas, que yo creo indígenas, mientras algunos investigadores opinan en contrario. Pero tales casos no son numerosos y no desvirtúan los hechos generales. Estos elementos aborígenes pueden ser considerados como representativos de un nivel cultural único y básico, según lo vemos hoy. Naturalmente, esta cultura misma evolucionó y es una mezcla de elementos desarrollados en épocas distintas y por tribus diferentes y que se difundieron en modelos variantes, cuyo entronque en esta región precisa produjo la combinación Kamarakota típica de elementos. Sería fascinador reconstruir esta historia, y se ha hecho ya en medida muy limitada, pero desde nuestro punto de vista estos elementos se juntan propiamente en un nivel. Esto es verdad, por más que algunos elementos de la cultura aborigen puedan haber surgido o llegado a los Kamarakotos en tiempos posteriores al Descubrimiento. El origen en estos casos no se puede reconstruir exactamente y hasta una innovación de reciente data puede considerarse plenamente aborigen si no fué efectuada por ninguna influencia Europea. Para nuestro propósito, pues, esas cosas son "lo viejo" y cualesquiera otras derivadas de influencia Europea "lo nuevo".

Las innovaciones, en este sentido, comenzaron en el mismo instante que los Indios divisaron las carabelas de Colón, el año 1492, y prosiguieron con ritmo acelerado desde entonces. Desde el comienzo, los Indios encontraron algunas importaciones Europeas tan útiles para su peculiar manera de vivir que las aceptaron inmediatamente, y estos objetos, entonces obtenibles en una cantidad u otra, se difundieron tan rápidamente que muy pronto los usaron los Indios que todavía no habían visto ningún hombre blanco. El cuchillo de acero y el banmo se encuentran en este caso; ambos son de importación tan antigua y están tan plenamente naturalizados que son hoy partes integrantes de la mayoría de las culturas puramente Indias.

Los Kamarakotos participaron completamente en esta difusión, ahora antigua, de elementos culturales importados. No se sabe, ni interesa mayormente saber, si los recibieron de los Euro-

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peos cuando los misioneros y los conquistadores invadieron el Orinoco y el Caroní o si se los endosaron otros Indios. Pertenecen a otro estrato cultural que por conveniencia pudiera denominarse el nivel Colonial (por lo que se refiere a esta región). Está caracterizado por el hecho de que entonces se difundían cosas, no costumbres ni ideas, resultando dichas cosas sumamente aceptables para los Indios, porque les hacían la vida más fácil y agradable sin cambiarla fundamentalmente en modo alguno. Por ejemplo, los Indios empezaron a usar puntas de flecha de acero que eran mejores que las antiguas de piedra o hueso, pero siguieron empleando el arco y la flecha, completamente aborígenes. Empezaron a comer bananas, que eran un suplemento delicioso de su dieta, pero su sistema aborigen de cultivo no varió.

Después de ésto, aunque con frecuencia no pueda separarse fácilmente en casos determinados, por más que fundamentalmente es distinto, se depositó un segundo estrato o se estableció un segundo nivel de contactos culturales Europeos, uno de los cuales implicaba conexión directa e íntima con gente de cultura Europea, parcial o completamente. Para algunos Indios esta fase comenzó en tiempos de la Colonia y hasta terminó allí con la imposición absoluta de una cultura modificada, de origen principalmente Europeo. Sin embargo, en esta región particular, y para mayor claridad de la exposición, denominaremos este nivel *moderno*. Aquí incluímos muchos objetos nuevos, más las pertenecientes al nivel colonial. No obstante, algunos de ellos son meros perfeccionamientos de innovaciones coloniales. Por ejemplo, el pedernal y el acero de la Colonia reemplazaron el tronco y el palo de rotación aborígenes, y ahora el fósforo moderno desplaza eventualmente el pedernal y el acero, sucediendo todo esto sin significado cultural alguno profundo.

El nivel moderno se caracteriza, sin embargo, por cambios definidos en el modo de vivir y en la manera de pensar y por objetos que inducen o siguen a tales modificaciones más trascendentales. El guayuco aborigen no se modificó esencialmente en el nivel colonial con el uso de cuentas de vidrio en su manufactura, pero la introducción de ropas en el nivel moderno significa un cambio profundo en el uso del vestido y en la actitud psicológica hacia él y derivada de él.

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Es posible que los Kamarakotos estuviesen expuestos a este nivel moderno de innovación a fines de la Epoca Colonial, literalmente dicha, pero si ello fué así, no tuvo en ellos efecto permanente y las huellas de esta vieja influencia Europea directa no son evidentes en la actualidad. Acaso sea lo más exacto, y realmente es así en lo referente al efecto esencial sobre ellos, que los contactos Kamarakotos directos con el mundo exterior datan aproximadamente una generación y que no comenzaron a tener influencia profundamente modificadora hasta fecha reciente, fecha que puede expresarse, más que en años, en meses nada más. Hace cinco años se conocía el nombre de "Kamarakoto", pero la tribu, como grupo de seres efectivamente humanos, no se había descubierto todavía. A decir verdad, los Kamarakotos descubrieron el mundo exterior, vale decir, la Venezuela civilizada, antes de que el mundo los descubriese a ellos. Mientras ningún hombre letrado sabía dónde ni cómo vivían los Kamarakotos, éstos no ignoraron dónde se encontraban las más cercanas ciudades de Venezuela ni el género de vida que se llevaba en ellas.

Por propia iniciativa, los Kamarakotos han contribuído en gran parte a estas exploraciones de su tribu y región, las cuales prosiguen todavía, siendo éste uno de los factores peculiares y sorprendentes de su actual situación cultural. Uno o dos de los miembros más influyentes de la tribu, particularmente el cacique Alejo Calcaño, han vivido por espacio de períodos considerables en ciudades Venezolanas, aprendiendo el Español y familiarizándose siquiera con los aspectos superficiales de la civilización venezolana, para después llevar estos conocimientos a la tribu. Para ampliar y consolidar esta influencia, el propio cacique envió a su sobrino Antonio Montesdeoca a las ciudades a fin de que adquiriese conocimientos análogos y los reportase también a la tribu. La actitud de estos hombres es de progresismo, y así la entienden ellos. No están destruyendo arbitrariamente el modo de vivir Indio, pero su influencia tiende casi constantemente a la adopción de las normas usuales en Venezuela. Los efectos no son muy patentes todavía, pero el carácter de esta influencia augura desde ahora un cambio rápido. Por otro lado, los efectos de esta influencia de los dirigentes Kamarakotos probablemente resulten tan rápidos como los del contacto directo de toda la tribu con la civilización Venezolana. Además, no determinan tan-

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to el antagonismo y la degeneración, porque procuran seguir el curso de adaptación de la vida India a las nuevas modalidades, en vez de arrancar de raíz la cultura India antes de que pueda ser reemplazada, frecuente efecto de los medios usuales de acción directa.

La influencia más directa es más reciente todavía, y está representada por nuestra propia expedición y, en grado menor, por la del año retropróximo. Aunque estas expediciones tuvieran por objeto, y ello es cierto en principio en estos dos casos, estudiar a los Indios, inevitablemente determinan un cambio considerable en el estado actual de cosas. Introducen todo género de artículos que no pudieron llegar en años anteriores por la trabajosa ruta terrestre del comercio Indio: y exhiben además otros objetos nuevos y más deseables todavía. Son ejemplo de un modo de vivir distinto y, acaso aparentemente, mejor. Por regla general, ensanchan los horizontes del Indio de manera rápida y repentina.

Estratos culturales.

Uno de los resultados de estas sucesivas olas de innovaciones es producir una especie de estratificación cultural en tres niveles claramente definidos y en muchos otros menos distintos o transitorios. Algunos ejemplos concretos servirán para indicar el carácter general de esta estratificación.

	NIVEL ABORIGEN		NIVEL COLONIAL		Nivel Moderno
Fuegos.	Por fricción rotativa.	(reemplazo total).	Pedernal y acero.	(reemplazo incipiente y muy incompleto).	Fósforos.
Armas.	Cerbatana.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
	Arco y flecha.	(supervivencia).	Punta de flecha de acero.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio ulterior.
		(introducción completamente nueva).	Arma de fuego.	(cambio lento por introducción de armas nuevas evolucionadas en otras partes).	Armas de fuego que van reemplazando lentamente las armas primitivas, las cuales sobreviven aún fuertemente.
Herramientas.	Perdidas tan totalmente que su género es muy incierto.	(reemplazo total).	Cuchillo, machete, hacha, etc.-	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio esencial.
Pesquería.	Barbasco, redes, nasas.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
	Anzuelos de madera.	(reemplazo total).	Anzuelos de acero.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio esencial.

NIVEL ABORIGEN			NIVEL COLONIAL		Nivel Moderno
Vestido masculino.	Taparrabo.	(supervivencia).	Modificaciones por el uso de géneros comerciales.	(reemplazo incipiente y muy incompleto).	Pantalones
Vestido femenino.	Guayuco.	(supervivencia).	Modificación por el uso de cuentas de vidrio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
				(introducción nueva).	Vestidos suplementarios y no en reemplazo del atavío aborigen.
Cocina.	Ollas de barro, totumas y taparas.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(reemplazo incipiente y muy incompleto).	Artículos de peltre, botellas, &
Alimentos.	Víveres indígenas.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
	Varios.	(introducción nueva).	Banano, caña de azúcar y algunos otros alimentos suplementarios, no	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.

NIVEL ABORIGEN			NIVEL COLONIAL		Nivel Moderno
			reemplazantes de los aborígenes.		
Trapiche.		(invento puramente indígena, consecuencia de la introducción colonial de la caña de azúcar).	Trapiche (230).	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
Animales domésticos.	Perro.	(supervivencia).	Acaso leve cambio de raza.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
		(introducción nueva).	Gallina (231).	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
Instrumentos musicales.	Flautas de caña, carrizo.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio (232)	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.

(230) El trapiche pertenece al nivel colonial en el sentido de que fué inventado en tiempos de la Colonia para elaborar un nuevo alimento de introducción colonial, pero es de nivel aborigen en el sentido de que se trata de una invención puramente india sin influencia Europea directa.

(231) Está claro que puede ser una introducción moderna en esta tribu, pero pertenece genecalmente al nivel colonial.

(232) Este instrumento y su inalterada supervivencia se hacen constar porque en muchas tribus la flauta de caña, o el instrumento parecido a ella, se modificó definitivamente por influencia Europea, en tanto que los Kamarakotos conservan la forma puramente aborigen.

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	NIVEL ABORIGEN		NIVEL COLONIAL		Nivel Moderno
	o no había tambor en absoluto o había uno de modelo algo diferente.	(introducción o modificación).	Tambor de dos tapas, con tirantes en forma de X o V.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
Edificaciones.	Vivienda redonda y oblonga.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
	Tinglado cuadrado (233).	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.
				(nueva introducción).	"Calabozos" cuadrangulares sellados con barro.
Tejidos.	Género de algodón trenzado (tirantes para criaturas, etc).	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio.	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio, excepto reemplazo leve por tela de algodón.
	Géneros tejidos (guayucos, &)	(supervivencia).	Sin cambio. (La modificación primera puede	(reemplazo extenso, aunque no completo	Géneros comerciales.

(233) Según hemos expuesto en otro lugar, algunos investigadores opinan que estas construcciones pertenecen al aquí llamado nivel colonial, pero yo creo que son aborígenes.

	NIVEL ABORIGEN		NIVEL COLONIAL		Nivel Moderno
			haber empezado en este nivel).	del todo).	
Adornos.	Collares de semillas, etc.	(supervivencia con adición).	Cuentas de vidrio y semillas, etc.	(supervivencia).	Muy leve cambio por adición de moneditas de plata, etc.
Entierro.	Temporal, en cuclillas, retirando después los huesos y guardándolos en cofres de cestería.	(modificación).	Permanente, en cuclillas.	(modificación incompleta e incipiente).	Permanente - supino.
Comercio.	Comercio Indio de productos Indios.	(Conservación más complicada).	Adición de comercio de tercera mano con productos Europeos para consumo Indio.	(supervivencia con modificaciones).	Comercio similar intensificado y nuevos productos (oro, balatá) para consumo Europeo.

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Los cambios de ideas y costumbres, excepto los reflejados en estos cambios materiales, difícilmente se pueden catalogar, por más que sean, siquiera, de igual importancia. Entre los Kamarakotos, comparados con los Caribes en general, tal como se conocen hoy y de acuerdo con relaciones anteriores, algunos de estos cambios parecen ser relajación de viejas creencias y costumbres más definidas y rigurosas. Así, no es fácil sustraerse a la impresión de que su sistema religioso, en credo y práctica, era antes más extenso y concreto en fases no relacionadas con la medicina. Es deducción lógica que las danzas sociales tenían antiguamente un elemento ritual que hoy se ha perdido completamente, que la maraca tenía usos mágicos, etc. Pudiera creerse a priori que tales cambios acusan influencia Europea, pero, por lo que respecta a esta tribu, no hay evidencia de que tal sea el caso. Efectivamente, es más probable que las escasas modificaciones de este género sean espontáneas y representen una evolución del nivel aborigen. Cuando más, puede ser cierto que la reforma general de la vida India durante los años recientes, por ejemplo, la atenuación de la necesidad o algo parecido del belicismo indígena, haya experimentado alguna influencia en este sentido.

Otros cambios más definibles de la cultura Kamarakota, cambios que entran en una categoría social, en contraposición a material, parecen casi sin excepción de fecha en extremo reciente, es decir, de los últimos meses y años. Son tan meramente incipientes y tienen hasta ahora tan poca influencia efectiva en la tribu, que deben considerarse como presagios de un futuro posible más que como aspectos reales de cultura actual.

Factores de reemplazo y suplemento.

Una revista breve de las causas aparentes de estratificación de cultura material y de los factores que rigen sus resultados, será instructiva con respecto al presente y sugestiva en lo referente al porvenir. En primer lugar, la mayoría de las innovaciones entra en una de estas tres categorías:

1.—Materiales adaptables a las formas indígenas sin necesidad de alterarlas esencialmente.

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2.—Objetos que ofrecen un nuevo procedimiento para efectuar operaciones ya ejecutadas adecuadamente en el nivel indígena.

3.—Objetos que introducen nuevas funciones no ejecutadas en el nivel aborigen o ejecutadas en él sobre bases esencialmente distintas.

En la primera categoría ha de incluirse el acero usado para las puntas de flecha, y las cuentas de vidrio empleadas en la confección de guayucos y collares y la tela comercial para los taparrabos (no para vestidos). Las innovaciones de esta clase cambian las técnicas, pero no tienen influencia importante en la cultura aborigen como conjunto, y meramente modifican, mas no reemplazan objetos indígenas.

En la segunda categoría entran objetos tales como las armas de fuego (con las mismas funciones que las cerbatanas y los arcos), el pedernal y el acero o los fósforos (la misma función que el encendedor de fricción y rotación), los instrumentos cortantes de acero (las mismas funciones que los instrumentos de madera, hueso y piedra, suplementados con fuego), los anzuelos de acero (la misma función que los anzuelos de madera), las ollas de peltre y las botellas de vidrio (las mismas funciones que la alfarería y las calabazas), el banano y la caña de azúcar (las mismas funciones que los víveres aborígenes) y las aves de corral (la misma función que las aves silvestres indígenas). Estos objetos importados pueden reemplazar definitivamente a los indígenas y, por tanto, pueden tener influencia profunda en la cultura material. Poseen la potencialidad, todavía no muy desarrollada en la tribu, de modificar la cultura social en varias direcciones, por ejemplo, proporcionando más confort o creando mayor dependencia del comercio. Tal influencia es, no obstante, indirecta. Estas innovaciones resultan aceptables principalmente por la razón de que no requieren ningún cambio inmediato y directo en la manera de vivir de los Indios.

Entre los Kamarakotos hay todavía muy pocas innovaciones que puedan incluirse en la tercera categoría, lo cual prueba que su cultura es aún casi exclusivamente aborígen, a despecho de la visible influencia Europea. Me veo en un aprieto para citar

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un ejemplo concreto que pueda entrar indubitablemente en esta categoría, exceptuando el uso creciente de ropa Europea y de corte Europeo. Cuando se introducen, las innovaciones de este género frecuentemente no modifican meramente la cultura aborigen, sino que tienden a destruirla y reemplazarla por algo distinto. Hasta cuando sus efectos son menos drásticos, son más profundos y tienen consecuencias sociales más hondas que las innovaciones de cualquiera de las dos primeras categorías. Los elementos más importantes que pudieran incluirse en esta tercera son las nuevas ideas y hábitos de pensar. Ya hemos visto que los Kamarakotos están más o menos expuestos a estas modalidades pero que hasta ahora no han adoptado casi ninguna con carácter general.

La medida en que estos nuevos materiales y objetos serán aceptados y la trascendencia de su adopción dependen de la preferencia que se les dé y de la facilidad que presente su adquisición. La preferencia, a su vez, depende en la mentalidad del Indio y de muchos factores, de los cuales los más importantes son la adaptación del manejo, la apreciación estética y el costo en el sentido más amplio. Los instrumentos cortantes de acero no son mejores por razones de estética ni de costo, pero sí, y grandemente, por razones de uso práctico que los hacen preferibles sin comparación. Las cuentas de vidrio tienen escasa recomendación en cuanto al uso práctico y son en extremo costosas, pero son tan preferibles estéticamente que resultan aceptables en grado sumo. Las ollas de peltre, zinc o aluminio tienen ciertas ventajas prácticas, aunque no pronunciadas, y se juzgan por lo general inferiores estéticamente, pero son a veces más baratas que los objetos de manufactura indígena para los mismos fines. (Entiendo por más baratas, que cuestan menos horas de trabajo, ya se adquieran directamente, por trabajo, o en cambio de otros productos de trabajo). Los vestidos no tienen, para la mentalidad indígena, o lo tienen en medida muy escasa, finalidad práctica alguna y son muy caros, pero se aceptan hasta con entusiasmo por razones estéticas (y en parte más ampliamente sociales, aunque, de todos modos, más psicológicas que materiales).

Estas consideraciones actúan, naturalmente, en dos sentidos, vale decir, frenan y al mismo tiempo aceleran la aceptación de

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las reformas. La buena cestería indígena resulta costosa (en trabajo) hasta para quien la hace y comercialmente pueden conseguirse objetos de rendimiento tan bueno o mejor más baratos, pero el reemplazo ha comenzado apenas, porque la cestería indígena se prefiere mucho más por razones de estética y costumbre. Todos los artículos comerciales son caros y rara vez más baratos que los indígenas, de modo que su aceptación se encuentra con una barrera constante y, en general, no se adoptan si no ofrecen grandes ventajas prácticas o estéticas, o ambas cosas a la vez.

El que una reforma prospere depende del balance de su aceptación y ofertas relativas. Dado el contacto imperfecto y dificultoso con el mundo exterior, muchos objetos que serían aceptables, no pueden conseguirse o no se encuentran en cantidad suficiente. Los nuevos artículos que desempeñan una función esencial, naturalmente no pueden y no reemplazarán por completo a los que hacen ya el mismo servicio, a menos que durante un período considerable la oferta sea igual a la demanda. El pedernal y el acero (vale decir, la importación esencial para esta combinación) pudo conseguirse en cantidad suficiente y durante un período lo bastante largo para reemplazar el sistema aborigen de fricción rotativa, a tal extremo que hoy no se podría hacer fuego aquí si no hubiese repuesto permanente de pedernal y acero. Los fósforos son francamente más aceptables que el pedernal y el acero, no obstante su alto costo, pero su abasto no es ahora, ni será en mucho tiempo, suficiente para efectuar el reemplazo total.

Es por existir estas condiciones por lo que materiales y objetos pertenecientes a diferentes niveles culturales, pero que sirven esencialmente para los mismos fines, sobreviven en simultaneidad. Los fósforos no han desplazado al pedernal y al acero, las armas de fuego no han eliminado las cerbatanas ni los arcos, y las ollas de peltre no han acabado con la alfarería indígena. En todos estos casos, y otros, no hay duda de que las innovaciones reemplazarían totalmente a los objetos viejos supervivientes si, dentro del curso natural de los acontecimientos, el abasto fuese adecuado. Otros artículos que incuestionablemente serían aceptables si hubiese suministro, no tienen todavía uso práctico (incluso en caso de que sean ya conocidos) porque la oferta es punto menos que nula. Los clavos de hierro y demás materiales manu-

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facturados de construcción, los víveres importados, los medios de transporte dentro de la región, las bestias y aves de corral (excepto gallinas) y muchas otras cosas entran en esta categoría.

La tendencia actual y el futuro.

En todas las Américas, la tendencia general ha sido y es todavía favorable a los injertos de culturas esencialmente Europeas, por sus rasgos principales, en las culturas aborígenes, injertos más fuertes cada día y que acaban por absorberlas. Al hacer ésto, las culturas Europeas siempre han adoptado poco o mucho de las culturas indígenas y se han impregnado en todas partes de un marcado sabor Americano, no sólo por evolución independiente en este hemisferio sino también por herencia directa de los Indios. Esta influencia es muy visible en Venezuela, donde la civilización Europea se amalgamó íntimamente con la de los Indios y produjo una cultura Venezolana distintiva en la que subsisten muchos elementos aborígenes, hasta en los centros completamente civilizados; pero los elementos Europeos superan en número de tal modo que la cultura India ha desaparecido completamente en Venezuela como tal.

Este curso se ha paralizado o revertido ocasionalmente, pero a la larga parece ser inevitable. Si los Camaracotos de Fray Ramón Bueno eran efectivamente los antecesores de nuestros Kamarakotos, estaban en ciertos respectos más influenciados por la cultura Europea el año 1800 de lo que vuelven a estarlo hoy, y en el lapso transcurrido de entonces acá regresaron a un estado definitivamente más aborigen. Sea o no cierto, por lo que respecta a esta tribu determinada, tal fué la historia de algunas tribus cuando conquistadores y misioneros penetraron en la Cuenca del Orinoco para después retirarse. Actualmente está en marcha otro movimiento hacia adelante y el curso usual progresivo se ha restablecido y parece ser permanente.

Suponiendo que este curso prosiga, y continuará si no lo detiene un desastre imprevisible, la completa "Venezolanización" eventual de los Kamarakotos es inevitable en el desarrollo natural y no dirigido de la evolución social, resultado que implica

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Ilust. Nº 83.—Madre Kamarakota con su niño a cuestas. Manera de cargar la criatura con el aparejo siempre a mano. La mujer (Nº 11 de nuestras notas detalladas) es la esposa más joven del cacique y tiene otros tres hijos vivos. Sus zarcillos Europeos—los únicos vistos en la tribu—son prueba de su posición privilegiada.

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la extinción segura de la cultura Kamarakota y la posible extinción de los Kamarakotos mismos, pero con toda certeza la pérdida de su personalidad. Este resultado final difícilmente puede imaginarse antes de que se pueda llegar a Kamarata en vehículo de ruedas, debiéndose advertir que ya existe tal proyecto, aunque su realización no puede preverse todavía. De todas formas, el final viene lentamente, pero parece inevitable.

Consideraciones sentimentales aparte, sería deplorable, verdaderamente trágico, permitir que este proceso natural se verificase sin control ni guía. Por razones humanitarias, sociales y económicas, es en extremo deseable, en primer lugar, que la cultura Kamarakota (y estas observaciones se aplican a todas de las muchas tribus en situación análoga) no se arranque de raíz antes de que los Kamarakotos puedan adaptarse a nuevas normas. Esta desaparición violenta es el evento "natural" y uno de los que las agencias usuales. religiosas (234) y civiles, frecuentemente fomentan en vez de impedir. En segundo lugar, es no menos deseable que los elementos útiles y admirables de la cultura Kamarakota, que con el curso ordinario desaparecerían tan completamente como los elementos indeseables y probablemente más pronto que éstos, debieran salvarse y perpetuarse.

En el fomento de la higiene, la civilización tiene siquiera un antídoto que ofrecer para las nuevas enfermedades que introduce, y pudiera mejorar considerablemente la actual estadística de mortalidad de los Kamarakotos. También pudiera salvaguardarlos de carestías y hambres, que, según parece, no ocurrían en el pasado con frecuencia. Aparte estos puntos, es difícil ver cómo ni en qué pueden resultar beneficiados los Indios con la "civilización". Actualmente son felices, dentro de la relatividad del

(234) No hablo aquí de los aspectos estrictamente religiosos de este trabajo, cuestiones de opinión cuya discusión no me incumbe. Pese a sus propias intenciones, la obra de los Misioneros siempre tiene resultados que se extienden a la esfera no-religiosa que legítimamente puede estudiarse y avaluarse con abstracción absoluta de todo credo. Estos resultados son a veces admirables, pero es secreto declarado que también son deplorables a veces. Se puede compartir la opinión de que más vale creer en Cristo que en *kanaima* y no obstante creer que vale más conservar las artes de los Indios que enseñarles a depender de importaciones inseguras.

Del mismo modo, al hablar más adelante de lo poco que han ganado los Indios con el proceso de "civilización", excluimos a la religión del debate y no emitimos juicio alguno de su valor para los Indios.

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término, desconocen la pobreza, y el hambre y la miseria no son calamidades comunes sino accidentes raros en su historia. Los Kamarakotos saben ya perfectamente cómo deben vivir en su ambiente propio. Ningún blanco puede enseñarles nada esencial. Por el contrario, si los blancos intentan colonizar esta región y bastarse ellos mismos, pueden estar seguros de tener lo que necesiten solamente aprendiendo la técnica de los Indios. Yo creo que ningún observador imparcial desmentirá que el Kamarakoto, por término medio, es hoy más feliz espiritualmente y vive materialmente con más desahogo que el ciudadano corriente en las partes civilizadas de Venezuela, y que el Indio no sería cuerdo si adoptase voluntariamente este modo de vivir.

Se desconoce la pobreza entre los Kamarakotos porque cada hogar puede asegurarse fácilmente con sus propios esfuerzos razonables casi cuanto necesita, no sólo para sustentarse sino también para gozar de la vida. La pericia y el ingenio indígena son tales que casi ninguna de las importaciones es absolutamente necesaria, por más que todas puedan adquirirse fácilmente. Una familia puede requerir en un largo período de años un par de cuchillos y machetes, una docena de anzuelos, cinco o seis metros de tela y medio kilo aproximadamente de cuentas de vidrio para satisfacer sus necesidades y deseos más allá de lo que ella misma puede proveerse. No hay familia tan pobre que no pueda adquirir esos pocos objetos.

Pero cuando el pueblo tiene que comprar la mayor parte de lo que usa, la pobreza se hace posible y hasta inevitable. Un Indio que tenga que comprar un traje Europeo en vez de confeccionar su propio vestido tradicional, y no pueda construir su rancho sin sierra, martillo y clavos, y deba adquirir sartenes en vez de hacer ollas de barro, y necesite baúles y maletas por no poder tejer cestas, y una cama por carecer de chinchorro, y, en suma, dependa de substitutos importados para lo que sus abuelos hacían en la casa, tal Indio se convierte en pobre casi automáticamente. En primer lugar, y particularmente en esta región, el almacenaje de tales cosas no es adecuado, por más que sea abordable su precio de venta. El Indio que dependa de ellas tiene que rebajar materialmente su standard de vida a un nivel inferior al aborigen, si es que carece de conocimientos y habilidades aborígenes.

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Este es el primer punto en que debe hacerse una proposición concreta que sirva para encauzar la corriente social en esta región: no permitir que un Indio se haga dependiente de nada que no esté razonablemente seguro de poder conseguir adecuadamente mientras viva. Por ejemplo, no decirle que es inmoral andar sin pantalones si no tiene la certeza de poder comprar otros cuando los que tiene se le rompan, ni enseñarle a hacer una casa con herramientas Europeas exclusivamente, si es que ha de vivir donde no podrá procurárselas (235).

Hasta cuando hay repuesto suficiente de artículos manufacturados, lo cual francamente no sucede en ninguna parte de esta región, aunque acaso pueda suceder eventualmente, el Indio resulta empobrecido por su excesiva variedad. Desea adquirir más de lo que adquiriría de sus propios productos, menos variados. Supónese que ésto eleva el standard de vida; pero es por demás razonable dudar de que suministre mayor felicidad o bienestar. De todos modos, la cuestión es puramente académica, desde luego que el estímulo del deseo ocurre y no puede controlarse en modo alguno. En la práctica, el resultado puede ser efectivamente no elevar, sino rebajar el nivel general de vida, no tan sólo porque los objetos relativamente supérfluos pueden adquirirse con preferencia a los necesarios, sino también y principalmente porque el Indio no gasta ahora el producto de su trabajo en mejorar directa y eficazmente su propio nivel de vida, sino que lo invierte para negociar en un mercado libre contra obreros de standards de vida todavía inferiores y para pagar toda suerte de transportes, distribución y otras operaciones completamente innecesarias tratándose de cosas producidas en casa y para el propio consumo. El trabajo que, invertido en el propio conuco, produciría alimento para un mes, no llegará ni para pagar el transporte de una sola comida de un producto lejano.

Desde el punto de vista del mantenimiento de un standard decente para los Indios, el problema aquí es triple: animar al Indio para que dedique una parte de su trabajo a los productos de consumo propio, dirigir sus exportaciones a mercados donde ob-

(235) Estas y otras indicaciones que hemos hecho no son abstracciones teóricas. Ejemplos de depauperación por la política contraria pueden citarse, no sólo en Venezuela, sino también en todo país de las Américas.

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tengan el mejor precio de venta posible y asegurar la distribución de las importaciones de la manera más económica. El último problema es esencialmente nacional, y no incumbe principalmente a quienes tienen trato inmediato con la tribu, de no ser para impedir especulaciones locales, si está en su mano hacerlo. Los dos primeros problemas tienen una solución, siquiera parcial, que atienda a los dos fines y que incidentalmente sirva para otros.

Esta solución, que ha surtido buenos efectos en algunas tribus distantes donde se fomentó inteligentemente, es capaz, no sólo de mantener y elevar el standard Indio de vida, sino también de convertir a los Indios, como conjunto, de carga de la nación, en factor positivo y excelente de su economía. Se trata simplemente de combatir en la medida de lo posible su competencia en el mercado de trabajo en general y fomentar el empleo y el desarrollo de sus aptitudes especiales y conocimientos tradicionales, no sólo para propio uso y beneficio inmediato, sino también como medio de transformar su trabajo en forma vendible y al valor de intercambio máximo. Los Kamarakotos poseen habilidades convertibles en este sentido, según queda demostrado a lo largo de la presente monografía. En vez de convertir al Indio en peón agrícola o industrial, sobrando como sobran peones en el mundo y hasta en Venezuela, déjesele haciendo sus cestas de dibujos indígenas para su propio uso, aliviando sus necesidades de compras, y enrúmbese la exportación de sus productos hacia mercados donde puedan negociarse con mucho más ventaja que por una suma equivalente de trabajo no especializado. En vez de enseñar a las muchachas Indias a bordar, labor en la que no pueden competir provechosamente con los artículos hechos a máquina o a mano que se encuentran ya en el mercado, anímeseles a que hagan chinchorros, adornos y tejidos para su propio uso y para la exportación. Lo mejor de las artes y oficios de los Kamarakotos (y de otros Indios afines) encontraría mercado amplio y ventajoso si se conociese y hubiese repuesto constante.

Sería fatal (y ya se ha demostrado reiteradamente en otras partes) ordenar o, si esto fuese evitable, permitir que los niños hiciesen objetos de diseño no-indígena, por ejemplo, tejer cestas de un tipo ya popular en otras partes, pero no autóctono. Esto conduce simplemente a meter nuevamente al Indio en una com-

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petencia innecesaria con el resto del mundo y a anular un objetivo del plan. Sus dibujos pueden conservar su mérito propio, pudiéndose agregar a este mérito inherente la ventaja considerable que significa para la venta el hecho de que tales artículos son genuinamente Indios en todo sentido. Comerciantes sin criterio (y en algunos casos, gente más culta y que debiera entender algo de ésto) tienen la manía, que a la larga es de un efecto devastador, de encargar a los Indios artículos confeccionados según un patrón exótico. Claro está que algunos dibujos indígenas son mejores que otros, como también hay entre los Indios obreros más y menos hábiles. De aquí que sería justo y altamente deseable seleccionar los mejores diseños como modelos y tender a una mano de obra lo más perfecta posible, pero ello ha de hacerse sin salirse de moldes puramente Indios.

El fomento de toda clase de negocios, sin discriminación, los subsidios gubernamentales, la fijación de salarios anormalmente altos, por la ley o costumbre, y los otros medios que se han ensayado, con los mejores motivos, para ayudar a los Indios, han surtido y surtirán casi con certeza efecto contrario. El sistema de comercio oficial y estaciones de control del Gobierno, bajo la dirección de funcionarios especializados para la tarea (incluyendo instrucción básica de higiene pública) y de acuerdo con sugerencias como las expuestas aquí, sería más práctico y permitiría beneficios equitativos, no constituyendo en todo caso una carga para el erario nacional. Este es un asunto donde claramente se ve que la iniciativa particular y desenfrenada, el *laissez-faire* y la fiscalización de los misioneros en asuntos no religiosos, acarrearán irremediablemente la tragedia.

Otro problema preñado igualmente de peligros es el de la propiedad del terreno. Será imposible, dado el actual sistema Indio, seguir sin que ocurran choques cuando se trate de colonizar tierras de su pertenencia. Dar a los Indios títulos de propiedad sobre los terrenos que actualmente ocupan no puede resultar satisfactorio, porque estos terrenos no les permiten crecimiento de población, y especialmente porque la residencia en un lugar fijo, sin desplazamiento posible, impediría a los Indios la larga rotación de las faenas agrícolas según su costumbre. Es casi seguro que los Indios no podrían seguir abasteciéndose a

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menos de que se les concediese grandes reservas territoriales, que pudieran parecer excesivas a quien no los conoce, reservas que habrían de incluir, no sólo el sitio que actualmente ocupan, sino todo el terreno que ellos juzguen ahora disponible y deseable para futura ocupación. Acaso no sea necesario advertir que conferir a colonos o especuladores títulos "legales" de propiedad sobre estos terrenos, haciendo caso omiso de la ocupación y necesidades de los Indios, sería tan inmoral como peligroso. La introducción eventual de posesión fija, personal y transferible de tierras, en oposición directa al sistema Indio, es probablemente inevitable, pero únicamente puede efectuarse con éxito (sobreviviendo los Indios) si se hace lentamente y va acompañada de experimentación agrícola e instrucción suficiente para hacer factible que en la mínima extensión de terreno pueda cada jefe de familia cosechar el sustento de los suyos.

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CARACTERES SOMATICOS

Aspecto general.

Conviene la mayoría de los viajeros con conocimiento positivo y amplio de los Indios de Sur América en que los Arekunas en particular o el conglomerado Caribe del Roraima en general son físicamente los más atractivos o simpáticos de todos, desde el punto de vista corriente de los blancos. Yo también abundo en esa opinión, y añado que los Kamarakotos comparten plenamente los atractivos de los demás Arekunas. En dos casos pude comprobar que los residentes de Kamarata a quienes a primera vista vacilé en clasificar como Kamarakotos, porque tenían aspecto menos simpático, resultaron efectivamente oriundos de otras tribus.

El aspecto de los Kamarakotos típicos se muestra adecuadamente en las fotografías adjuntas (Ilustr. 84-92). Numerosas fotografías de Taurepanes que presenta Koch-Grünberg, así como las pocas que tomé yo de ellos y que figuran también en esta monografía (Ilustr. 96-98) pudieran igualmente exponerse como representativas de fisonomía Kamarakota, pues dudo mucho que nadie pudiera deducir, por la simple apariencia, a cuál de las dos tribus pertenece cada uno de estos Arekunas.

No teníamos cómo medir o registrar las gradaciones del pigmento de estos Indios, y una impresión subjetiva no sirve de mucho. La piel, por supuesto, es morena, con un leve o no definido

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[P630-A]

Ilust. Nº 84.—Hombre adulto Kamarakoto.
El mentado "Reyes", *ta'-ena'* de Uruyén.

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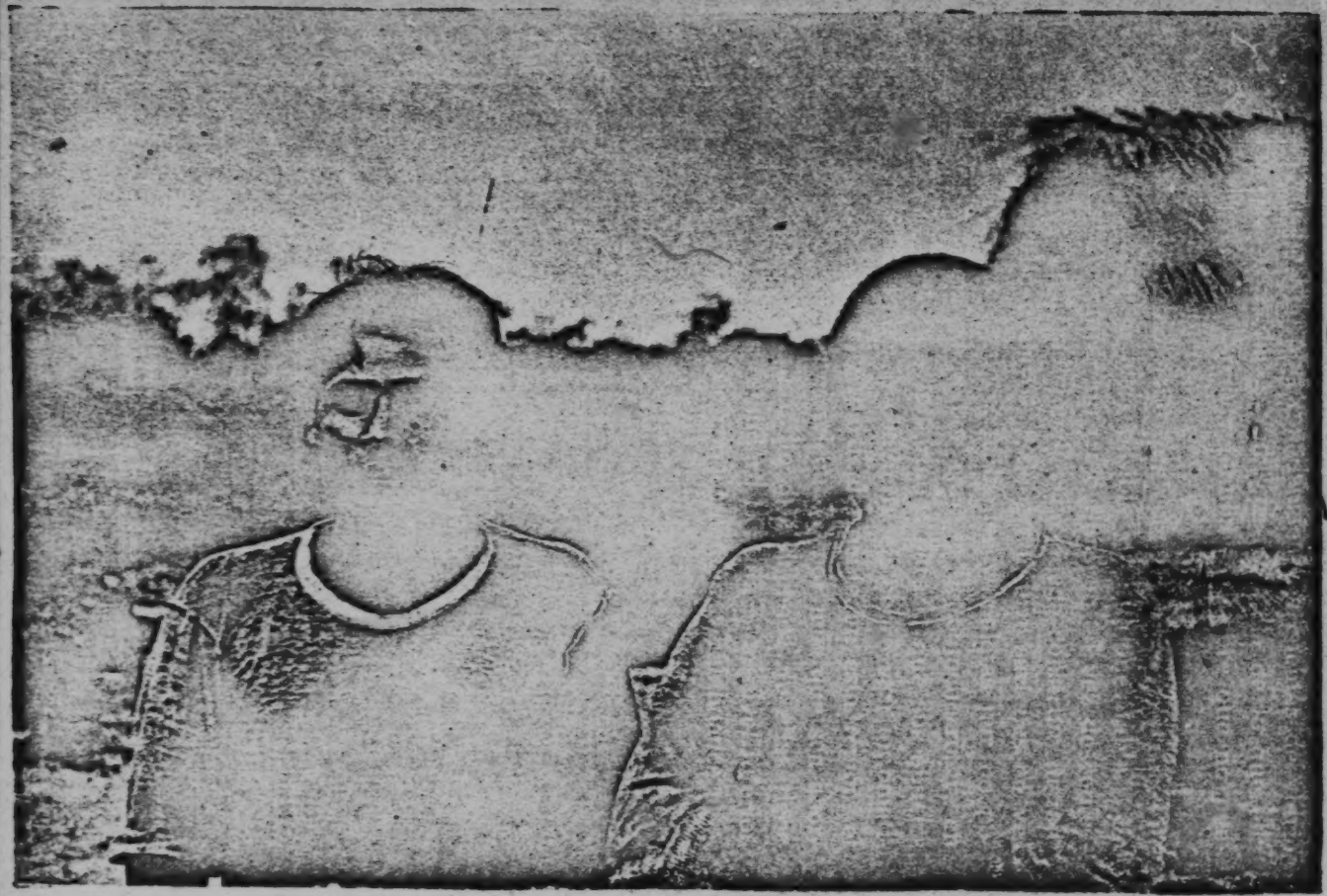

[P630-B]

Ilust. Nº 85.—Jóvenes Kamarakotos.
Número 22 (izquierda) y 21 (derecha). Hombres jóvenes de Atapamota.

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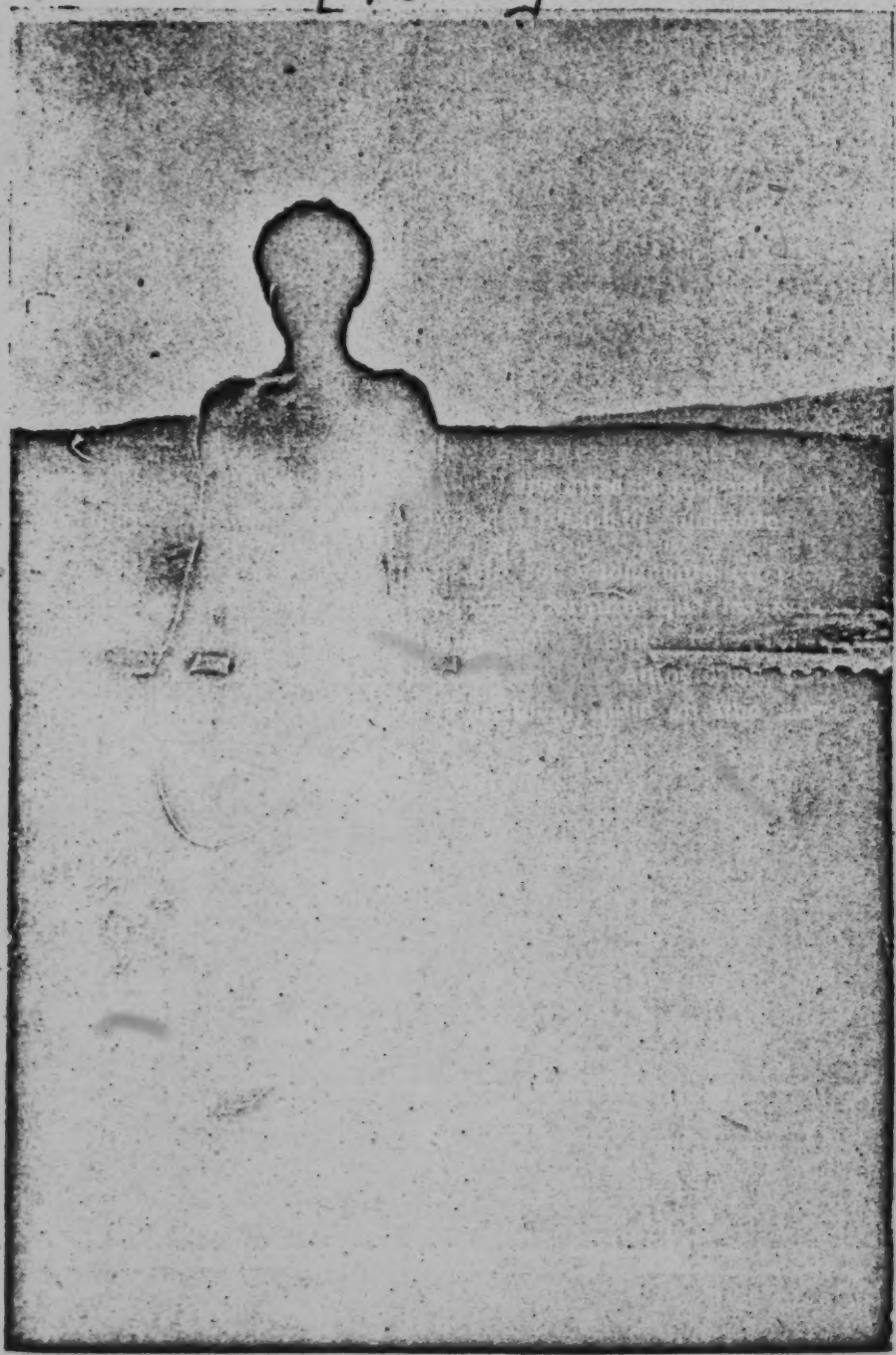
[P630-C]



Ilust. Nº 86.—Joven y muchacho Kamarakotos.

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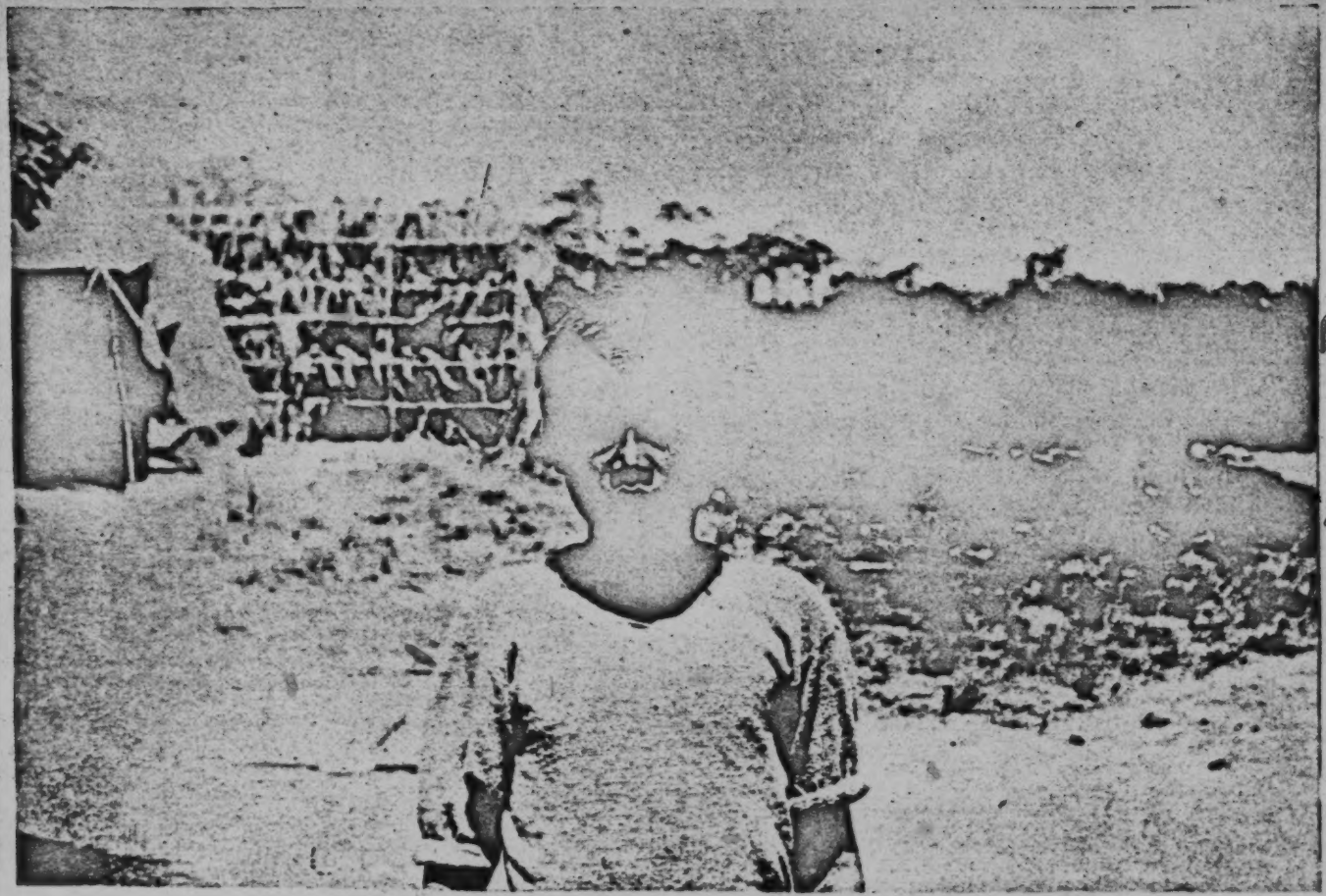

[P630-D]

Ilust. Nº 87.—Muchacho Kamarakoto.
Nº 16, sobrino e hijo adoptivo de Nº 8 (Gráfica 84).

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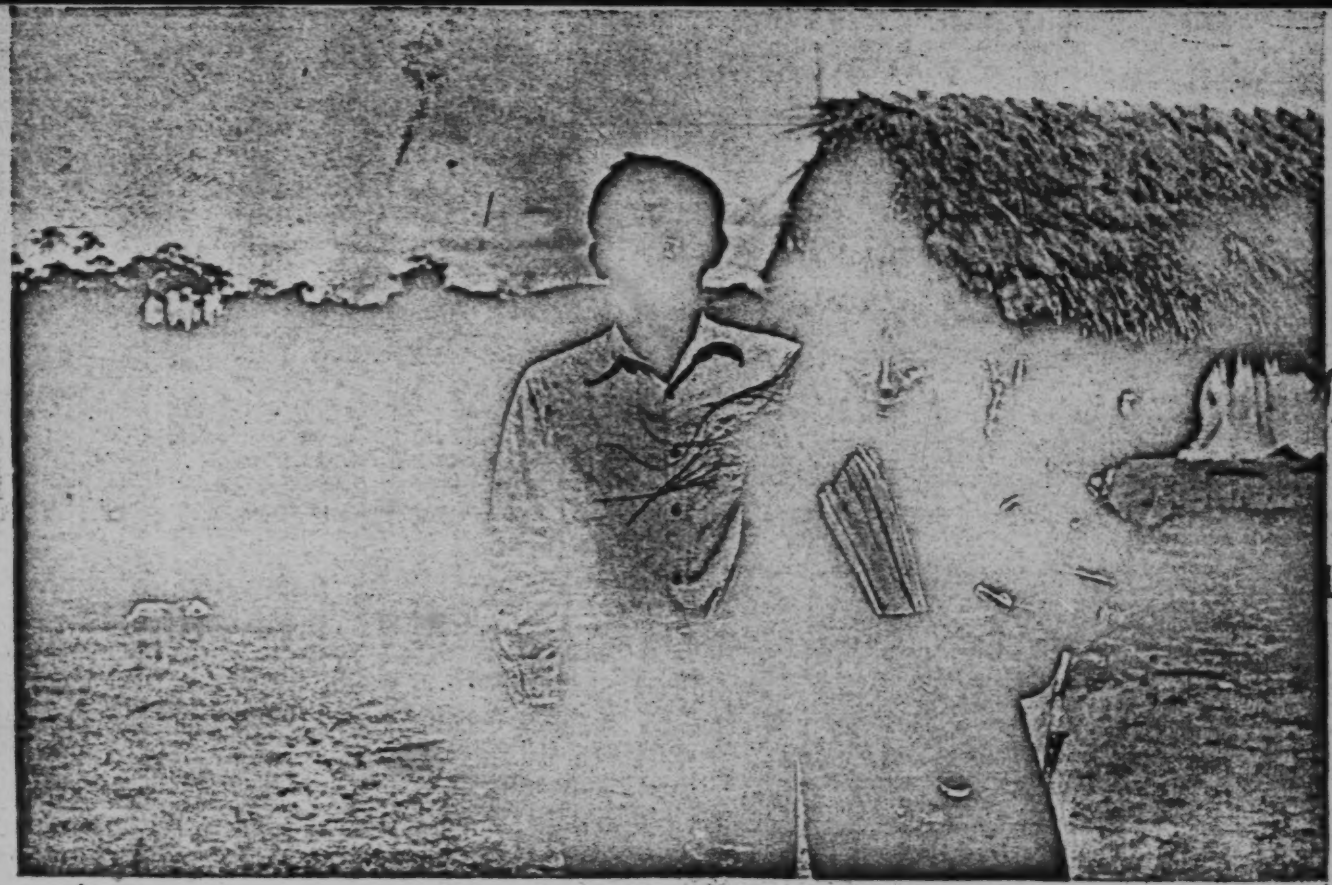

P630-E

Ilust. Nº 88.—Familia Kamarakota.
Nº 42 el *to'-esa'* de Amidan y su mujer, Nº 44, con el más pequeño de sus cuatro hijos vivos (el segundo con esta mujer).

Ilust. Nº 89.—Mujeres Kamarakotas adultas.
Nº 5 (izquierda) y Nº 4 (derecha) hermanas, ambas casadas. Cada una ha tenido dos hijos. pero de los cuatro sólo vive uno de la Nº 5. Moran en Abasakapan.

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P630-F

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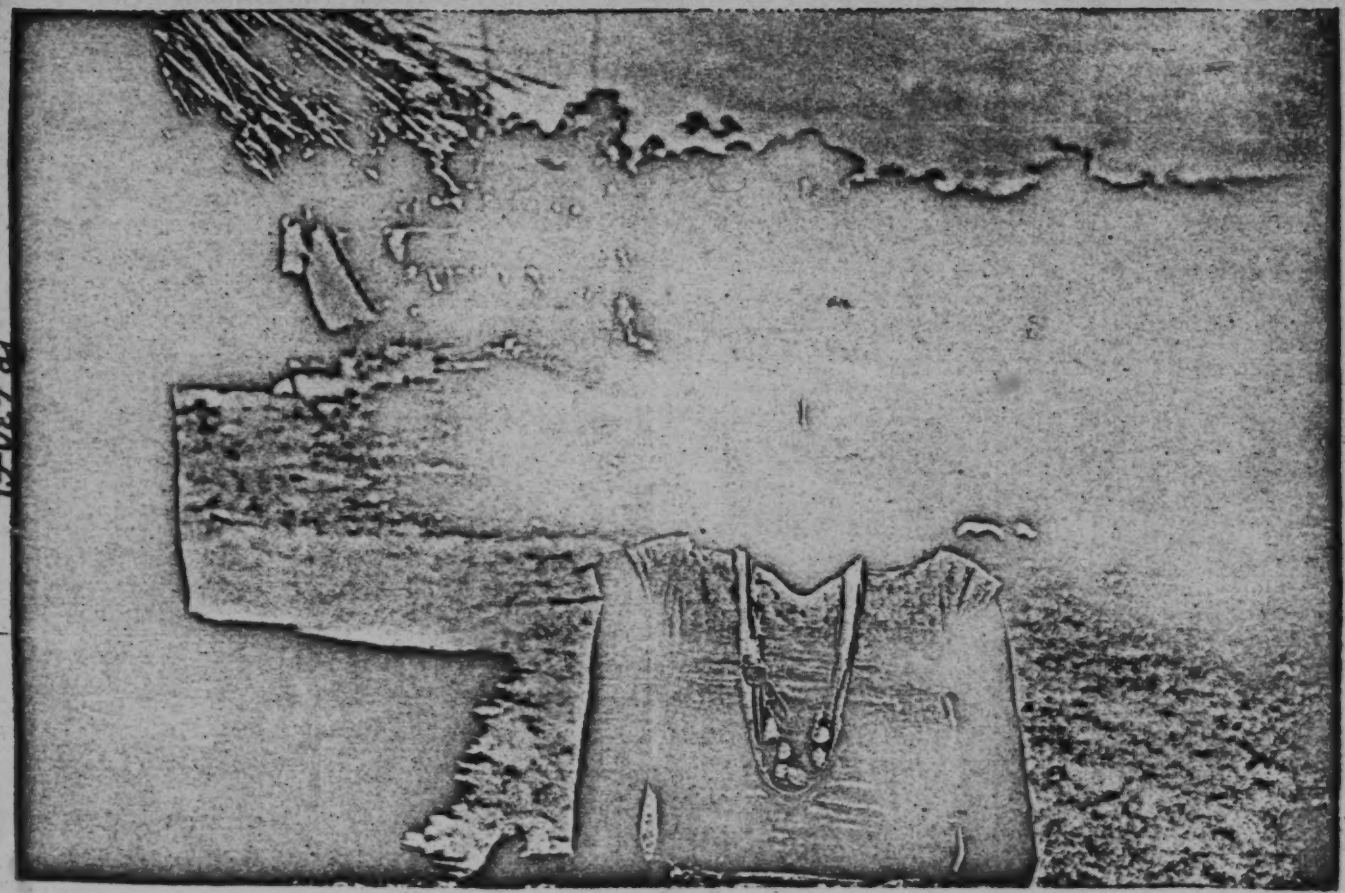

Ilust. Nº 90.—Mujer Kamarakota adulta.
Nº 34 casada, con un hijo vivo y una hija difunta. Mora en Tuaiba.

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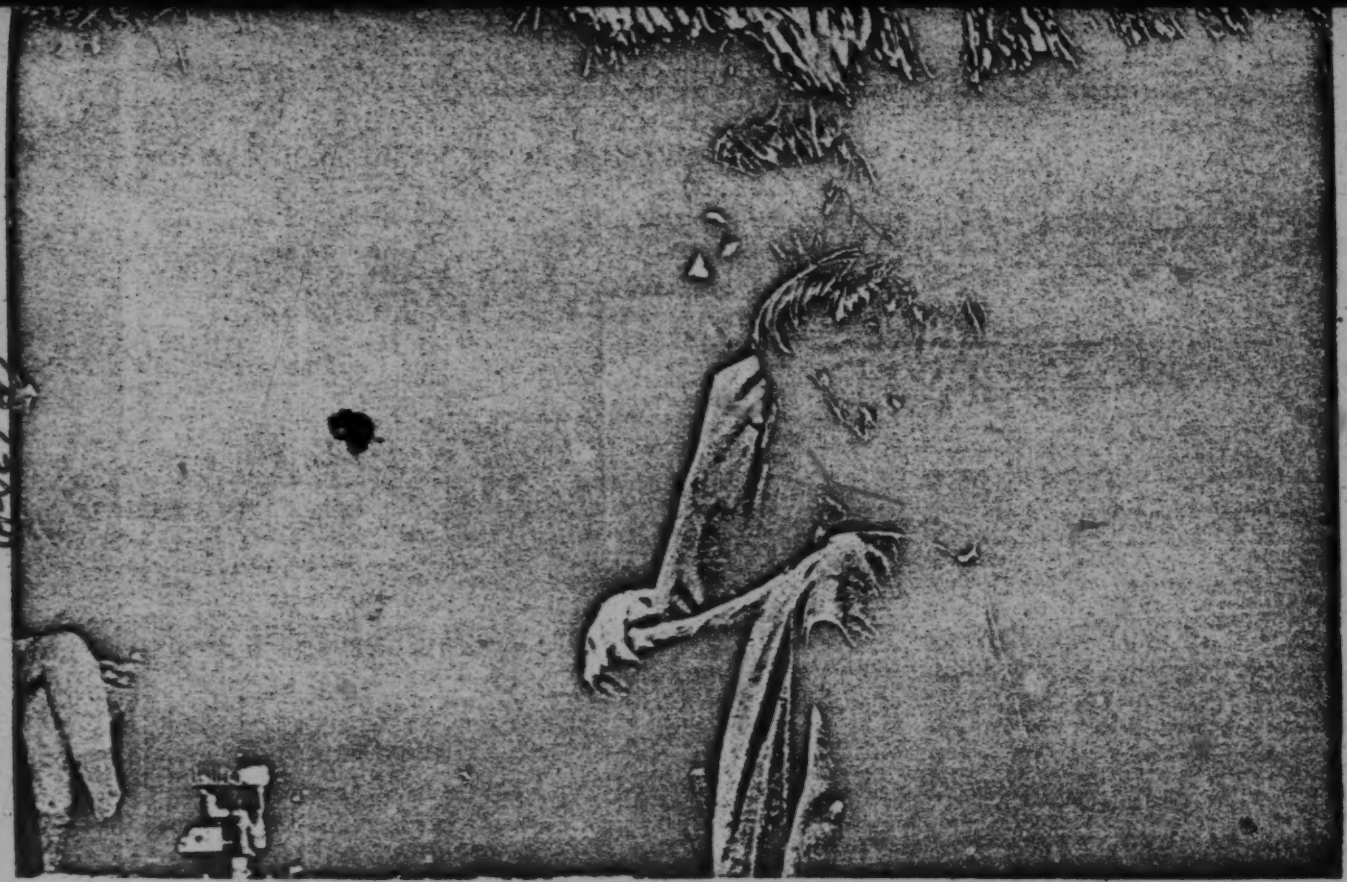

Ilust. Nº 91.—Anciana y muchacha Kamarakotas.
Nº 31 (anciana) tuvo ocho hijos, de los cuales viven solamente dos. Es una de las pocas mujeres anotadas que pasaron de la edad de tener hijos o que tienen nietos. Es la madre de Antonio Montesdeoca. La muchacha, Nº 32, es hija de Antonio y nieta de la Nº 31.

(P. 630-H)

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Ilust. Nº 92.—Muchachitas Kamarakotas.
Nº 52 (izquierda) y Nº 51 (derecha) son, aparte una criatura de un mes, los dos hijos más jóvenes de los seis vivos y los tres difuntos que tuvo la adulta Nº 49.

[P-639-d]

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matiz rojizo, y, cuando no está tostada por el sol, es más bien pálida. Mucha gente blanca de nombre es tan oscura como estos Indios, o, siendo atezada, más oscura todavía. El tipo Venezolano del pueblo, aún en regiones donde hay escasa mezcla de sangre negra, es tan oscuro o más que el Kamarakoto.

El pelo es invariablemente negro y casi sin excepción lacio, aunque un hombre, por lo demás idéntico a los otros, tenía el pelo francamente ondulado y el de varios otros individuos tenía una leve ondulación. En tales casos no cabe sospecha ni remota de pelo lanudo ("pasado" o "chicharrón"), pues ni siquiera es ensortijado. De 24 indígenas varones que registramos detalladamente, siete tenían bigote, poco poblado, y dos de éstos unos cuantos pelos en la barbilla. Quiere esto decir que la mayoría de los hombres son lampiños y por lo regular tienen poco vello en las otras partes del cuerpo. Ninguno de ellos parece haberse afeitado ni depilado jamás la cara.

Las mujeres se cortan el cabello con un cerquillo sobre la frente y se dejan crecer el pelo por detrás, aunque también suelen recortárselo de vez en cuando. Algunas muchachas llevan el pelo cortado a la moda Europea masculina ("garçonne"), pero esto es excepcional. Muchos hombres se esquilan ahora uniformemente toda la cabeza, como lo haría un peluquero de aldea, pero otros se dejan un flequillo ("pollina") o una cogotera. En ambos sexos se deja la cabellera suelta, generalmente, sin trenzarla ni dividirla. No es costumbre indígena ponerse horquillas ni peinetas ni ningún adorno en el pelo, excepto para solemnidades como las danzas.

Tienen estos Indios cierta tendencia a la protuberancia abdominal, como ocurre en todos los pueblos tropicales cuya base alimenticia es el almidón y quienes están atacados frecuentemente por parásitos intestinales, pero rara vez es exagerada la barriga ("lipa") y muchos individuos, prácticamente, no la tienen. Algunos niños y adultos de ambos sexos tienen una figura esbelta y graciosa, pese al defecto apuntado, y por lo general todos ellos son de constitución bella. La estatura media de los hombres es 160 centímetros y la de las mujeres 147, siendo el peso respectivo de ambos 56 y 47 kilogramos. El Kamarakoto más alto que

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Ilust. Nº 93.—Pies femeninos Kamarakotos.
Nº 49 (izquierda) es adulta y madre de las tres muchachas, de izquierda a derecha Nos. 52 (la menor), 51 y 50 (la mayor, aunque no tenga probablemente más de 8 años). Obsérvese cómo crece el pie y la divergencia del dedo gordo a medida de la edad.

[FACING p. 632]

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vimos, un hombre, naturalmente, medía 168 centímetros y medio, y el más grueso, también hombre, pero no tan alto, pesaba alrededor de 63 kilos, en tanto que un hombre de la misma raza, pero no perteneciente al grupo central, llegaba a los 70. Estos Indios son de consiguiente pequeños, desde nuestro punto de vista, pero no pigmeos, siendo siquiera tan altos en realidad como los Caribes de Guayana, según veremos más adelante. No vimos ningún caso de obesidad definida y la flacura exagerada es casi tan fenomenal como la gordura.

Los pies, jamás calzados con zapatos y rara vez con sandalias, tienden naturalmente a ensanchar, y los dedos, especialmente el gordo, son divergentes y móviles (Ilust. 93). Se sirven de ellos para muchos trabajos, como sujetar la tela cuando cosen o recoger y pasarse objetos pequeños cuando tienen las manos ocupadas o no quieren agacharse.

Aparte el tatuaje y el taladro de las orejas, ya mencionados en capítulo anterior, no practican ninguna mutilación ni deformación intencionada, y las dos que hemos señalado tampoco son generales, sino particulares de una minoría de la tribu. Las deformaciones casuales tampoco son corrientes, y yo no creo que maten a las criaturas deformes (los datos sobre este punto vidrioso no son seguros, pero el hecho de que algunos individuos de la tribu tengan vicios de constitución, parece indicar que la imputación no es justa). De los 64 Kamarakotos que examinamos práctica y detalladamente y del mismo número aproximado que observamos por encima, un adulto joven tenía una pierna más corta que la otra, consecuencia, al parecer, de una fractura; otro sólo tenía sólo una oreja, de nacimiento; un niño (hermano del joven de deformidad congénita que acabamos de citar) una deformidad en el esternón, también probablemente congénita; y otro niño,, los ojos ligeramente estrábicos. Todos ellos eran varones y no vimos ninguna hembra defectuosa. Por lo que nosotros pudimos observar, no hay en absoluto casos de deformidades intelectuales, ya sean producto de lesión cerebral o de insuficiencia mental. No hay entre los Kamarakotos individuos mentalmente patológicos o psicopáticos (aunque se encuentran algunos entre los Taurepanes) y, por lo que puede juzgarse en raza tan disímil de la nuestra, el término medio de inteligencia está

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efectivamente a la altura del nivel Venezolano o de cualquier otro país civilizado. El hombre más estúpido que encontramos en aquellos parajes no era de descendencia Kamarakota y, aunque inferior al nivel de los Kamarakotos, era un sér escasamente normal y no anormal en ningún sentido.

Medidas.

No disponíamos de equipo antropométrico especial, de modo que optamos por tomar solamente algunas medidas standard del mayor número posible de individuos. Medimos en total en Kamarata a 68 individuos, la mayoría Kamarakotos, y a 25 Taurepanes en Santa Elena. Que sepa yo, estas son las primeras mediciones que se hacen de Arekunas de cualquier raza, y relativamente muy pocas se han tomado de algunos de los Indios venezolanos vivientes.

Los calibradores craneales fueron fabricados por mí en el mismo lugar con tiras de lata de gasolina, instrumento rudimentario, pero que dió resultados constantes y exactos con un margen de 1%, o menos, aproximación suficiente para cifras que han de ser reducidas a denominador común y casi tan exacta como la que puede obtenerse en un sujeto vivo con el mejor de los instrumentales. Sólo tomamos la largura y la anchura standard de la cabeza (con el índice calculado de acuerdo). Estas mensuras se tomaron y se dan aquí en milímetros, y se apuntaron en milímetros íntegros, sin fracciones. Medimos la estatura contra un poste y la largura de los dos brazos extendidos en cruz con una cinta de acero. Estas mensuras se tomaron hasta el medio centímetro y las damos en centímetros. La altura en posición sentada, con la misma exactitud, se obtuvo sentando al individuo sobre una caja, contra un poste, con los muslos aproximadamente horizontales y las nalgas tocando en el poste, con el torso erguido todo lo posible y los ojos mirando de frente. El importante elemento de la largura de la pierna no se midió directamente, sino por la diferencia resultante entre la estatura y la altura sentada, contando hasta el medio centímetro. El peso sólo pudimos tomarlo "grosso modo" con una romana para ganado con subdi-

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visión mínima de 5 libras, aunque exacta hasta dicho punto. Estos pesos se transcriben aquí en libras. No obstante la precisión relativa de nuestra báscula, resultaba interesante investigar este punto no estudiado al parecer en ningún grupo afín, y los términos medios resultaron por lo general exactos con un margen de libra. No tomamos el peso de los Taurepanes.

Aparte estas medidas, los registros detallados incluyen el nombre Español (caso de tenerlo) de cada individuo, su edad calculada o relativa, el lugar de su residencia, observaciones sobre el aspecto personal, su parentesco, siquiera aproximado, con otros individuos registrados, su estado (casado, etc.) y el número y sexo de sus hijos vivos y muertos. También poseo una cuando menos y a veces varias fotografías de cada individuo examinado. Estos registros detallados están archivados permanentemente y a la disposición de toda persona interesada, pero no los publicamos aquí. Para el objeto presente los análisis y comparaciones de los diversos grupos son adecuados y más importantes y comprensibles que la publicación de todos los datos globales.

Las mensuras Kamarakotas han de entenderse como incluyendo solamente individuos del que he llamado grupo central. No podíamos incluir en la proporción debida individuos que viviesen alejados del grupo central, porque la homogeneidad y la representación de los ejemplares hubiesen resultado inciertos. Los ejemplares del grupó central son excelentes y suministran buena información acerca de la población, aunque sean de pocos individuos. Forzosamente incluyen nada más que los individuos que visitaron nuestro campamento y a quienes convencimos para que dejasen medir (236), pero cualquier desviación aparecida en esta

(236) Tropezamos con cierta renuencia, pero toda persona a quien hicimos la proposición, acabó por aceptar. Cuando íbamos por la mitad del trabajo, y todo escrúpulo parecía haber desaparecido, la tribu se negó de improviso y unánimemente a dejarse medir. Al investigar el caso, me enteré finalmente de que la negativa se debía a que el número ocho, en Inglés "eight", que yo había dictado varias veces a Mr. Angel y a mi esposa para que lo inscribiesen, tiene una pronunciación muy parecida a la de las palabras Kamarakotas, correspondientes a "morir" y "muerte". Me dirigí a los ranchos de Uruyén, reuní a varios Indios, les expliqué el significado de "eight" y luego, para demostrárselo y tranquilizarles, les enseñé a contar desde uno hasta diez en Inglés—anécdota de la que pueden sacar provecho los futuros viajeros de mi idioma. Entonces regresaron los Indios a nuestro campamento y pude terminar mis mediciones sin ulterior dificultad seria.

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selección se rectificó cuidadosamente, no creyendo yo que haya afectado a la prueba final. En los subejemplares diversos (varones adultos, etc.) se comprobó la distribución por edad, lugar de nacimiento y familia, encontrándose que en todos estos respectos la selección equivalía a una selección hecha al azar de todos los individuos del grupo central.

Las mensuras de niños, aunque por lo general las evitan los antropólogos, también se llevaron a cabo, pues pueden suministrar datos interesantes respecto al crecimiento, datos que hasta ahora no se poseen de ningún grupo comparable. Estas apuntaciones se separaron, naturalmente, de las correspondientes a los grupos adultos. Para estos últimos hicimos tres divisiones: adultos solteros, adultos casados y adultas. Al primer grupo de hombres célibes ya me he referido al hablar de una concomitante de poligamía. Todos ellos eran completamente maduros, aunque jóvenes (probablemente alrededor de los 20 años) y en la tribu eran considerados como adultos y casables, aunque estuviesen aún solteros. Cuando los examinamos creímos que habían llegado ya al máximo crecimiento, pero las cifras nos revelan ahora que una parte de ellos son leve, pero significativamente más pequeños que los hombres de edad plenamente adulta. El grupo de hombres casados y con hijos incluye varias edades, probablemente todos entre los 20 y los 50 años, en la misma proporción que aparecen en la tribu como conjunto. Entre las mujeres no pudimos agrupar adultas más jóvenes y adultas completamente crecidas y acaso una o dos de las anotadas no llegasen todavía a su completo crecimiento, pero, aun siendo así, ello no alteraría el coeficiente en grado significante.

Ante toda la tabla siguiente establecemos las clasificaciones con: R = distancia observada (entre el más grande y el más pequeño), M =promedio aritmético, σ = desviación standard, V = coeficiente de variación, d = desviación del promedio aritmético, N = tamaño del ejemplar, P = probabilidad de desviación igual o mayor en un individuo de la población tomado al azar (como fracción de 1.00) y X = una medición individual. El error standard no probable, se apunta. La palabra "significante" se emplea en todos los párrafos siguientes en su plena acepción técnica, queriendo decir que se ha aplicado una prueba

estadística objetiva de significación (usando $d/\sigma = 3$ o $P = .01$ como límite, siempre que no se especifique otra cosa), aun cuando los detalles de los resultados numéricos de tal prueba no se publiquen explícitamente aquí.

Los datos pertinentes para los tres grupos de adultos Kamarakotos aparecen en los Cuadros I, II y III.

En el grupo del Cuadro II el índice craneal (no correlacionado significantemente con la edad en ninguno de mis ejemplares) no es significantemente distinto del correspondiente al grupo de varones plenamente adultos. La anchura del cráneo y la cifra correspondiente a la estatura menos altura sentado no es significantemente distinta desde el punto de vista técnico de la correspondiente al grupo adulto, considerando las cifras aisladas, pero esto debe tomarse ciertamente como resultado casual y la diferencia acusada puede servir para caracterizar a la población. Las otras medidas son significantemente distintas de las del grupo plenamente adulto, especialmente la del peso, lo cual demuestra que este segundo grupo sexualmente maduro y al parecer adulto, no está en realidad totalmente desarrollado o, en otras palabras, que aun entre adultos hay cierto crecimiento.

Mis ejemplares Taurepanes no son tan buenos como los Kamarakotos. Son demasiado homogéneos en cierto grado, pues todos ellos proceden de un sector determinado de esta tribu extendida e incluyen una proporción exagerada de individuos de la misma edad aproximadamente, de manera que no hay seguridad de que representen a la tribu como conjunto. Aunque todos son adultos, en los varones particularmente el término medio es de menor edad que mis ejemplares Kamarakotos plenamente adultos y también que la población Taurepana adulta. Sin embargo, las medidas no pueden diferir mucho de las Taurepanas normales, y su empleo en comparaciones no puede inducir a error grave, siempre que no se pierda de vista su carácter no completamente representativo. (Véanse Cuadros IV y V).

CUADRO I

VARONES KAMARAKOTOS PLENAMENTE ADULTOS: N= 15

	R	M	σ	V
Largura del cráneo	175 - 194	186.9 ± 1.4	5.5 ± 1.0	3.0 ± .5
Anchura del cráneo	150 - 160	154.2 ± .9	3.6 ± .7	2.3 ± .4
Indice craneal	77 - 86	82.2 ± .6	2.3 ± .4	.. .. ..
Estatura	147½ - 168½	160.0 ± 1.3	5.0 ± .9	3.1 ± .6
Sentado	79 - 90	84.8 ± .8	3.1 ± .6	3.6 ± .7
Estatura menos sentado	68½ - 81½	75.2 ± .8	3.3 ± .6	4.3 ± .8
Brazos extendidos en cruz	153 - 180	169.0 ± 1.7	6.5 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .7
Peso	105 - 140	123.7 ± 2.8	10.7 ± 2.0	.. .. ..

CUADRO II

VARONES KAMARAKOTOS ADULTOS JOVENES: N = 9

	R	M	σ	V
Largura de la cabeza	173 - 190	182.7 ± 1.4	4.2 ± 1.0	2.3 ± .5
Anchura de la cabeza	143 - 158	152.4 ± 1.5	4.6 ± 1.1	3.0 ± .7
Indice craneal	78 - 86	83.2 ± .8	2.5 ± .6	.. .. ..
Estatura	150 - 162	155.0 ± 1.0	3.1 ± .7	2.0 ± .5
Sentado	77 - 86½	80.9 ± .9	2.6 ± .6	3.3 ± .8
Estatura menos sentado	71 - 76½	74.1 ± .6	1.7 ± .4	2.3 ± .5
Brazos extendidos en cruz	155 - 170	162.4 ± 1.5	4.5 ± 1.1	2.8 ± .7
Peso	105 - 125	112.2 ± 2.1	6.3 ± 1.5	.. .. ..

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CUADRO III

HEMBRAS KAMARAKOTAS ADULTAS: N = 14

	R	M	σ	V
Largura de la cabeza	169 - 186	177.1 ± 1.3	4.7 ± .9	2.6 ± .5
Anchura de la cabeza	146 - 159	150.9 ± .9	3.3 ± .6	2.2 ± .4
Indice craneal	80 - 88	84.7 ± .6	2.4 ± .5	.. .. ..
Estatura	136 - 155½	146.9 ± 1.2	4.6 ± .9	3.2 ± .6
Sentada	71 - 82	77.1 ± .7	2.8 ± .5	3.6 ± .7
Estatura menos sentada	65 - 77½	69.8 ± .8	3.2 ± .6	4.5 ± .9
Brazos extendidos en cruz	143 - 163½	152.0 ± 1.4	5.2 ± 1.0	3.4 ± .6
Peso	80 - 120	103.6 ± 3.3	12.2 ± 2.3	.. .. ..

CUADRO IV
VARONES TAUREPANES ADULTOS: N = 12

	R	M	σ	V
Largura del cráneo	179 - 191	184.3 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	2.0 ± .4
Anchura del cráneo	147 - 161	154.2 ± 1.3	4.5 ± .9	2.9 ± .6
Indice craneal	79 - 89	83.2 ± .8	2.7 ± .6	.. .. ..
Estatura	152 - 161	156.9 ± 1.0	3.3 ± .7	2.1 ± .4
Sentado	79 - 87	82.4 ± .6	2.1 ± .4	2.5 ± .5
Estatura menos sentado	70 - 79½	74.5 ± .8	2.8 ± .6	3.8 ± .8
Brazos extendidos en cruz	156 - 170	164.4 ± 1.2	4.2 ± .9	2.5 ± .5

CUADRO V
HEMBRAS TAUREPANAS ADULTAS: N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Largura del cráneo	169 - 183	176.5 ± 1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5 ± .5
Anchura del cráneo	145 - 157	150.6 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6 ± .6
Indice craneal	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	.. .. ..
Estatura	136½ - 152	145.8 ± 1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0 ± .6
Sentada	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2 ± .7
Estatura menos sentada	62 - 75½	68.5 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3 ± 1.1
Brazos extendidos en cruz	142 - 164	153.1 ± 1.7	5.5 ± 1.2	3.6 ± .8

Los valores V de los cinco ejemplares son asombrosamente pequeños y uniformes, sobre todo si se descuenta el de estatura menos altura sentado, debido a su relativa inexactitud, ya que esta dimensión es calculada y no medida directamente. Aun incluyendo esta dimensión, todos los valores V oscilan entre 2.0 y 5.3, y excluyéndola oscilan entre 2.0 y 3.9 medida notablemente baja y angosta para tal coeficiente. Tratándose de dimensiones lineales de mamíferos en general, tales cifras caracterizan a ejemplares de una raza local pura, por lo cual es muy legítima la hipótesis de que estos Indios son relativamente uniformes de constitución racial o genética. Esto se halla en contradicción aparente con el hecho conocido de cruces con otras tribus, pero en primer lugar tales cruces son excepcionales, y, en segundo lugar, siquiera por lo que se refiere a los Kamarakotos, los cruces han ocurrido casi siempre con Indios que eran físicamente indistinguibles o punto menos de los Kamarakotos, por lo general con otros Arekunas y a veces, pero muy raramente, con ramas distantes como los Akawais, quienes todavía no difieren muy notablemente de los Arekunas.

Todas estas mediciones varían poco, pero hablando en términos generales, la altura en posición sentada, la largura de la pierna y la extensión de los brazos en cruz son más variables que las dimensiones de la cabeza o la estatura. El peso, por más que su valor V no podría compararse legítimamente con los otros, es evidentemente más variable que ninguno de las dimensiones lineales, como es inevitable.

Aunque varios individuos (entre varones solamente) entran nominalmente en la clasificación mesaticefálica, tanto los Kamarakotos como los Taurepanes son decididamente braquicéfalos como conjunto. Uno de los individuos tiene el índice notablemente elevado de 91, y los términos medios de todos los grupos son efectivamente superiores a 80.

La obtención de los pesos y alturas en posición sentada de los Kamarakotos se hicieron por procedimientos adecuadamente seguros, aunque poco precisos para medidas individuales. Así y todo, proporcionan una interesante y única oportunidad para registrar la corpulencia o el estado de nutrición de este grupo de

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Caribes. Entre los varios índices ideados para medir esta característica, acaso sea el de Von Pirquet el mejor cuando se trata de estudios antropológicos comparativos. Es ésta:

$$\sqrt[3]{\frac{W \times 10}{S.}}$$

significando W peso en gramos y S altura en posición sentada en centímetros. Los valores para los tres grupos principales de Kamarakotos son:

Varones plenamente adultos	.97
Varones adultos jóvenes..	.99
Hembras adultas..	1.01

El término medio de los blancos Europeos es alrededor de .90 y para el término medio de los blancos los valores inferiores a .945 aproximadamente se toman como representativos de posible desnutrición. Para los chinos el término medio puede ser inferior hasta .90. Resulta claro que los Kamarakotos, cuando nuestra visita (237) estaban bien alimentados, que su corpulencia acaso sea algo pero no mucho mayor que la media Europa y que las hembras, en conjunto, son un poco más corpulentas que los varones, y los varones jóvenes lo mismo respecto a los mayores de edad. Este resultado más seguro está de acuerdo con la impresión general derivada de una simple observación. El varón adulto más corpulento (índice Von Pirquet 1.03) aunque visiblemente pesado, no era realmente gordo, y el menos corpulento (.92) aunque visiblemente delgado, no era realmente flaco. Estos son extremos de una serie normal y no representan, en este grupo, desnutrición ni sobrealimentación llevadas a un grado patológico. En su estado normal esta tribu está bien alimentada con su dieta propia, y ni en este respecto ni en el mental ni el social, hay evidencia clara de mengua o degeneración.

(237) Pero como resultado de su nutrición habitual con víveres cultivados o cosechados por ellos mismos. Es en extremo improbable que la comida que les diéramos nosotros determinase una diferencia notable en su peso corriente.

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Comparaciones.

Es obvio que los Kamarakotos acusan muy marcadas diferencias de sexo del género esperado, vale decir, que el término medio masculino es notablemente mayor que el femenino en casi todas las dimensiones. Así lo confirma la siguiente tabla:

Comparación entre Kamarakotos adultos varones y hembras.

	a. Media masculina	b. Media femenina	a - b
Largura del cráneo..	186.9	177.1	9.8
Anchura del cráneo..	154.2	150.9	3.3
Indice craneal..	82.2	84.7	—2.5
Estatura..	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sentado..	84.8	77.1	7.7
Estatura menos sentado..	75.2	69.8	5.4
Brazos extendidos en cruz..	169.0	152.0	17.0
Peso..	123.7	103.6	20.1

Todas estas diferencias son significantes estadísticamente. La única que evidentemente no lo es, es la correspondiente a los índices craneales, y para estos promedios, d/σ es 2.9, lo cual es reflejo de significancia casi cierta. Resulta algo inesperado encontrar que en esta tribu hay una definida distinción sexual secundaria en las proporciones del cráneo y que las mujeres son por término medio definidamente más braquicéfalas que los hombres.

El mismo género de diferencia aparece en los Taurepanes, y Farabee también la advirtió en los Makuchis y algunas otras tribus de la Guayana Inglesa, incluyendo algunos Aruacos. La diferencia no ha demostrado ser concluyentemente significante en estos casos, pero está tan difundida y es tan constante que indudablemente demostrará ser significante desde el punto de vista estadístico.

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Viviendo en la tribu Kamarakota como miembros de ella, encontramos dos Indios adultos (así como también varios niños no analizados aquí específicamente) no descendientes de Kamarakotos. Según su propia declaración, son Arekunas de Luepa, (vale decir, de un punto cualquiera del Norte de la Gran Sabana). No conozco bien a los Arekunas de esa región, por más que haya visto unos veinte o treinta de ellos, pero estos dos individuos tienen un aspecto marcadamente no Arekuna (Ilustr. 95), siendo posible cuando menos que su ancestro sea parcial o completamente no-Arekuna, aunque incuestionablemente Caribe. En las mediciones aquí empleadas, los confrontamos como sigue con los ejemplares comparables Kamarakotos puros. Estos dos individuos fueron naturalmente excluídos de los datos correspondientes al grupo Kamarakoto.

Comparaciones del Nº 25 (conocido por Simón Bolívar) con los varones Kamarakotos adultos.

	X	d	d/σ
Largura del cráneo..	188	+ 1.1	.2
Anchura del cráneo..	165	+ 10.8	3.0
Indice craneal..	88	+ 5.8	2.5
Estatura..	158½	— 1.5	.3
Sentado..	84½	— .3	.1
Brazos extendidos en cruz.. ..	167	— 2.0	.3
Peso..	140	+ 16.5	1.5

Comparaciones de las dimensiones craneales del Nº 25 con varones Taurepanes adultos.

	X	d	d/σ
Largura del cráneo..	188	+ 3.7	1.0
Anchura del cráneo..	165	+ 10.8	2.4
Indice craneal..	88	+ 4.8	1.8

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Comparaciones de la hembra adulta Nº 14 (conocida por Rosa Bolívar), hermana del Nº 25, con hembras Kamarakotas adultas.

	X	d	d/σ
Largura del cráneo..	183	+ 5.9	1.3
Anchura del cráneo..	160	+ 9.1	2.7
Indice craneal..	87	+ 2.3	1.0
Estatura..	148½	+ 1.6	.3
Sentada..	79	+ 1.9	.7
Brazos extendidos en cruz.. ..	157	+ 5.0	1.0
Peso..	100	— 3.6	.3

El cráneo de Simón es significantemente más ancho que el de los Kamarakotos y esto confirma la creencia de que tiene cierta proporción de sangre no-Arekuna. Su índice craneal es casi pero no por completo significantemente mayor (P es inferior a .02 pero superior a .01). El cráneo de Rosa está aproximadamente en el límite de significancia por su mayor anchura en comparación con los Kamarakotos (P levemente menor que .01), pero su índice no demuestra ser significantemente distinto. En las demás dimensiones estos Indios entran perfectamente en la medida Kamarakota normal. La diferencia de anchura del cráneo de Simón y el típico Taurepán no es significante (P algo mayor que .02), pero, en vista de las otras afinidades, esto puede imputarse a diferencia de este ejemplar. Conviene, no obstante, tomarlo en cuenta como una posibilidad de que estos individuos pertenezcan a un grupo que sea más variable que los Kamarakotos en este respecto y no definidamente más braquicéfalo. De todos modos, esto no alteraría el hecho de que son diferentes.

Tuve oportunidad de medir a tres Arekunas adultos del Sur y del Oeste de Kamarata, vale decir, Indios típicos de regiones alejadas del grupo central Kamarakoto, y cuya pertenencia a esta tribu es dudosa. Los comparamos como sigue con los Kamarakotos plenamente adultos.

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Comparaciones de tres varones adultos Arekunas de la región del Caroní con varones adultos Kamarakotos.

MEDIDAS — INDIVIDUOS

	Nº	X	d	d/σ
Largura del cráneo..	1	195	+ 8.1	1.5
	2	181	— 5.9	1.1
	3	188	+ 1.1	.2
Anchura del cráneo.	1	155	+ .8	.2
	2	148	— 6.2	1.7
	3	157	+ 2.8	.8
Indice craneal. . . .	1	79	— 3.2	1.4
	2	82	— .2	.1
	3	84	+ 1.8	.8
Estatura.	1	165	+ 5.0	1.0
	2	164½	— .5	.1
	3	172½	+ 12.5	2.5
Sentado.	1	89	+ 4.2	1.4
	2	82	— 2.8	.9
	3	79	— 5.8	1.9
Brazos extendidos en cruz.	1	175	+ 6.0	.9
	2	172	+ 3.0	.5
	3	173	+ 4.0	.6
Peso.	1	155	+ 31.3	2.9
	2	115	— 8.7	.8
	3	115	— 8.7	.8

El Nº 3 (Ilust. 94) es más alto que todos los Kamarakotos centrales, pero la diferencia no es significante con seguridad (P

está entre .02 y .01). El Nº 1 está marcadamente fuera del tipo normal Kamarakoto en peso (P definidamente menor que .01), pero puede concedérsele poca importancia a característica tan dependiente del medio-ambiente, aunque sea por corto período, por más que el medio-ambiente de esta India sea seguramente distinto (en una forma u otra) del correspondiente al grupo central. En los demás respectos estos Indios entran perfectamente en el tipo Kamarakoto, así como en otras características menos mensurables de aspecto, y no hay razón para separarlos físicamente de esta tribu o, siquiera, del grupo de Arekunas de esta región general.

Kamarakotos y Taurepanes se comparan como sigue:

COMPARACION DE VARONES ADULTOS KAMARAKOTOS Y TAUREPANES

	a. media de 15 Kamarakotos	b. media de 12 Taurepanes	a - b
Largura del cráneo..	186.9	184.3	2.6
Anchura del cráneo..	154.2	154.2	0
Indice craneal..	82.2	83.2	—1.0
Estatura..	160.0	156.9	3.1
Sentado..	84.8	82.4	2.4
Estatura menos sentado..	75.2	74.5	.7
Brazos extendidos en cruz.. ..	169.0	164.4	4.6

Ninguna de estas diferencias es significante (d/σ es menos que 2.5 en todos los casos) y, ateniéndose a estas mediciones, no cabe distinción entre varones Kamarakotos y Taurepanes. El hecho de que los Taurepanes son levemente más pequeños en todas las dimensiones se debe al hecho comprobado de que la edad media de los individuos de la selección Taurepana era levemente menor, debiéndose tener en cuenta que en estos grupos ocurre cierto crecimiento en los adultos.

COMPARACION DE HEMBRAS ADULTAS KAMARAKOTAS Y TAUREPANAS

	a. media de 14 Kamarakotos	b. media de 11 Taurepanes	a - b
Largura del cráneo..	177.1	176.5	.6
Anchura del cráneo..	150.9	150.6	.3
Indice craneal..	84.7	85.4	— .7
Estatura..	146.9	145.8	1.1
Sentado..	77.1	77.3	— .2
Estatura menos sentado..	69.8	68.5	1.3
Brazos extendidos en cruz.. ..	152.0	153.1	—1.1

Estas diferencias distan mucho de ser significantes. Por lo que respecta a estas mediciones, los ejemplares Kamarakotos y Taurepanes, tanto varones como hembras, hubiesen podido extraerse de una sola población muy uniforme. Esto indica que los Arekunas, como conjunto, presentan un tipo físico de gran uniformidad, según lo confirman plenamente factores más sutiles de aspecto. También indica, naturalmente que los Taurepanes son Arekunas, lo cual a su vez se ve confirmado por su cultura y por su lengua.

Los ejemplares Kamarakotos y Taurepanes son comparables en absoluto (tomando en cuenta los defectos anotados de representación de los segundos), porque fueron estudiados por el mismo observador y del mismo modo. Una comparación más amplia introduce un posible elemento personal, pero hay poca razón para dudar de que las mediciones de Farabee, las únicas de gran importancia para la más amplia comparación, son suficientemente comparables. Su ejemplar de varones Makuchis es más grande que todos mis ejemplares (de 30 a 33) y tiene aparentemente distribución representativa en cuanto a edad. Su ejemplar femenino correspondiente es pequeño (de 10 a 13), pero suficiente

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para la comparación. Contiene dos grupos de edad completamente distintos dentro de la serie adulta, uno de 5 mujeres de 25 años y menos (según el cálculo de Farabee) y cuya estatura media es de 141.3 centímetros, y otro de 4 mujeres de 40 años y más, cuya estatura media es de 144.4 cm. de manera que resulta evidente el crecimiento de los adultos, pero los ejemplares en conjunto parecen tener por término medio la misma edad que los míos (238).

Las comparaciones son como sigue:

COMPARACIONES DE MEDIAS CORRESPONDIENTES A 16 VARONES KAMARAKOTOS ADULTOS Y A LOS 30-33 (239) VARONES MAKUCHIS ADULTOS PRESENTADOS POR FARABEE

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a - b	P
Largura del cráneo..	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Anchura del cráneo.	154.2	148	6.2	< .01 (i. ic. 'menos de —'
Índice craneal.	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Estatura	160.0	156.0	4.0	< .02 > .01
Sentado...	84.8	81.0	3.8	casi .01 < .01
Estatura menos sentado..	75.2	75.0	.2	—
Brazos extendidos en cruz..	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

(238) Presenta solamente una mujer cuya presunta edad es superior a los 25 años, pero menor de 40, y yo la omití en las medias parciales pre-insertas. Su serie de varones no presenta tal laguna.

(239) 32 para mediciones craneales, 30 para las demás.

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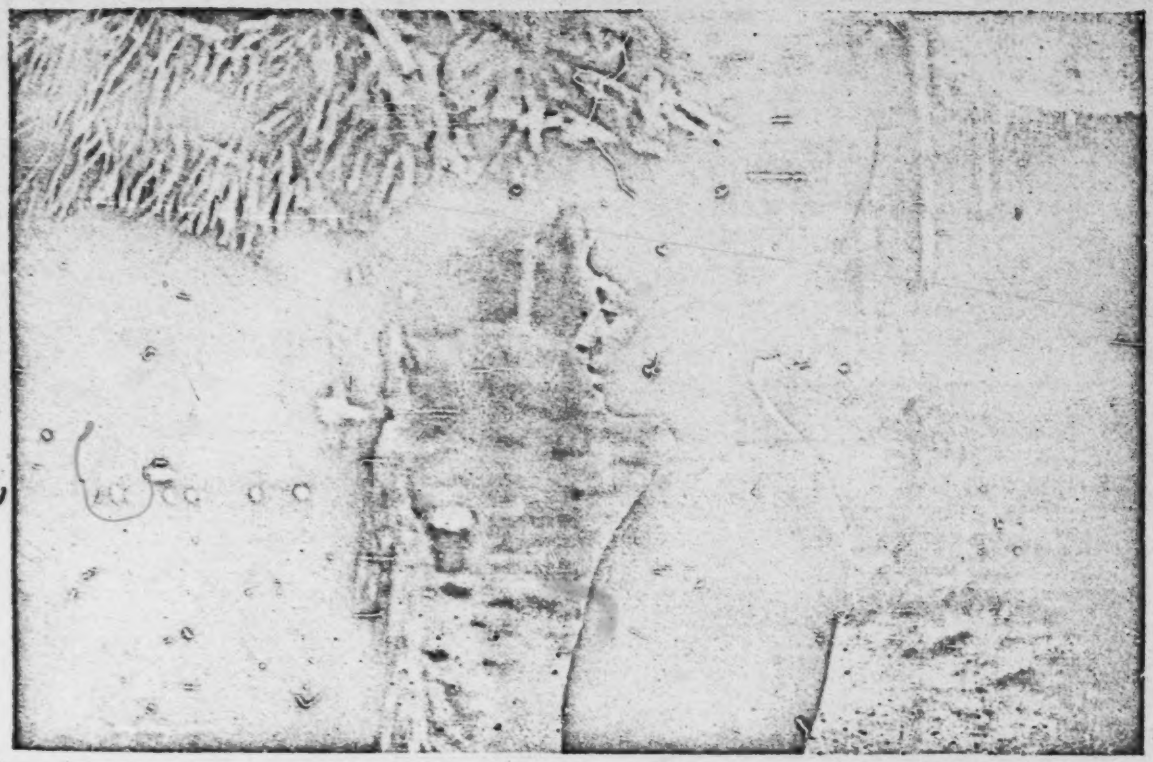

[P.648-A]

Ilust. Nº 94.—Adulto Arekuna.
Nº 3 uno de los Indios del Caroní indistinguible de los Kamarakotos, pero no perteneciente al grupo central de esta tribu.

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Ilust. Nº 95.—Adulto Arekuna (?)
Nº 25, conocido por "Simón Bolívar", miembro de la tribu Kamarakota en sentido social, pero no Kamarakoto por ascendencia ni por carácter físico. Ancestro ribual dudoso.

[p.648-B]

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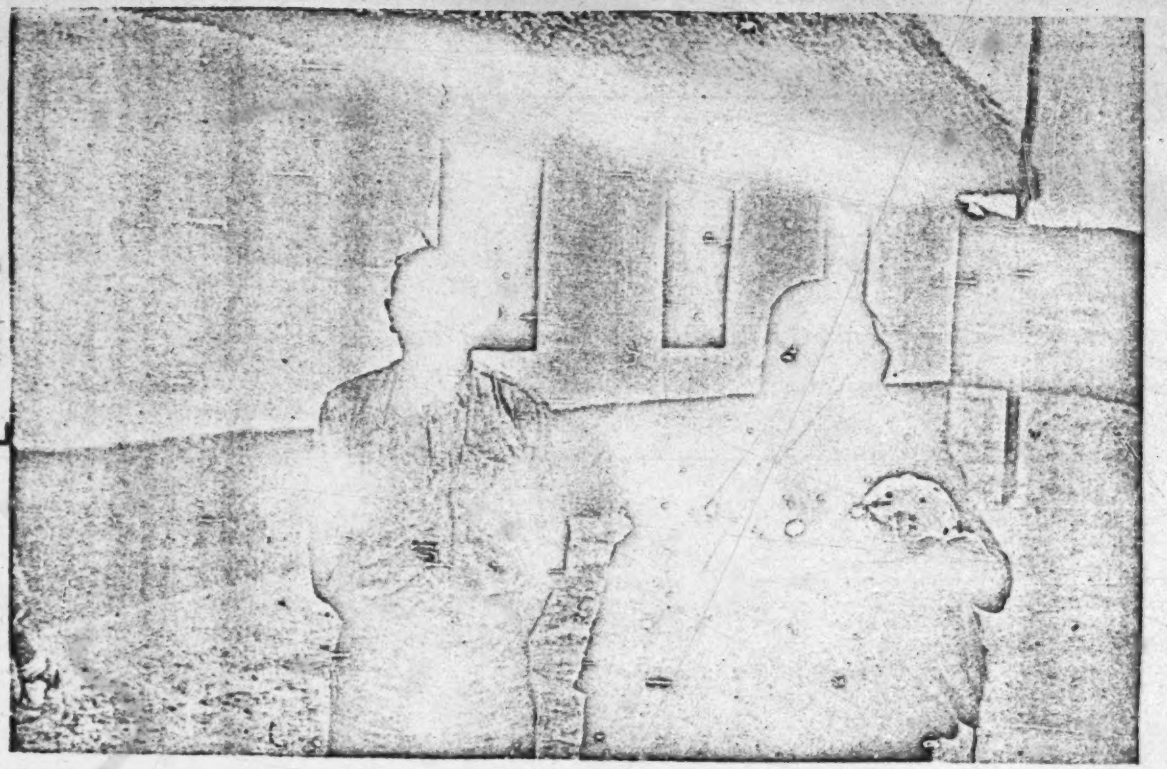

[R648-C]

Ilust. Nº 96.—Familia Taurepana.

Nº 17 (Taurepán) y su mujer Nº 18 (Taurepana) con dos de sus tres hijos (otros tres difuntos). Moran en la cabecera del Kukenán, cerca del Roraima. Obsérvese el alfiler de madera que tiene la mujer en el labio inferior.

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Ilust. Nº 97.—Adulto Taurepán.
Nº 10 (Taurepán) actual residente de Santa Elena. Tiene cuatro hijos difuntos y dos vivos (uno de ellos idiota).

[P 648-D]

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Ilust. Nº 98.—Familia Taurepana.
Nº 2, su mujer, Nº 4 y su hijo único. Viven en el Valle del Kukenán, cerca de Santa Elena.

[P.648-E]

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COMPARACIONES DE MEDIAS CORRESPONDIENTES A 14 HEMBRAS KAMARAKOTAS ADULTAS Y A LOS 10-13 (240) HEMBRAS MAKUCHIS ADULTAS PRESENTADAS POR FARABEE.

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a - b	P
Largura del cráneo..	177.1	172	5.1	< .02 > .01
Anchura del cráneo.	150.9	144	6.9	< .01
Indice craneal.	84.7	84.0	.7	—
Estatura	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sentado...	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Estatura menos sentado..	69.8	67.9	1.9	—
Brazos extendidos en cruz..	152.0	151.9	.1	—

Las comparaciones de los errores standard de diferencias entre las medias se han calculado por la fórmula consistente en asumir (como es el caso) que las poblaciones son distintas, comparando solamente las medias. Donde no se apunta el valor P, la desviación es evidentemente insignificante.

En todos los casos los términos medios Kamarakotos son mayores que los Makuchis, aunque las diferencias no sean significantes estadísticamente. Tratándose de los hombres, los Kamarakotos son casi con seguridad significantemente más altos, tienen el cráneo más ancho y es superior su altura en posición sentada. La largura de la pierna no es mayor significantemente, de modo que la superioridad de altura está en el torso, siendo las piernas proporcionalmente más cortas. La distensión de brazos es mayor. Las mujeres Kamarakotas son igualmente más altas, con probabilidad significantemente, y tienen el cráneo más ancho que las

(240) 13 para mediciones craneales y 10 para las demás.

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Makuchis. La distensión de brazos no es absolutamente mayor sino menor en proporción, pero no significantemente con seguridad. Las proporciones de torso y piernas a diferencia de los varones, son casi iguales en las hembras Kamarakotas y Makuchis.

Es evidente que, aun sobre la base de estas pocas mediciones, los Kamarakotos y los Makuchis son físicamente distintos, pese a su analogía de aspecto, cultura y lengua. Esto tiende a confirmar mi clasificación de los Makuchis en un grupo general del Roraima, pero distinto de los Arekunas, mientras los Kamarakotos y los Taurepanes son catalogados como tribus Arekunas (241).

Desarrollo.

El crecimiento absoluto en relación con el tiempo no puede estudiarse en estos Indios ni en ninguno de sus afines, porque se desconoce la edad exacta de todos ellos y porque ningún observador interesado y competente ha vivido en estas tribus el tiempo suficiente para seguir el desarrollo de los individuos en un

(241) Farabee llega a la notable conclusión general de que las tribus selváticas son más grandes que las sabaneras, sea cual fuere la raza, o sea, que los Caribes selváticos se parecen más a los Aruncos selváticos que a los Caribes sabaneros. Cree que la diferencia nace del medio-ambiente y especialmente de la alimentación. Que las diferencias somáticas de estas tribus diversas están determinadas hasta cierto punto por el medio-ambiente es posible, y hasta probable, pero la conclusión de Farabee no puede derivarse de sus propias cifras si se examinan éstas con cuidado y exactitud, resultando plenamente refutada por los presentes datos nuevos. Aunque manifiestamente afines de los Makuchis, y precisamente por ser Indios sabaneros típicos, los Arekunas son cuando menos tan grandes como cualesquiera de los Caribes selváticos de Farabee y hasta de los Aruncos, quienes por término medio pueden ser algo mayores que los Caribes en esta región. Como quiera que los Caribes sabaneros de Farabee son simplemente los Makuchis, su dato tendería a demostrar, no una influencia del medio geográfico a pesar de la raza, como él supone, sino una diferencia estrictamente racial. Sus cifras sugieren meramente, y las mías lo confirman, que los Makuchis son Caribes pequeños, no que sean pequeños los Indios sabaneros.

Además, Farabee hizo deducciones que sus datos no pueden demostrar, aunque dichas deducciones fuesen ciertas. Sus ejemplares de tribus selváticas son en su mayor parte inadecuados y potencialmente desconcertantes, como conjunto homogéneo, y comparar este término-medio tan arbitrario y superficial con los Makuchis, seleccionados dentro de una tribu, no puede demostrar nada. Tampoco logró demostrar que las diferencias de sus ejemplares son insignificantes respecto a las poblaciones, ni siquiera considerar este problema. Resulta evidente que una proporción muy escasa de sus diferencias, hasta las usadas como base para conclusiones decisivas, son realmente significantes.

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lapso determinado. Los cálculos de edad absoluta son manifiestamente harto inseguros para servir de base a un estudio detallado. La edad relativa puede sin embargo estimarse dentro de un margen lo bastante estrecho como para que sea de cierta utilidad. Así, los 15 niños de pura raza Kamarakota central que yo medí pueden dividirse con certidumbre casi absoluta, y con una sola excepción, en tres grupos, de manera que las edades relativas de los grupos se conocen, sabiéndose también que entre ellos no cabe confusión, por más que las edades relativas de los individuos dentro de un grupo determinado todavía sean inciertos. Omitiendo el caso dudoso (el cual pudiera incluirse ya en el grupo C o bien en el grupo D) las mediciones medias de estos grupos en comparación con los adultos jóvenes y los adultos maduros pueden verse en el Cuadro VI.

Solamente dispuse de 8 niñas para las mediciones, porque nuestra expedición empleaba menos hembras que varones y porque las primeras se acercaban menos que los varones al campamento donde hacíamos las mediciones. Tres de las niñas examinadas tenían la misma edad tan aproximadamente que fué imposible determinar con exactitud la de cada una de ellas, pero las restantes entraban en una clara clasificación, (véase Cuadro VII).

Los datos disponibles referentes a niños varones y adultos jóvenes, de los que medimos 24 del grupo Kamarakoto central, a más de los 15 adultos maduros, suministran (al parecer por primera vez) una oportunidad para estudiar el crecimiento relativo en un grupo humano puro y primitivo relativamente. Tal estudio, bastante largo, no entra en la esfera propia del presente trabajo, pero para dar forma más conveniente a los importantes datos reunidos aquí, presentamos a continuación una tabla de las mediciones lineales de estos individuos, omitiendo el grupo de más edad, por no ocurrir en él crecimiento determinable. Damos logaritmos en vez de las medidas como se sacaron, porque éstas habrían de convertirse en logaritmos para el estudio más claro del crecimiento relativo en cualquiera de los casos, y así le ahorramos un trabajo al lector sin emplear aquí más espacio. La serie corresponde a la estatura, (véase Cuadro VIII).

CUADRO VI

CRECIMIENTO EN VARONES KAMARAKOTOS

	a. Media de 4 niños de 2 a 5 años aprox.	b. Media de 5 niños de 7 a 9 años aprox.	c. Media de 5 muchachos de 10 a 13 años	d. Media de 9 adultos jóvenes	e. Media de 5 adultos maduros
Largura del cráneo..	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Anchura del cráneo..	141.5	146.6	146.2	152.4	154.2
Indice craneal..	82.5	83.6	81.0	83.2	160.0
Estatura..	95.4	126.8	144.7	155.0	82.2
Sentado..	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.8
Estatura menos sentado..	41.4	59.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Brazos extendidos en cruz.. ..	96.0	128.4	150.2	[illegible].4	169.0
Peso..	26.3	58.0	81.0	112.2	123.7

CUADRO VII
CRECIMIENTO DE HEMBRAS KAMARAKOTAS

	Nº 52, 3 años aprox.	Nº 64, 5 años aprox.	Media de los No. 29, 32, y 51, 6-7 años aprox.	Nº 50, 8 años aprox.	Nº 27, 10-11 años aprox.	Nº 61, 15 años aprox.	Media de 14 adultos
Largura del cráneo..	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Anchura del cráneo.	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Indice craneal.	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Estatura...	92	107	113	134	143	146½	146.9
Sentado.	51½	59	60½	73	73	76	77.1
Estatura menos sentado..	40½	48	52½	61	70	69½	69.8
Brazos extendidos en cruz..	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Peso.	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

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CUADRO VIII
LOGARITMOS DE MENSURAS LINEALES DE KAMARAKOTOS VARONES

Números	Estatura	Sentado	Estatura menos sentado	Brazos extendidos	Largura craneal	Anchura craneal	Edad aprox.
35	1.9320	1.6946	1.5563	1.9395	2.2175	2.1335	2
68	1.9335	1.7160	1.5563	1.9395	2.2380	2.1461	2½
30	2.0149	1.7634	1.6580	2.0128	2.2430	2.1761	4
67	2.0191	1.7520	1.6812	2.0294	2.2380	2.1461	4
63	2.0828	1.8195	1.7404	2.0899	2.2455	2.1584	7-8
33	2.0969	1.8261	1.7634	2.1004	2.2430	2.1732	7-8
37	2.1038	1.8228	1.7818	2.1206	2.2355	2.1523	8-9
54	2.1106	1.8261	1.7924	2.1271	2.2455	2.1673	8-9
36	2.1206	1.8603	1.7745	2.1038	2.2553	2.1790	9-10
48	2.1492	1.8808	1.8129	2.1492	2.2553	2.1761	12-13
46	2.1538	1.8603	1.8451	2.1761	2.2480	2.1335	12-13
47	2.1568	1.8692	1.8420	2.1732	2.2577	2.1553	12-13
16	2.1703	1.8779	1.8603	2.1931	2.2480	2.1644	10
40	2.1718	1.8949	1.8451	2.1903	2.2718	2.1931	12-13

(Continuación del Cuado VIII)

Números	Estatura	Sentado	Estatura menos sentado	Brazos extendidos	Largura craneal	Anchura craneal	Edad aprox.
15	2.1761	1.8865	1.8633	2.1903	2.2601	2.1847	Adulto joven aprox. 16-21 (Excepto el Nº 53 que es grande, aunque más joven que otros en este grupo aprox. 14).
62	2.1790	1.9031	1.8513	2.2014	2.2577	2.1790	
22	2.1875	1.9031	1.8692	2.2014	2.2648	2.1553	
23	2.1875	1.8976	1.8751	2.2095	2.2380	2.1703	
18	2.1889	1.9165	1.8573	2.2304	2.2648	2.1875	
58	2.1917	1.9031	1.8779	2.2122	2.2625	2.1790	
24	2.1945	1.9031	1.8837	2.2135	2.2672	2.1987	
10	2.1973	1.9217	1.8692	2.2068	2.2788	2.1959	
53	2.1973	1.9004	1.8921	2.2175	2.2648	2.1818	
41	2.2095	1.9370	1.8779	2.2279	2.2601	2.1959	

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[P.656]

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La siguiente breve lista no pretende ser un intento de bibliografía general de los Indios de esta parte de Sur América ni tampoco constituye una enumeración completa de las obras consultadas para la elaboración de esta monografía. Incluye, no obstante, las publicaciones que parecen más importantes desde este punto de vista, a las que soy más deudor y a las que hago referencia explícita en el texto. Las personas interesadas en los estudios muy numerosos que están implícitamente en el fondo de esta obra, encontrarán referencias en la mayoría de las siguientes publicaciones, especialmente en las de Roth, Karsten, Koch-Grünberg y Nordenskiöld, referencias que les indicarán casi toda la literatura restante. Véanse también las referencias lingüísticas insertas en otro capítulo.

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nas" que figuran en este artículo son Kamarakotos y la breve referencia que se hace de ellos comprende de toda la información directa previamente editada).

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[P. 661]

PROMEDIO DE LOS TIPOS DE CAMBIOS DE DIVISAS EXTRANJERAS EN NUEVA YORK MARZO-JUNIO DE 1940

Libra Esterlina	$ 3.54	½
Franco Francés	2.00	¾
Franco Suizo	2.23	¾
Belga	16.86	¾
Lira Italiana	5.05	—
Florín s/ Holanda	53.10	½

PROMEDIO DE LOS TIPOS DE CAMBIO FIJADOS POR LA OFICINA NACIONAL DE CENTRALIZACION DE CAMBIOS MARZO-JUNIO DE 1940

Tipos Bancarios	Compra	Venta
Dólar Americano	Bs. 3.17	Bs. 3.19
Libra Esterlina	11.22	11.42
Franco Francés	6.33	6.47
Franco Suizo	70.48	72.04
Belga	53.14	54.25
Lira Italiana	15.90	16.26
Florín s/ Holanda	1.67	1.71
Florín s/ Curazao	—	—
Reichmark	—	—
Dólar Antillano	—	—
Sondermark	—	1.00
Corona Sueca	—	—

/XI/

DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls; are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among
212 them "quasi unus ex illis"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translator.

121 Although grouped with some logical order, these commentaries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor lucubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

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3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brazil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 114 The following lists were based, in the first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.
[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

/0/ /3/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

/17/ In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ /3/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ /7/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

114 Acosta, Requena, and Jahn to know that more recent and still more technical studies of Venezuelan Indians are not lacking. It is not ignoring the work of these and many other enthusiastic and able students, but only stating a fact with which they would agree, to say that in spite of their efforts, Venezuela is still one of the regions where relatively the most remains to be done in the various fields of technical anthropology.

Regarding the Kamarakotos, nothing reliable and important has ever before been published. As I shall show below, literature on them includes only one old reference, doubtful as to meaning and unimportant in content, a few mentions of the name or conjectures, mostly incorrect, by writers or cartographers who knew nothing of the Kamarakotos at first hand, and a single recent brief first-hand mention (by Tate) that is not and was not meant to be of any scientific value. As far as it relates to this tribe, the material in the present monograph is therefore necessarily entirely new.

101 114 121 Some allied tribes have been carefully studied and frequent comparisons are made with them, mainly on the basis of this literature. Some of the best studies and those by far most important for present comparisons are on the Taurepanes. The great German field ethnographer Koch-Grünberg has published an exhaustive five-volume work mainly devoted to this tribe which, however, he knew more intimately through its most southern, Brazilian, than through its Venezuelan representatives. The Taurepanes are Arekunas,[3] like the Kamarakotos, and resemble the latter in almost every way. No effort is made here to replace or to repeat Koch-Grünberg's work, as far as it applies to the Arekunas generally, but only to show how far it does apply to the whole group, to bring out the features that do distinguish the Kamarakotos within the group, and to supplement the earlier work by devoting special attention to some important subjects, such as textile techniques, that were not treated in detail by Koch-Grünberg despite the length of his work. Unfortunately, Koch-Grünberg's publications are rare and expensive and have appeared only in German. The missionaries of Santa Elena have acquired a knowledge of this tribe second only to that of Koch-Grünberg, if not exceeding the latter. Unfortunately, however, they have as yet published almost nothing new on this subject (see the notes by Baltasar de Matallana cited in the references at end of this monograph).

114 Among more distantly allied tribes, those of British Guiana are most important for comparisons. Here there is a wealth of published material, for few Indians anywhere have been studied more carefully or at greater length. The work of Roth is particularly important here as it is thoroughly reliable, sums up all previous work as well as that of Roth himself, and goes into the most exhaustive detail — a single one of his several publications, called "an introductory study" with humor perhaps unconscious, runs to some 720 quarto pages in fine type with 183 plates and 341 text-figures![4] On the linguistic side,

3, 4 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[191] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

121 128 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade, herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo- [97] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es- [128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

●121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

● 121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

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The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

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1 [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b – Analyst]

/84 cont./

797 a case and despite the value of this aid, during the first days
● 122 all will seem to him /85/ confused and tangled, and in those strange cries, which break his eardrums, he will not make out sentences, words, nor even syllables. And nonetheless it is necessary to make a grammar! Days pass, the months, and years... and happily the time comes when the grammar is done. And that language which once seemed a heap of inarticulate cries, now appears with the parts of speech, with its system, its rules, its philosophy, and its beauty. The natives themselves, who speak it with surprising correctness, are incapable of saying how it was formed. This is another task which the missionary must carry out with ingenuity and reasoning."

797 185. It would seem that we missionaries and true indigenists must still fight hard in defense of the Indians in this and other matters and to refute what imperceptive writers say against the Indians, whom they only know by references or by a hasty glimpse, without a long stay among them nor daily, unhurried study.

000 First it is denied that the Indians have a well-formed language; at most they are conceded to have a tiny vocabulary without any logical grammar. And then, when they have been convinced of the falsity of these assertions, with the vain pretext of unitarianism (not to say totalitarianism), they want the native languages, whatever may be their intrinsic value, their literary productions, and the number of natives who speak them, to disappear by degrees or by force. The North Americans confess that they even went so far as to apply punishments to the children; but they confess their error and they are now on the way back while others still are going to bring punishment upon their own heads. There will come, God willing, a coexistence of Spanish with the native languages (since the Indians are neither rebellious nor incapable of learning our language); then there will come the disappearance of the latter

EDITORIAL NOTE

114 [122] The Revista de Fomento (official Review of the Ministerio de Fomento of the United States of Venezuela) takes pleasure in publishing the noteworthy work of Dr. George Gaylord Simpson entitled "The Kamarakoto Indians, Carib Tribe of Venezuelan Guiana," which it believes to be an important scientific contribution to the ethnology of the Venezuelan indigenous tribes in general and, more particularly, to that of the Venezuelan Carib tribes.

Dr. Simpson, a distinguished vertebrate paleontologist of The American Museum of Natural History of New York, was graduated from Yale University (Ph. B. 1923, Ph. D. 1926), where he made investigations on geology and vertebrate paleontology. He has also done scientific research under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, the National Research Council, the International Education Board, the British Museum (Natural History) in London and, finally, for the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he has been an associate curator since 1929. He belongs to the following scientific societies: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, American Society of Mammalogists, American Society of Naturalists, American Philosophical Society, Paleontological Society, Geological Society of America, and others. He is a corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London and of the Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geograficos "Gaea," and an active member of the Explorers Club. He has taken part in many paleontological expeditions in the United States of America and in South America, as a staff member of the American Museum of Natural History, and has published more than two hundred scientific papers and books.

Dr. Simpson came to Venezuela in September 1938, together with his wife Dr. Anne Roe, by special invitation of the President through the Ministerio de Fomento and as representative of the American Museum of Natural History, in order to organize the collection, preparation, and scientific study of fossil mammals near Barquisimeto and elsewhere in Venezuela, following up the work begun by Brother Nectario Maria of La Salle Institute in Barquisimeto.

Dr. Simpson went to the region of San Miguel, near the Barquisimeto-Quibor highway, where he planned and carried out the work of collecting fossil mammal bones in the field revealed by Brother Nectario Maria's explorations.

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
721 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremc, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 74 — Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kōsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

● 122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
286 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
341 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

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Chapter I

General Ethnographic Data on the Pemón Indians

1. They are Karibe /Carib/ Indians. 2. The denomination Koto. 3. The name Arekuna. 4. Id. Taurepán. 5. Id. Pemón. 6. Number of individuals. 7. Conterminous and neighboring tribes. 8. Moral and intellectual states. 9. Ethnographic characteristics.

123 1. The first thing that we customarily ask each individual with whom we are going to enter into conversation is his name or his gracia. Hence I judge it very apt to find out the name of the tribe about whose general characteristics I am going to speak in the present work, which is set on an ethnographic and a psychological plane at the same time.

101 Depending upon the glottological criterion, today prevalent, and, even more, adhering to the linguistic principle that "the briefest subject is the oldest," we easily arrive at the conclusion that these Indians are of the Caribe race, and of the most primitive, with primacy perhaps over the very Bakairí proposed by Von Steinen as the primigenous.

[114] A simple glance at a linguistic map, e.g., that of Fr. W. Schmidt, S. V. D., will make us see that these Indians belong to the "Roroima group." This group is at present the most numerous and dense of all; and the Roroima is the orographic knot about which are grouped more natives, emanating from the prolific Caribe trunk, since the other groups "of the Orinoco" and "of the Islands" have almost entirely disappeared through absorption or other causes.

101 114 But the Karibe of the Roroima group are subdivided into numerous tribes, about the classification and nomenclature of which there reigns great divergency among writers, principally because of the following factors:

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[206] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

2: Armellada--ix M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls, are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among
212 them "quasi unus ex illis"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translator.

121 Although grouped with some logical order, these commentaries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor lucubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

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This is the so-called taurón, or

291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

/71 cont./

Chapter XVIII

Are the Indians Grateful or Ungrateful?

154. A universal complaint. 155. Beggary. 156. Ingratitude through ignorance. 157. The legend of Makunaimá and of the Government. 158. There are no gifts among Indians. 159. Practical advice. 160. Pleasant memories.

154. One of the proverbs most widely spread against the Indians is the one which is contained like gall in its bladder in the thousand times repeated quatrain:

The Indian flees from work
And looks for idleness:
Where they beat him up, he stays,
Where they pay him, he goes away.

431 577 This matter of ingratitude is more than a common, universal complaint of all against all others. And the fact is that since "gratitude is an interminable debt," -- (for which reason it is very correctly said that money is worth more than favors), many make excessive use of their gifts, by always and endlessly asking for the loan of services. As a result of which there exists that other little verse:

"Give him always, don't give him one;
You haven't given him anything." /72/

which is a two-edged blade, which cuts equally ingrates and the excessively demanding.

155. Another very similar thing and one which many confuse with ingratitude is excessive asking for favors, from which doubtless missionaries and Indians suffer. However, I [123] myself, who a great many times have suffered the bother of this defect (?) of the Indians through not being able to remedy

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/73 cont./

431 Practice has taught us not to accept any gift from them or
123 to try to pay them back immediately with another gift; since
437 were we to do otherwise 50 years later they would ask us for a corresponding payment. And this does not only apply to gifts offered by the natives to civilized persons, but also to those that they make among themselves. As a result the most reflective and delicate Indians (and there are such), when they are guests, try to pay back their hosts by helping them in their usual chores, bringing some game or fish, carrying firewood or water, etc. This observation has been expressly made to me by them and shows the delicacy of some of them not to be obligated and in others the fear of being recriminated for favors received completely gratis.

159. With respect to the matter under consideration, we must reiterate as very practical advice in dealing with the natives the following:

1. Not to accept any gift without the appropriate paying back of it. /74/
2. The best way to be freed of their demands, when this is a nuisance to us and we don't have any way of quieting it, is for us to ask for anything they may have.
3. When we stay among them we must lend a hand with the common loads or the expenses of food, and thus we shall be free from their recriminations.

123 On a certain occasion some Indians of a certain place made
437 me a gift of some pineapples, which I immediately had peeled and divided among them themselves. Hardly had they eaten when the splendid donor came to ask me for bread; the pineapples belonged to the women and they wanted some little combs, which I didn't have. Then I divided among them all a half pound of chocolate, the pieces of which were a very good equivalent for the rings of pineapple; and as the women also ate, I asked them in payment for a wenck for carrying children. As they had not received the little combs, they

/74 cont./

123 437 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry children across their chest --; but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fondness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to 123 find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

000 As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirts are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
592 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
621 gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
571 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two
578 plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In these same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

551/177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names 551 at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, [123] when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly [829] have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least [123] known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would [177] have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essential- [797] ly as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. [553] The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. 551 The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and 553 the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʾ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadé) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madé that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
242 grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʾ-esaʾ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p. 119, category 11b - Analyst]

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437
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Fig. 74 — Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 11b – Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the ex-
perience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
123 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

177 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show
123 still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with Thus the
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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141

Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 16 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	146.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.6	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.8	144.7	158.0	160.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	58.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	128.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	38.0	51.0	119.2	123.7

[126] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females
[123] in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

● 123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74. ½λ
½λ [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
409

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

● 123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.
P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

P
M
114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York,

*192 805 [211] [823] 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi' or bekwi' (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [129] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roɛliua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) loɛra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakõ, wakõrə. "Handsome man" — wakõr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikõyin, ikõina.

484. Cold — komi'.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some toʔ-esaʔ, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called toʔ-epuruʔ), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in toʔ-esaʔ, but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[124] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a toʔ-esaʔ.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not succeed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so [128] than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none [124] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their [178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A toɔ-esaʔ (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. [768] No one but the toɔ-esaʔ is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. [769] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a toɔ-esaʔ were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. [178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obliga- [768] tory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 178 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
● 124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta)	-37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
	Total in Karao Valley	-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

162 125 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming 161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be [167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really [119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) [101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 11b - Analyst]

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher. [165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

125 162 163 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females 589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is 165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are, [605] however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain- [629] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none 165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén nakê (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

114
433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

This is the so-called tauron, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

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114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles B. Hitchcock, of New York.

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[117] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

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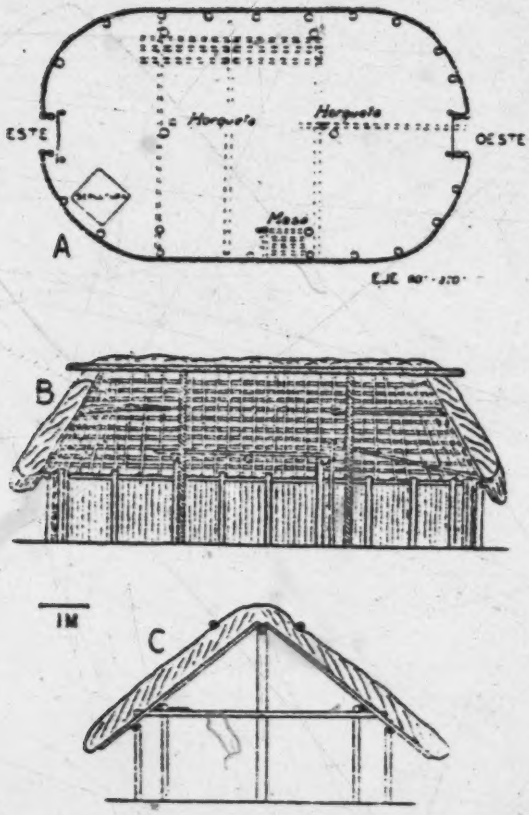

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

[766
768]

358 Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been.
726 These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[17] [462] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[171] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[126] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the amartu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
[171] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished [illegible]y, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analysis]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
531 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[437] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

● [126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maluchis or Alawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
● [124] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekunas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the hand-[162] someness of the other Arekunas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

● [126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the [302] chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

153 There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals
[158] (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

141 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed
126 best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

●126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 561 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 141 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237 [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analyst]

141 from the Taurepán sample is not significant (P somewhat greater than .02) but in view of the other relationships this can probably be imputed to the deficiency of that sample. It is, however, to be kept in mind as a possibility that these people might belong to a group that is more variable than are the Kamarakotos in this respect, rather than one that is definitely more broad-headed. This would not alter the fact that they are different.

[12] I was able to measure three adult male Arekunas from south and west of Kamarata, typical of the Indians of outlying regions, with respect to the central Kamarakotos, whose pertinence to this tribe is dubious. They compare as follows with the fully adult Kamarakotos:

Comparison of Three Adult Male Arekunas from the Region of the Caroni with Adult Male Kamarakotos

Measurement	Individual No.	X	d	d/σ
Head length	1	195	+ 8.1	1.5
	2	181	− 5.9	1.1
	3	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	1	155	+ .8	.2
	2	148	− 6.2	1.7
	3	157	+ 2.8	.8
Head index	1	79	− 3.2	1.4
	2	82	− .2	.1
	3	84	+ 1.8	.8
Stature	1	165	+ 5.0	1.0
	2	164 1/2	− .5	.1
	3	172 1/2	+12.5	2.5
Sitting height	1	89	+ 4.2	1.4
	2	82	− 2.8	.9
	3	79	− 5.8	1.9
Span	1	175	+ 6.0	.9
	2	172	+ 3.0	.5
	3	175	+ 4.0	.6
Weight	1	155	+31.3	2.9
	2	115	− 8.7	.8
	3	115	− 8.7	.8

No. 3 (Fig. 94) is taller than any central Kamarakoto but the difference is not surely significant (P is between .02 and .01). No. 1 is distinctly outside the Kamarakoto normal range in weight (P definitely less than .01), but little

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

145
141

Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 16 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	148.2	152.4	154.3
Head index	82.5	83.6	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.8	144.7	155.0	160.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.3
Stature less sitting height	41.4	59.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	98.0	128.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	56.0	81.0	112.2	122.7

[126] [123] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retsrata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[197] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɾ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsera.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.
P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

P
M 240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

/84 cont./

the question at the head of these lines and which was asked us by no less than a university student.

It is too clear; we are so poisoned by Darwinian transformism, and the primitives have been so denigrated, that only by effort are they thought of as being endowed with reason, moral knowledge, and the faculty of language. Thus, for example, we read in the sociology text of an American university: "The vocabulary of the uncultured man is not made up of more than 300 words...: The remote origins of society is the place we must go to in order to seek out the times when man is still an animal lacking words or an incipient language."

183. On the other hand, should it come to hand, and to further lower mankind and further lower the barrier which separates us from mere animals, after having almost totally denied a language to sundry tribes, they exalt the language of the howlers or araguatos /"monkeys," "mimics"/, saying that "they talk for hours on end in the midst of a general silence, followed by a great hubbub, which ceases as soon as the orator again takes the floor." (Topinard.) We wish him good ears for such eloquent words! It is already known that T. writes from hearsay (and remote at that) and that he did not have to endure as we have the howlings of such eloquent orators but a few meters away from our hammock!

In vain do we missionaries repeat that the Indians have a well-organized language, suitable for the expression not only of matters of material life, but also those of intellectual life; time and time again do they come to us with the same questions and the same prejudices, a thousand times refuted.

197 184. To those who ask us how we missionaries manage to
127 reach an understanding with the Indians, I reply that love and labor conquer all and accomplish anything. As Mons. Le Roy tells us in these words: "When a missionary goes to establish himself in an unexplored country, among a tribe which he does now know, one of the first cares is to learn the language. He may perhaps find some native interpreter; but even in such a

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

● 127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

/771/ 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
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101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
114 of the Ministerio de Fomento, a department of the Venezuelan Government. In this connection I am much indebted to
114 the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and to the organizers of the expedition and my companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López, Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in Venezuela was made possible by the generosity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate equation of Indian with scientific names was made possible in many cases by the collection of mammals made on the same occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Technical lists of the mammals of this general region have been given by her (Roe, 1939) and by Tate (1939). The species named below are those of the Arekuna region. Animals known to the other Caribs are mostly the same species, or other races of them.

127 Knowledge of these two dialects has been supplemented by reference to many standard works, of which those of Koch-Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Williams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña and compiled comparative Carib vocabularies), and Adam (compiled comparative vocabulary) are most important. I have cited an authority for each word not recorded by me. In a few cases these are secondary authorities (especially Adam and de Goeje) since their compilations make it unnecessary for present purposes to refer to the very scattered literature on each separate dialect. In most cases I have also given the Venezuelan Spanish names, since these often differ markedly from the Spanish of other regions.

[p 1-C]

*193

translated by a noun, konekanin, "the maker." It implies that the action is not completed.

-tapon. This is used in the same way as -nin, but the action is completed. konekanin, "the maker (who is still making), konekatapon, "the maker (who has completed making, or of something now made.)."

-toʔ. This is used in ways analogous to -nin and -tapon but it designates the means or instrument involved in or required for the action, rather than the active agent. konekatoʔ, "the maker (used in making)." This is not the personal pronoun toʔ.

-n. This also is used where Indo-European languages would use a verbal noun or a noun and it comes the closest of anything in Kamarakoto to being a true gerund. It signifies the act or process of doing something, e.g. endana, "eat," endanan, "the act of eating." It, however, like the other Carib so-called verbal nouns, is basically verbal, not nounal. It can be used with auxiliaries, e.g. etame, "walk," etamen pōʔman, "he is walking" ("in the act of walking is").

*193 *197 [127] As an illustrative comparison, the Kamarakoto equivalents of the partial Taurepán paradigm given by Father Baltasar de Matallana were gathered.[87] Later it was possible to compare this with Taurepán at first hand. The results of the comparison are instructive from several points of view and so are given here, obviously without any pretension of giving a complete comparison or of setting up a full or model conjugation. It should be remembered that Father Baltasar's transcription is not meant to be phonetic.

1. Verb stem and present or non-temporal indicative. Koneka. Taurepán, koneka, (Baltasar) koneka.
2. Indicative forms showing completion or non-contemporaneity. "Pretérito" of Baltasar.
   a. konekapauya, phonetic derivative from koneka-pa-u-ya = stem + non-contemporaneous prefix pa + personal pronoun u + nominative particle ya, "I made." The simple tense form is of course konekapa. Taurepán, konekapōya = konekapa+ya, without indication of person, (Baltasar) konekapue uya, "hiciste" ("thou madest").[88]
   b. (Not in common use by Kamarakotos who habitually replace it by the next form.) Taurepán, konekapotiʔ-uya, "I made repeatedly, used to make," (Baltasar) konekapueti-uya, "hiciste (repetidas veces)," "thou madest" (should be "I made?") "— repeatedly."

87, 88 [see footnotes on pp 316-17, category 116 – Analysis]

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^{a}-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

/13 cont./

phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

C

114 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians:
157 "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

P Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's,
114 who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the
157 opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is
P a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst
[522] out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category
128 all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

114 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the ex-
152 pression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured.
[142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

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Kamara Koto
Taurepan

136 occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

197 128 It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepán, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kaliña, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kaliña, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guaraní designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amazon and south to the Río de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

[p. 2-B]

114 had none of the usual executive tasks or camp work to do or to supervise and was able to devote all my waking hours to the study of the Indians. This had the effect of giving me about twice as much work time as would have been available under the usual circumstances of such expeditions and enabled me to do a great deal more than I could ordinarily have hoped to do in the few weeks available.

115 This study was also exceptionally favored by the employment of Antonio
124 Montesdeoca and his assignment to me as interpreter and general informant. He is a full-blooded member of the tribe and thoroughly acquainted with its language and with all its customs. He is also a man of importance in the tribe whose instructions and wishes were always fully carried out by the other Indians. At the same time, he has received some schooling in a Venezuelan town and so was able to convey all the desired information to me in comprehensible Spanish. He was very co-operative, intelligent, and quick-witted. Statements that appeared at all doubtful were not recorded on his authority alone and I took every opportunity to check them in all directions (never finding that he had willfully misled me) but he was my main informant and he spent many hours and days patiently showing and explaining to me everything possible. This was ideal assistance and it, too, made it possible to gather far more and better information than could have been hoped for.

126 A very considerable collection of almost all the portable objects in use in the tribe was also made and this was generously presented by the Ministry of Fomento to the American Museum of Natural History where I have been able to study it at leisure.

101 From Kamarata we were flown to Santa Elena by James Angel, whom I
114 also wish to thank, as well as the Linea Aeropostal which flew us in to Kama-
121 rata and out from Santa Elena. At the latter place we remained for about ten
122 days, the purpose being not a study of the Indians there, the Taurepanes, for their own sake but for comparison. As I have remarked, the Taurepanes are relatively well known scientifically and my brief observations were only for the purpose of permitting a first-hand comparison with the Kamarakotos, giving more reality to the literature for me, and supplying a few needed data still lacking in the literature. Here the hospitality and assistance of Dr. Fernández-Peña were of the greatest value and I wish also to thank the reverend fathers of the Capuchin mission for their friendly interest and whole-hearted co-operation.

122 The materials so gathered have been worked up at the American Museum
128 of Natural History in New York, and acknowledgments are due to that institution for the considerable amount of my time and for many facilities afforded for this work, which is outside the field of the work for which I am there regularly employed.

128 I am indebted to several persons for assistance with various details. J. Martínez-Mendoza A., of Caracas, and Charles R. Hitchcock, of New York.

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[115] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[191] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

121 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade,
128 herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo-
[97] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

194 Although the fact is well known it should be added that different speakers
128 or the same speaker at different times will often say the same word in distinctly different ways. It would be possible to write many or all of these Indian words in some other way and still to have them as nearly "correct" as they are here. I can only say that, given the definitions of my symbols, I have heard each word pronounced by a native about or exactly as I write it and that I believe these to be the "standard" or "received" Kamarakoto pronunciations as spoken in and immediately near Kamarata. As a practical test, I could read over my transcriptions of Indian expressions after the auditory memory of them was vague or lost and the Indians invariably understood them easily, even though they occasionally corrected slight shades of sound.

194

Vowels.

Simple vowels. The nine vowel phonemes definitely distinguished may be represented as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ü	u
Half-close	e	ə	
Half-open	ɛ	ö	
Open		a	o

i, u, and a are essentially as in Spanish.

e is about as in Spanish, except that in Spanish it includes members that approach ɛ, which is a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto. ɛ is a more open and slightly more posterior sound than e, similar to the English e as in "pen." e and ɛ intergrade in Kamarakoto, a fact charted by inserting a line between them,[11] but their principal members are quite distinct.

a is similar to Spanish a but is an open intermediate vowel resembling the non-Spanish ö but more open. It sometimes differs from o (or also from ö) rather by a more open, less rounded lip position than by a decided difference in tongue position.

The greatest peculiarity of the Kamarakoto vocalic system, especially in comparison with Spanish, is its possession of a series of distinct central vowels, whereas practically all the Spanish vowels are near or on the anterior and posterior sides of the vowel triangle. I have been able to distinguish three

11 [see footnote on pg. 306, category 116 - Analysis]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those
197 of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both
128 of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and
197 occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all
114 other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly
[104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

601 [128] The following relationship words are merely listed here for completeness as it is necessary to define them in detail on a latter page.

Brother, sister:

49. pasi
50. akon
51. upi uyadeta
52. pirika
53. paruchi uyadeta
54. paruchi
55. ˈrüiko (see discussion below)
56. yakon

Child:

57. ˈmanon (see below)
58. ˈurm (see below)
59. yentsi
60. mumum, (u)mo

Adopted child:

61. narimanga

Parent:

62. ˈpaikõi (see below)
63. papai
64. san
65. yun

Spouse:

66. ˈtamupüi (see below)
67. ˈnopüi (see below)

Grandparent:

68. ˈnoiˀ (see below, under nopui)
69. ˈtamo (see below, under nopui)

Grandchild:

70. paˀ

Nephew, niece

71. poitoru
72. patsɛ

Relatives by marriage:

73. payunu
74. payun
75. nopuyun
76. yawoiˀ -pə
77. tamõipuyun
78. yetsɛ
79. yeruiˀ

*192 *197 415

The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini, Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[312] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 285 [128] c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition. The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa	146. akaiʾ
139. pangaiʾ	147. koataiʾ
140. tangōiʾ	148. wapa
141. matuːtu	149. ɛno-saramba
142. o, olori	150. sokoʾ
143. waricha	151. kumara-katsaʾ
144. warakapi	152. wakawaʾ
145. amaːtu	153. (t)riya-potapə

(muroiʾ, No. 104, tsimuiʾ, No. 99, and mōi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192 *197 285 Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word warockupa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

*197
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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

●[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.
241 403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

[192]
[192]

404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.
405. Corn (maize) — anaiʼ.
406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʼ
407. Small, yellow variety — adamakaːyena
408. Large, round, red variety — paradan
409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana
410. Ovate, red variety — churu
411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʼ

*192
*197

kenke that is not too wildly conjectural.

*192 Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and
*197 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor.
● 128 Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

*192 The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-
177 speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

*192

Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
[171] alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

Materials.

28
•128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 • I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly – cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic – necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 • II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

285 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly
824 used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoŋ, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique
114 are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an impor-
● 128 tant monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such
171 as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analysis]

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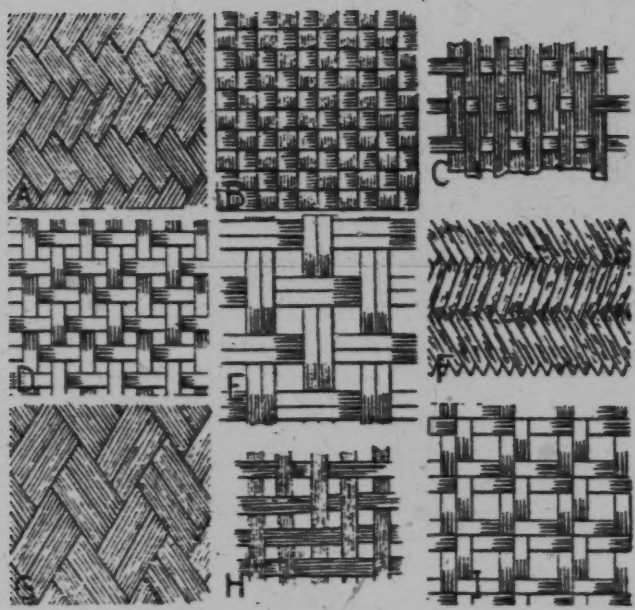

Fig. 50 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise noted.

A, One-over-two twilled woven plaiting. B, closed checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C, half-open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. D, open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Siuai.) E, open, two-over-two, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Patamona.) F, all-over, one-over-four, twilled woven plaiting. G, all-over, two-over-three, twilled woven plaiting. H, all-over, open, single-strand, one-over-two twilled woven plaiting. I, all-over, open, paired-interwoven-strand twilled woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.)

*285 nor do they use special baskets for religious purposes, or in connection with burial rites.

[128] In attempting a summary of this abundant and complex material it is convenient to consider first the basic techniques involved, the way in which the materials are united to form basketry textiles, and next the forms, functions, and nomenclature of the objects produced. Basketry is here taken to include all textile work made of untwisted materials, as opposed to the thread-textiles and thread-and-bead textiles, and so includes such things as mats and trays that are not, strictly speaking, baskets.

*285 114 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 ●128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, †. Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------PLAITING.

*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)----------Plain Plaiting.

†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]----------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

*1 over 2.

Etc.

*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)----------Woven Plaiting.

*1. Elements in two directions

*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

†Closed

*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

*1 over 1

*1 over 2

Etc.

146b [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

*285

2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wicker.

†B. Weft twined (two or more intertwined strands in each weft element)----------Twined Weave.

†1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Twined Weave.

2. Warps in more than one direction---------- Lattice Twined Weave.

*C. Weft wrapped (single weft strand doubling around warp elements)----------Wrapped Weave.

1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Wrapped Weave.

*2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wrapped Weave.

†D. Weft locked or imbricate[148]----------Locked Weave.

III. Active element coiled, or coiled along a passive element-----COILING.

A. One element, jointly active and passive----------Crude Coil.

B. Separate active and passive elements----------Foundation Coil.[149]

*285 ● 128 171 Recent classifications based on North American basketry usually recognize five main techniques: plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coiling, of which the second to fourth are often united as weaving and contrasted with coiling and with plaiting. Schmidt long ago pointed out that such a classification, excellent for most of North America, is very poor when South American baskets are included and that, indeed, the most common and typical of all South American baskets cannot properly be placed in any of these categories. They often have a relatively active (weft) and a relatively inactive (warp) set of elements, and so resemble weaving rather than plaiting, but they are not wicker in any usual use of that word and are not twined or wrapped in any possible sense of those words. On the other hand, they may be made with all the elements about equally "active" or "passive," and hence be considered as plaiting, but the technique and the result are not essentially unlike the more literally "woven" basketry and cannot logically be considered as in a different major category.

Schmidt maintains, and I think with considerable probability, that this most important class of South American basketry is genetically related to plaiting rather than to weaving even though in some variations it falls within some technical definitions of weaving. It probably arose from the still widely used plaiting of segments of palm leaves, left attached to their midrib, and developed in the direction of weaving when unattached fibers, particularly split reeds, were used. Such work did not develop over most of North America because its primitive material, palm leaves, was generally absent there, although some North American work converged toward it departing not from plaiting but from wicker weaving. Thus of the two techniques, even though

148, 149 [see footnotes on pp. 324-25, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 183]

*285 128 171 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 128 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertnent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigdly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matu:tu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] [286] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of latice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique realy has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

150 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with
171 some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.
[128] Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates [illegible]ical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana a[illegible] gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and
*285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban-
[178] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the
[797] mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end-
[482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith-
[171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[17] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekunas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the trimuiʼ (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on
[128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de-
[114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

*286 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at
482 the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most
[462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they
[184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position
411 as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that
● [128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture.
[237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this
[283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

531 532 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 534 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recently (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various [128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534

I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
  - Flutes
    - Ductless
      - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

534 177 202 [525] Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho). The

534 171 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von [128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute [124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo- [237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. [538] It is used in some dances, notably the tuküi' (not the parichara), and, unlike [533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snitches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[797] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáñes. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically eremba. The most common is the okõyima-eremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to'-esa') suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[789] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the eremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[789] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so [128] than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none [124] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their [178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A to›-esa› (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. [768] No one but the to›-esa› is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. [769] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a to›-esa› were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. [178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obliga- [768] tory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about 178 a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maluchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[124] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 561 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

● 128 141 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237 [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analyst]

141

Adult Female Kamarakotos; N = 14

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 186	177.1 ±1.3	4.7 ± .9	2.6 ±.5
Head breadth	146 - 159	150.9 ± .9	3.3 ± .6	2.2 ±.4
Head index	80 - 88	84.7 ± .6	2.4 ± .5	-------
Stature	136 - 155 1/2	146.9 ±1.2	4.6 ± .9	3.2 ±.6
Sitting height	71 - 82	77.1 ± .7	2.8 ± .5	3.6 ±.7
Stature less sitting height	65 - 77 1/2	69.8 ± .8	3.2 ± .6	4.5 ±.9
Span	143 - 163 1/2	152.0 ±1.4	5.2 ±1.0	3.4 ±.6
Weight	80 - 120	103.6 ±3.3	12.2 ±2.3	-------

[[28] The Taurepán samples are not as good as the Kamarakotos. They are somewhat too homogeneous, being mostly from one section of this far-flung tribe and including too high a proportion of individuals of about the same age to be surely representative of the tribe as a whole. Although all are adult, the males, particularly, average younger than the fully adult Kamarakoto male sample and younger than the adult Taurepán male population. The measurements cannot, however, be very different from the Taurepán norms, and their use in comparisons cannot be seriously misleading if their incompletely representative character is borne in mind.

Adult Male Taurepanes; N = 12

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	179 - 191	184.3 ±1.1	3.7 ± .8	2.0 ±.4
Head breadth	147 - 161	154.2 ±1.3	4.5 ± .9	2.9 ±.6
Head index	79 - 89	83.2 ± .8	2.7 ± .6	-------
Stature	152 - 161	156.9 ±1.0	3.3 ± .7	2.1 ±.4
Sitting height	79 - 87	82.4 ± .6	2.1 ± .4	2.5 ±.5
Stature less sitting height	70 - 79 1/2	74.5 ± .8	2.8 ± .6	3.8 ±.8
Span	156 - 170	164.4 ±1.2	4.2 ± .9	2.5 ±.5

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 142 [011] Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although 141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with [128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

P 141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

P [144] [101] P M

128 141 114 The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141 The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 -Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

P
M
141

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P
M
[128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P
M
[101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekumas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekumas.[241]

Growth

P
128
145
[114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analysis]

Thus the

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 15 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	188.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	148.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.8	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.8	146.7	155.0	160.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	58.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	122.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.2	32.0	41.0	112.2	122.7

[126] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females
[123] in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

145
141

Growth in Female Kamarakotos

	No. 52, about 3 years old	No. 64, about 5 years old	Mean of Nos. 29, 32 & 51, about 6-7 years old	No. 50, about 8 years old	No. 27, about 10-11 years old	No. 61, about 15 years old	Mean of 14 adults
Head length	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Head breadth	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Head index	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Stature	92	107	113	134	143	146 1/2	146.9
Sitting height	51 1/2	59	60 1/2	73	73	76	77.1
Stature less sitting height	40 1/2	48	52 1/2	61	70	69 1/2	69.8
Span	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Weight	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

145
141
128

The available data for male children and young adults, of whom 24 of central Kamarakoto stock were measured, in addition to the 15 older adults, provide (apparently for the first time) an opportunity to study relative growth in such a relatively pure and primitive human stock. This rather lengthy study is not within the proper scope of the present work, but in order to make the important data all available here in most convenient form, a tabulation of the linear measurements of these individuals (omitting the oldest group in which no determinable growth occurs) is presented below. Logarithms are given instead of raw measurements because the latter should be turned into logarithms for clearest study of relative growth in any case and one step is thus saved the reader without using any more space here. The sequence is that of stature.

[4305]

FOOTNOTES

114 1. Koch-Grünberg wrote that they are forest Indians, but he did not know them and based his natural but incorrect belief on the likewise erroneous opinion that there were no sabanas appropriate for such Indians west of the Gran Sabana.

101 128 2. In such connections I see no way to differentiate the tribal Indians and civilized Venezuelans except by calling the latter and not the former "Venezuelans" or by long and cumbersome circumlocution. Of course, the Indians are Venezuelans also, and I do not mean to imply that they are not. To speak of the northern, the civilized, Venezuelans as "whites" would be an injustice to the great mass of them who are not white but who are highly civilized in a European sense. To speak of them, according to frequent Venezuelan custom, as "rational" ("racionales") in opposition to "Indian," is an even greater injustice to the Indians, who are in every way quite as rational as anyone else. Therefore, in the present paper generally when I speak of Venezuelans I mean those who are not tribal Indians.

101 114 3. Koch-Grünberg and some others following him have distinguished the Taurepanes from the Arekunas, but I shall show that it is both more convenient and more correct to consider them as a tribe of Arekunas.

114 4. Of course, this includes a great variety of different races and tribes, not all particularly comparable with the Kamarakotos and none quite like them. It is perhaps ungracious to criticize any aspect of Roth's splendid work, but in practical use it has the slight defect that it is sometimes hard for the reader to be sure to what exact local group a given datum applies, and still harder to visualize from it the elements that actually occur together to form the culture complex of any one group.

194
197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bi-syllabic. Among them o.ũna was also recorded but õ.ina and õina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worũwori and wõrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

● [[28] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word tsigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai — upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ' is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
● 128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[198] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɨ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

P
123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.

P
M
141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

P
M
114 241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekumas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361/103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Oruá, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

●13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 103 which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 [223] drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ ["breeding, hatching"]
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes...., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

[1]

INTRODUCTION

Orientation

101 At about the time of its discovery by Columbus, the great and varied territory that is now united under the Venezuelan flag was occupied by a large number of highly diverse tribes of Indians. Most of these belonged to two major stocks, or linguistic and cultural divisions, those of the Caribs and Arawaks. Each of these major groups is now known to have arisen from a single origin (linguistically and culturally at least — each may have absorbed much blood originally alien to it), although each includes tribes so separated geographically or in other respects that they were not themselves aware of this basic unity.
101 Various Carib tribes, loosely or not at all federated, occupied almost all the
131 coastal region from near Valencia eastward to Cumaná, and other Caribs occupied the shores of Lake Maracaibo except at the northern end and most of the mountains west of the lake far into Colombia, for the Motilones belong to this group. The coast from near the Río Yaracuy, westward into Colombia, including the northern end of Lake Maracaibo and the site of the present city of Maracaibo, was occupied by Arawak tribes, and closely allied Indians covered a vast area inland including almost all of the western llanos. The Andes were occupied by an isolated group, the Timotes, neither Carib nor Arawak in affinity, and an equally isolated group, the Betoys, lived around the northern end of these mountains and northward to the interior of the present state of Falcón.

Elsewhere there were other similarly isolated groups, such as the Warraus (or Guaraus) around the Orinoco Delta region, the Yaruros, Wahibos (or Guahibos), and others on the middle and upper Orinoco, the Waikas (not to be confused with the Carib Akawais who have also been called Waikas, or Guaicas) at the headwaters of that river, and a few others. Notwithstanding the survival, even today, of several such isolated relict groups and of a few almost equally isolated Arawak tribes, almost all of the wild and enormous

/0/ /3/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

/79 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ /3/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the Caroni on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ /7/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into
121 which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date.
131 Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no
101 means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the infer-
101 ence from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand ac-
101 count of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní.
[131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
192 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén, which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuíba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are extremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present

97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important co-operative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

● 132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic ex-
ample of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an ob-
server can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth pub-
lishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certain-
ly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in gen-
eral, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my
361 observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

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133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

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M1

133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake...., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

● 133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

2:Armellada--11a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

342

The author of this work goes into the malocas /houses/ and into the soul of the Indians.

133
342
797

Settlement and town a building at Kavanayén, formed by the Capuchin missionaries.

2:Armellada--11b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

133

Beautiful views of the Gran Sabana.

/9 cont./

133 23. The waterways are unsuitable for navigation because of the impetuous currents which at each step hinder the passage of boats, even small native curiaras; and this highland, surrounded on the north, east, and west by craggy mountain ridges and immense forests, this region is, with respect to Venezuela, a true nest of eagles or of airplanes. Only to the south are there some easier ways across some gorges of Pakaraima toward the Brazilian campos of the Branco River, which has been and in great measure still is the nursemaid and like the umbilical [491] cord of this part of Venezuela. The highway decreed in the distant times of General Gómez has still not poked its head into [552] those lands; and there one lives dependent upon the vulture-canoe, kurún-kanhúa, as the Indians say /the airplane/.

Chapter III

The Soul of the Gran Sabana and the Soul of the Pemón Indians

24. The patá-muná. 25. Truisms. 26. A copper-colored soul? 27. Conclusions. 28. The Indian is a child. 29. The maloca, symbol of the Indian soul. 30. Imagination a predominant faculty of the Indians.

24. To avoid caviling to my readers, I wish to tell them without circumlocutions that the soul of the Gran Sabana, to which I here refer, is the Indians. /10/

Certainly, if everywhere form is what gives life to material, and the inhabitants of a region with their typical customs and activities are those who give life and interest to their lands, it need not be said that they who have given and do give interest and life to the Gran Sabana are the Indians, its natural

2:Armellada--32b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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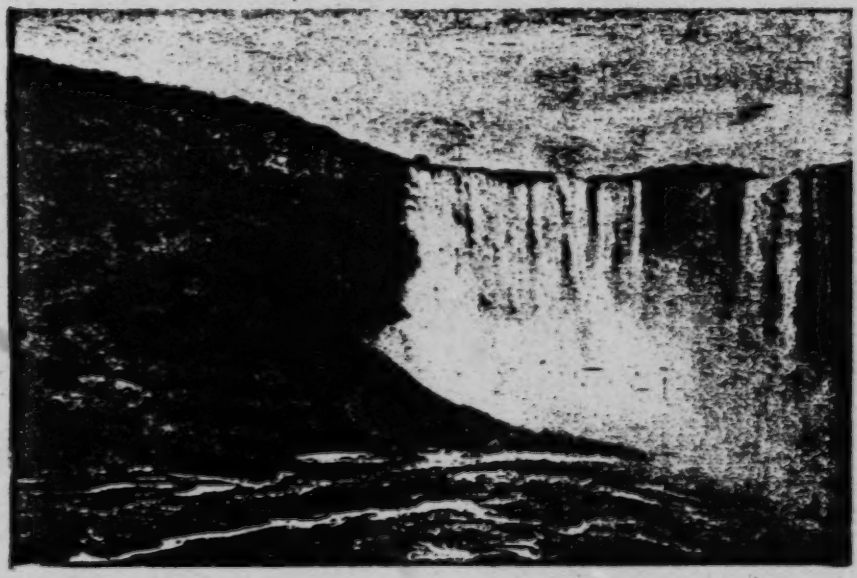
Great waterfalls, an as yet untapped source of energy and wealth.



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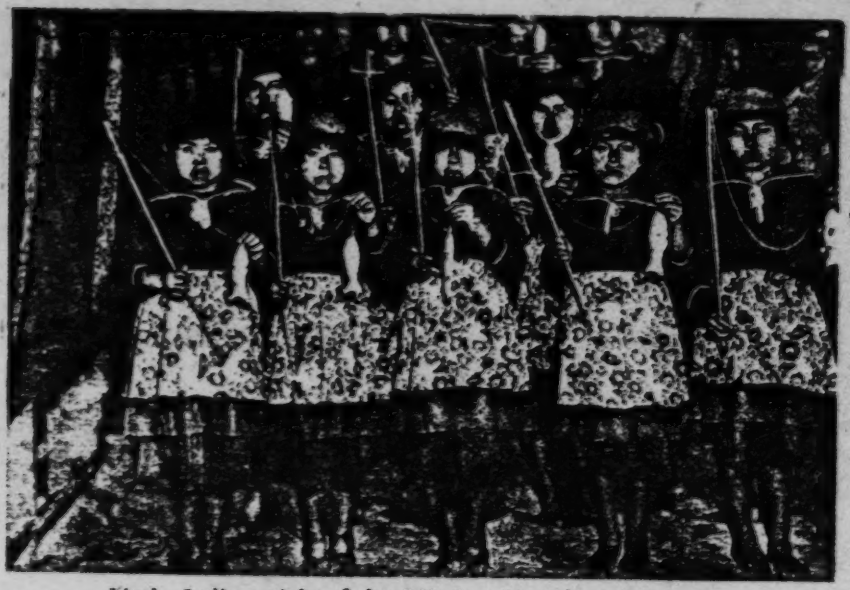

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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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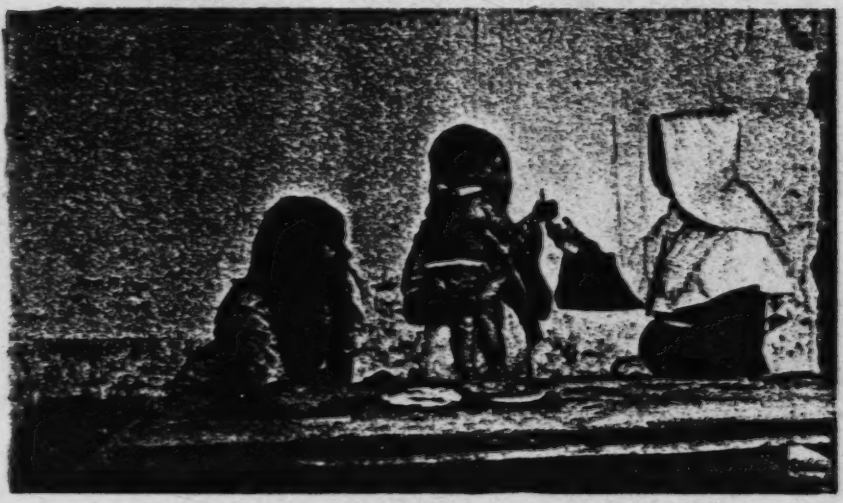

Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

2:Armellada--85a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

● 133
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Beautiful views of plain, mountain, and sky in the Gran Sabana.

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

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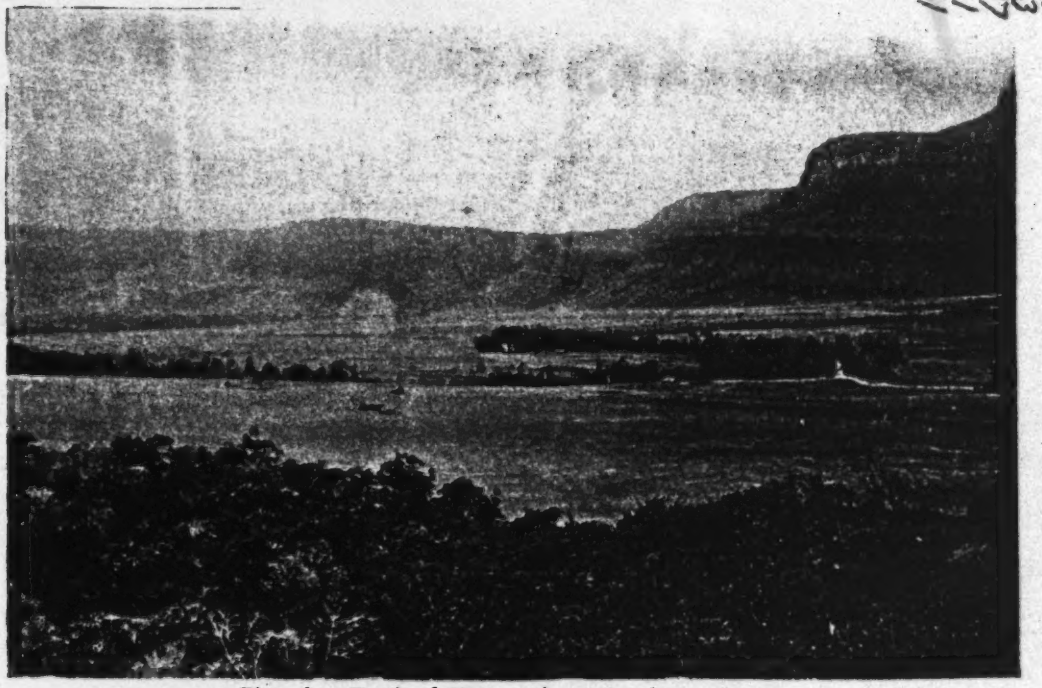

Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361/103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orná, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orna, but building his house at Aleniba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 • These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

●133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous 103 but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, [823] which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103 which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166 as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261 abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
612 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131 at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139 there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184 where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analysis]

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakęn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

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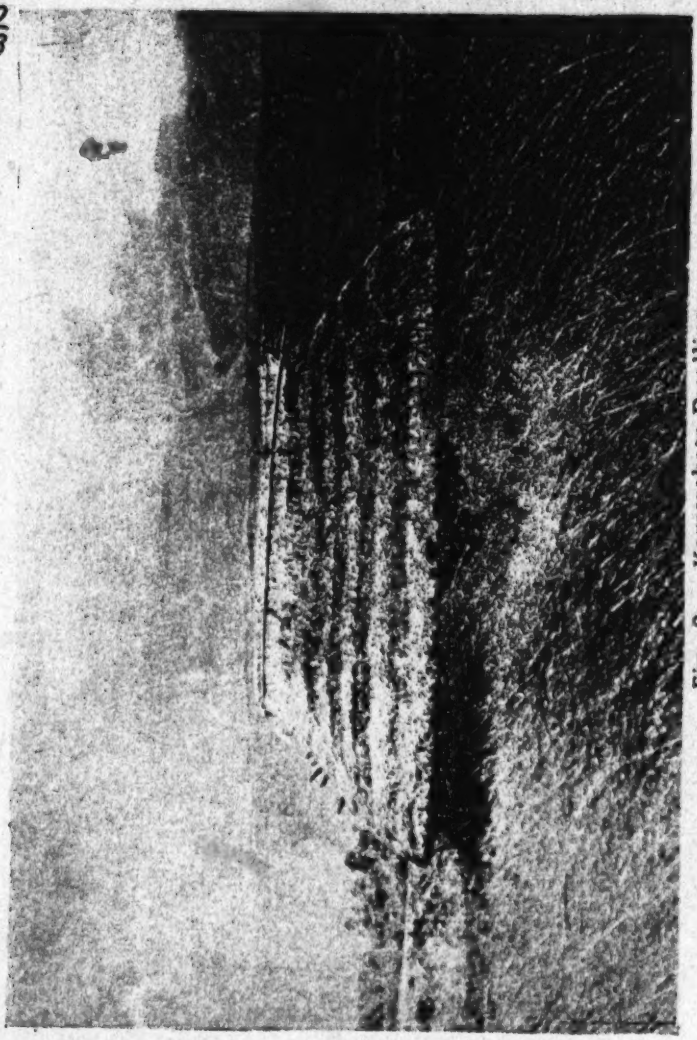

Fig. 8 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Same building as Figs. 6-7. Photograph of south side. (Slopes of Auyán-tepúi visible below clouds in background).

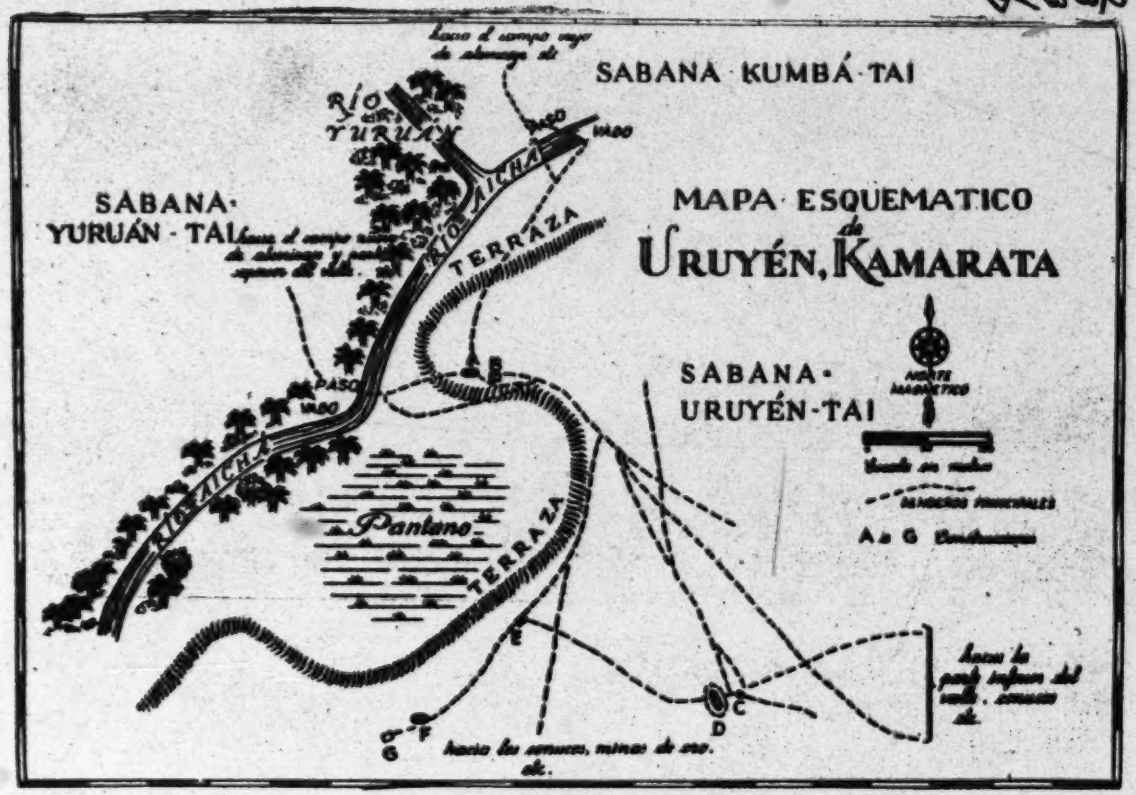

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

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Fig. 19 – Barbasco Fishing.
Carrying the prepared fish-poison (ing' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

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Fig. 25 — Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

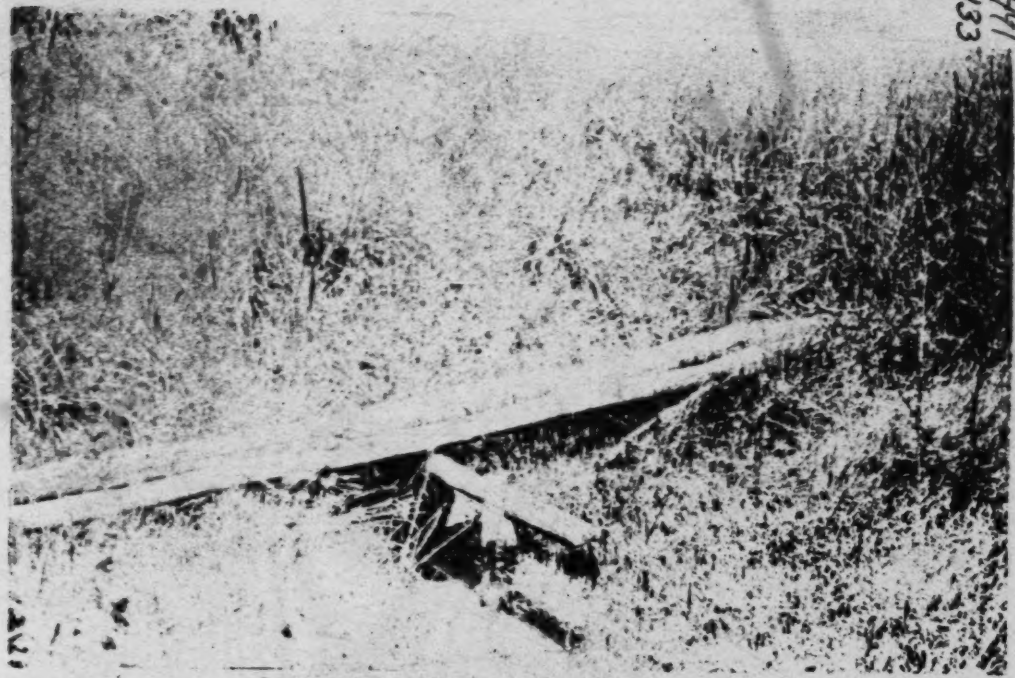

Fig. 69 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Typical pole-bridge of the more carefully constructed sort, across deep water in a marsh near Uruyên.

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Fig. 72 -- Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Atchá River at Uriyén.

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

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Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ́) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
● 134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

241 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
● [135] [439] oro, woro[a]	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapɔra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
mamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulü-kulü	file
kõroitoko	chicken

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangöi' is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangöi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangan (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwö.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[139] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai? and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakoto and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Camaracoto
Taurepan

DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

197 Carib languages and dialects have been spoken from Cuba and Central America to southern Brazil and from almost the extreme eastern end of South America to the foot of the Andes. They were not spoken in the Andes, except for the Motilones in the Perijá mountains, or west or south of Brazil. The outlying dialects are now mostly extinct or survive in isolated communities in regions predominantly of some other speech. These therefore have little interest from the present point of view. The main region where Carib languages are still the predominant or the only local idioms includes Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco (Venezuelan Guiana or, more properly, Guayana), most of British, Dutch, and French Guianas (especially their southwestern parts), and much of the contiguous parts of Brazil north of the Amazon. This constitutes what is probably the largest single mass of any one stock of Indians still retaining their own speech, organization, and customs that survives anywhere in the world.

Although the Caribs of this region all speak recognizably related tongues, just as the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italians, and Rumanians all speak Romance languages, these are differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto, spoken around Auyán-tepúi, a great mountain northwest of and somewhat similar to Roroimá,[1] and Taurepán, spoken near to and generally westward of Roroimá, are dialects of the Arekuna language (much as British and American are, properly, two dialects of the English language although the descent is not analogous). The particular interest of Arekuna is that it is, at least in some respects, archaic and that it is spoken almost in the middle of the great central
● 136 mass of Carib distribution. Zoölogically, also, the Arekuna area is of great interest,

[1] Or "Roraima." "Roroimá" more nearly represents the Indian pronunciation and therefore seems to me more nearly correct.

[p. 2-A]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamara Koto
Taurepan

136 occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

1977 128 It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepán, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kaliña, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kaliña, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guaraní designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amazon and south to the Río de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

[p. 2-B]

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeaken, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dye? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yare, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yare, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyare, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yare. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
7 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

311 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén
361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is
311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are
342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakęn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

M
133 16. The principal rivers, which joined together form the Caroní, are: Akaruai, Apanhuao, Yuruaní, Kukenan, Surukún, Uaiparú, and Tiriká.

There is besides a small strip of land which spills its waters toward the Karumán or Karmuarán River (British Guiana).

The abundance of water is one of the characteristics of the Gran Sabana; and even more is the hydraulic force, also metaphorically called "white coal," since all the rivers rush toward the Caroní in innumerable waterfalls or cataracts, the mere listing of which would fill several pages.

[137] 17. The Gran Sabana owes its name to a predominance in the region of natural fields of straw, which grows in shocks; but it especially owes its name to a contrast with the forest of British Guiana and the other bordering regions of Kuyuni, Paragua, etc. But let it not be assumed that this entire district is a single uniformly level highland like the Venezuelan llanos or the Argentinian pampas; quite the contrary, this is an extremely cut-up region, with innumerable hills, ridges, valleys, rivers, streams, and arroyos.

18. From the hydrographic point-of-view, it would be much more exact to call these lands "Upper Caroní," as the authors of the Taurepán-Spanish Catechism did; since in truth all the rivers flow toward the Caroní basin.

19. Inversely, from the orographic point-of-view, it would be more exact, expressive, and correct to call this region "Guiana Ridge," as the noted historian Caulín did when he wrote: "In this Ridge, which gives rise to the rivers of its coast, and runs toward the headwaters of the Suriñama River, dwell different tribes of Infantile Indians... These are Zapara, Macusi, Toruma, Cariguana, Aturayo, and Guacavayo.... Ridge that the Indians call Tumukurake..., and it carries along with it the rivers Amu, Maseruni, Cuyuni, and Apamoni"... (H. N. A., ed. Caracas, 1935, p. 221).

103 The Indians themselves in their language call this region "Uek-tá," which means "place or land of hills," in

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

●137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

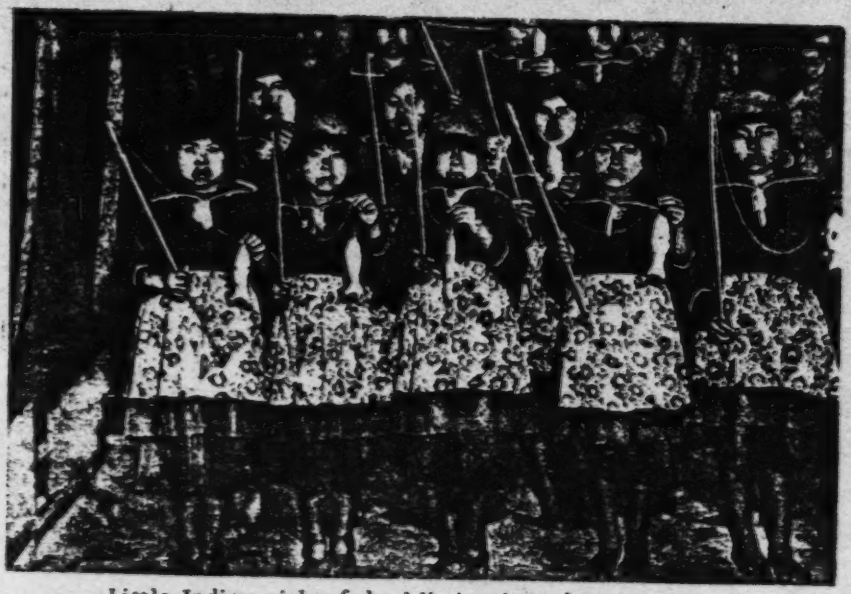
133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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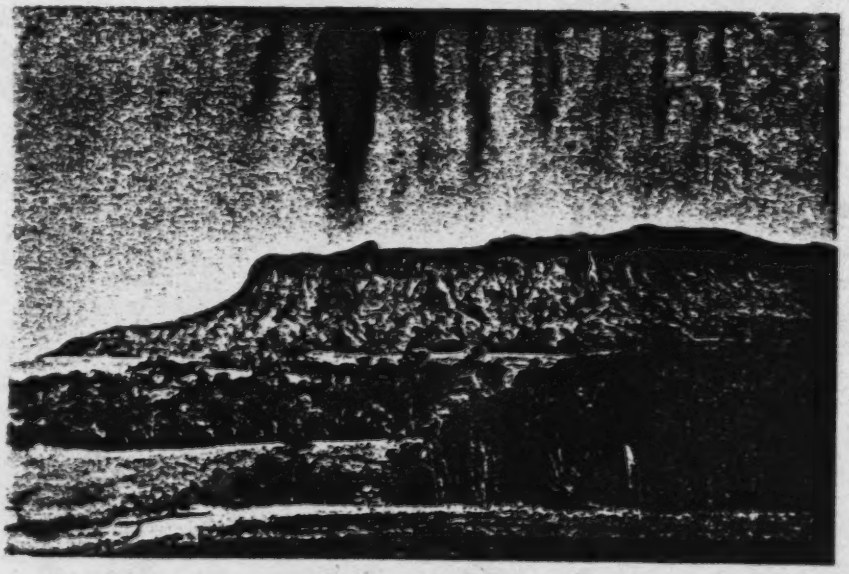

This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

2:Armellada--85a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Beautiful views of plain, mountain, and sky in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--96a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

The Gran Sabana, an area of luxurious vegetation and of the finest fruits, as is shown by the example you have before you.

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-ratties, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekumas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[26] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewiiba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[135] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekumas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
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97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b. - Analyst]

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.

The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

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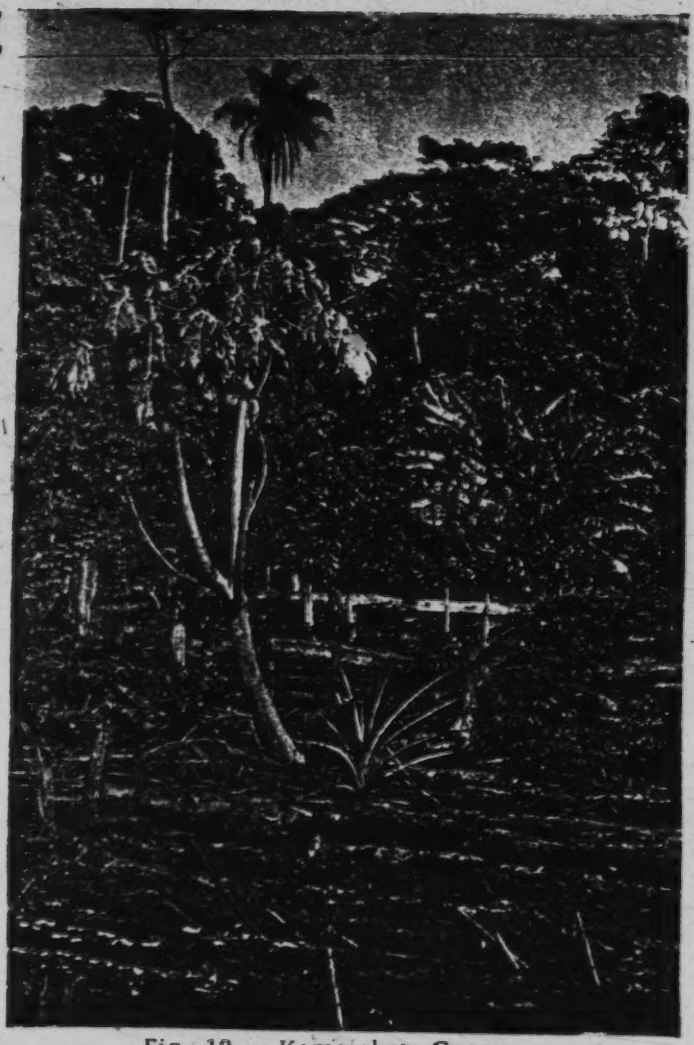

Fig. 13 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
One of the Urùyén conucos. The method of clearing by felling trees and burning is shown, as well as the haphazard planting.

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

● [132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

231 In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[522] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1]

[1 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[2 [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blow-
gun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a
blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are
a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare
country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[829] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Re-
lated tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they
also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns
with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at
least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user.
A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can
easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great
length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro
and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are
made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section,
2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is
rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts
are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown,
pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably,
casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison
is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of
poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mōiyp, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form,
from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuip, uncoated and without a top,
is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw
of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipirai, is attached to the top of quiver.
114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 72 -- Kamarakoto Canoe.
The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uruyén.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

248b

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

/37 cont./

83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by armchair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live
826 looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians
165 are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

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Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [518] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 232 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

153 [158] There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

●141 126 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 561 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 ●141 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237 [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analysis]

●141

Fully Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 15

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	175 - 194	186.9 ± 1.4	5.5 ± 1.0	3.0 ± .5
Head breadth	150 - 160	154.2 ± .9	3.6 ± .7	2.3 ± .4
Head index	77 - 86	82.2 ± .6	2.3 ± .4	-------
Stature	147 1/2 - 168 1/2	160.0 ± 1.3	5.0 ± .9	3.1 ± .6
Sitting height	79 - 90	84.8 ± .8	3.1 ± .6	3.6 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	68 1/2 - 81 1/2	75.2 ± .8	3.3 ± .6	4.3 ± .8
Span	153 - 180	169.0 ± 1.7	6.5 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .7
Weight	105 - 140	123.7 ± 2.8	10.7 ± 2.0	-------

Young Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 9

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	173 - 190	182.7 ± 1.4	4.2 ± 1.0	2.3 ± .5
Head breadth	143 - 158	152.4 ± 1.5	4.6 ± 1.1	3.0 ± .7
Head index	78 - 86	83.2 ± .8	2.5 ± .6	-------
Stature	150 - 162	155.0 ± 1.0	3.1 ± .7	2.0 ± .5
Sitting height	77 - 86 1/2	80.9 ± .9	2.6 ± .6	3.3 ± .8
Stature less sitting height	71 - 76 1/2	74.1 ± .6	1.7 ± .4	2.3 ± .5
Span	155 - 170	162.4 ± 1.5	4.5 ± 1.1	2.8 ± .7
Weight	105 - 125	112.2 ± 2.1	6.3 ± 1.5	-------

For this group the head index (which is not significantly correlated with age in any of my samples) is not significantly different from that of the fully adult group. The head breadth and the derived figure of stature less sitting height are not technically significantly different from the adult group as isolated figures, but this may certainly be taken as a chance result and the difference shown may, on broader grounds, be taken to characterize the populations. The [145] other means are all decidedly significantly different from those for the fully adult group, the weight most so, and prove that this sexually mature and apparently adult group is not, in fact, full-grown, or in other words that some adult growth occurs.

● 141

Adult Female Kamarakotos; N = 14

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 186	177.1 ±1.3	4.7 ± .9	2.6 ±.5
Head breadth	146 - 159	150.9 ± .9	3.3 ± .6	2.2 ±.4
Head index	80 - 88	84.7 ± .6	2.4 ± .5	-------
Stature	136 - 155 1/2	146.9 ±1.2	4.6 ± .9	3.2 ±.6
Sitting height	71 - 82	77.1 ± .7	2.8 ± .5	3.6 ±.7
Stature less sitting height	65 - 77 1/2	69.8 ± .8	3.2 ± .6	4.5 ±.9
Span	143 - 163 1/2	152.0 ±1.4	5.2 ±1.0	3.4 ±.6
Weight	80 - 120	103.6 ±3.3	12.2 ±2.3	-------

[[28] The Taurepán samples are not as good as the Kamarakotos. They are somewhat too homogeneous, being mostly from one section of this far-flung tribe and including too high a proportion of individuals of about the same age to be surely representative of the tribe as a whole. Although all are adult, the males, particularly, average younger than the fully adult Kamarakoto male sample and younger than the adult Taurepán male population. The measurements cannot, however, be very different from the Taurepán norms, and their use in comparisons cannot be seriously misleading if their incompletely representative character is borne in mind.

Adult Male Taurepanes; N = 12

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	179 - 191	184.3 ±1.1	3.7 ± .8	2.0 ±.4
Head breadth	147 - 161	154.2 ±1.3	4.5 ± .9	2.9 ±.6
Head index	79 - 89	83.2 ± .8	2.7 ± .6	-------
Stature	152 - 161	156.9 ±1.0	3.3 ± .7	2.1 ±.4
Sitting height	79 - 87	82.4 ± .6	2.1 ± .4	2.5 ±.5
Stature less sitting height	70 - 79 1/2	74.5 ± .8	2.8 ± .6	3.8 ±.8
Span	156 - 170	164.4 ±1.2	4.2 ± .9	2.5 ±.5

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Adult Female Taurepanes: N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ± 1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5 ± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6 ± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ± 1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0 ± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3 ± 1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ± 1.7	5.5 ± 1.2	3.6 ± .8

141 144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these [582] [648] Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seeming contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekumas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekumas.

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepanes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

Comparisons

●141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepáne and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 142 [101] Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although 141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with [128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

(141)

Comparison of No. 25 (known as "Simon Bolivar") Adult Male, with Adult Male Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	165	+10.8	3.0
Head index	88	+ 5.8	2.5
Stature	158 1/2	− 1.5	.3
Standing height	84 1/2	− .3	.1
Span	167	− 2.0	.3
Weight	140	+16.3	1.5

Comparison of Head Dimensions of No. 25 with Adult Male Taurepanes

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 3.7	1.0
Head breadth	165	+10.8	2.4
Head index	88	+ 4.8	1.8

Comparison of No. 14 (known as "Rosa Bolivar"), Adult Female, Sister of No. 25, with Adult Female Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	183	+5.9	1.3
Head breadth	160	+9.1	2.7
Head index	87	+2.3	1.0
Stature	148 1/2	+1.6	.3
Sitting height	79	+1.9	.7
Span	157	+5.0	1.0
Weight	100	−3.6	.3

[144] Simon's head is significantly broader than those of the Kamarakotos and is confirmatory of the belief that he has some non-Arekuna blood. His head index is not quite significantly greater (P is less than .02 but greater than .01). Rose Bolivar's head is about at the limit of significance in its greater breadth in comparison with Kamarakoto (P slightly less than .01), but her index is not shown to be significantly different. In other dimensions these Indians fall well within the Kamarakoto normal range. The difference of Simon's head breadth

●141 from the Taurepán sample is not significant (P somewhat greater than .02) but in view of the other relationships this can probably be imputed to the deficiency of that sample. It is, however, to be kept in mind as a possibility that these people might belong to a group that is more variable than are the Kamarakotos in this respect, rather than one that is definitely more broad-headed. This would not alter the fact that they are different.

[124] I was able to measure three adult male Arekunas from south and west of Kamarata, typical of the Indians of outlying regions, with respect to the central Kamarakotos, whose pertinence to this tribe is dubious. They compare as follows with the fully adult Kamarakotos:

Comparison of Three Adult Male Arekunas from the Region of the Caroni with Adult Male Kamarakotos

Measurement	Individual No.	X	d	d/σ
Head length	1	195	+ 8.1	1.5
	2	181	− 5.9	1.1
	3	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	1	155	+ .8	.2
	2	148	− 6.2	1.7
	3	157	+ 2.8	.8
Head index	1	79	− 3.2	1.4
	2	82	− .2	.1
	3	84	+ 1.8	.8
Stature	1	165	+ 5.0	1.0
	2	164 1/2	− .5	.1
	3	172 1/2	+12.5	2.5
Sitting height	1	89	+ 4.2	1.4
	2	82	− 2.8	.9
	3	79	− 5.8	1.9
Span	1	175	+ 6.0	.9
	2	172	+ 3.0	.5
	3	175	+ 4.0	.6
Weight	1	155	+31.3	2.9
	2	115	− 8.7	.8
	3	115	− 8.7	.8

No. 3 (Fig. 94) is taller than any central Kamarakoto but the difference is not surely significant (P is between .02 and .01). No. 1 is distinctly outside the Kamarakoto normal range in weight (P definitely less than .01), but little

141 importance can be given a character so largely dependent on environment, even over a short period of time, when the environment of this Indian certainly is different (in whatever way) from that of the central group. In other respects these Indians are well within the Kamarakoto range, as they are also in the less measurable characteristics of appearance, and there is no reason to separate them physically from that tribe or at least from the group of Arekunas of this general region.

Kamarakotos and Taurepánes compare as follows:-

Comparison of Adult Male Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 15 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 12 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	186.9	184.3	2.6
Head breadth	154.2	154.2	0
Head index	82.2	83.2	-1.0
Stature	160.0	156.9	3.1
Sitting height	84.8	82.4	2.4
Stature less sitting height	75.2	74.5	.7
Span	169.0	164.4	4.6

None of these differences is significant (d/σ is less than 2.5 in all cases) and as far as these measurements go no distinction between male Kamarakotos [145] and Taurepánes is shown. The fact that the Taurepánes appear to be slightly smaller in all dimensions is due to the observed fact that the average age of the individuals in the Taurepán sample was slightly less, and some adult growth occurs in these groups.

Comparison of Adult Female Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 14 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 11 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	177.1	176.5	.6
Head breadth	150.9	150.6	.3
Head index	84.7	85.4	- .7
Stature	146.9	145.8	1.1
Sitting height	77.1	77.3	- .2
Stature less sitting height	69.8	68.5	1.3
Span	152.0	153.1	-1.1

P
141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measure-
P ments the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could
[142] have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that
[101] the Arekumas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the
P Taurepánes are Arekumas, which is further supported by their culture and lan-
M guage.

128 The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allow-
141 ing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the
114 same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same
P average age as mine.[238]
M
141 The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

P M 141

Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	6[illegible].9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P M [128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P M [101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

P 128 145 [114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analysis]

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 15 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	148.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.6	81.9	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	128.8	144.7	155.0	169.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	59.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	132.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	58.0	81.0	112.2	132.7

[126] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females
[123] in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

145
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Growth in Female Kamarakotos

	No. 52, about 3 years old	No. 64, about 5 years old	Mean of Nos. 29, 32 & 51, about 6-7 years old	No. 50, about 8 years old	No. 27, about 10-11 years old	No. 61, about 15 years old	Mean of 14 adults
Head length	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Head breadth	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Head index	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Stature	92	107	113	134	143	146 1/2	146.9
Sitting height	51 1/2	59	60 1/2	73	73	76	77.1
Stature less sitting height	40 1/2	48	52 1/2	61	70	69 1/2	69.8
Span	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Weight	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

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The available data for male children and young adults, of whom 24 of central Kamarakoto stock were measured, in addition to the 15 older adults, provide (apparently for the first time) an opportunity to study relative growth in such a relatively pure and primitive human stock. This rather lengthy study is not within the proper scope of the present work, but in order to make the important data all available here in most convenient form, a tabulation of the linear measurements of these individuals (omitting the oldest group in which no determinable growth occurs) is presented below. Logarithms are given instead of raw measurements because the latter should be turned into logarithms for clearest study of relative growth in any case and one step is thus saved the reader without using any more space here. The sequence is that of stature.

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
35.	1.9320	1.6946	1.5563	1.9395	2.2175	2.1335	2
68.	1.9335	1.7160	1.5563	1.9395	2.2380	2.1461	2 1/2
30.	2.0149	1.7634	1.6580	2.0128	2.2430	2.1761	4
67.	2.0191	1.7520	1.6812	2.0294	2.2380	2.1461	4
63.	2.0828	1.8195	1.7404	2.0899	2.2455	2.1584	7-8
33.	2.0969	1.8261	1.7634	2.1004	2.2430	2.1732	7-8
37.	2.1038	1.8228	1.7818	2.1206	2.2355	2.1523	8-9
54.	2.1106	1.8261	1.7924	2.1271	2.2455	2.1675	8-9
36.	2.1206	1.8603	1.7745	2.1038	2.2553	2.1790	9-10
48.	2.1492	1.8808	1.8129	2.1492	2.2553	2.1761	12-13
46.	2.1538	1.8603	1.8451	2.1761	2.2480	2.1335	12-13
47.	2.1568	1.8692	1.8420	2.1732	2.2577	2.1553	12-13
16.	2.1703	1.8779	1.8603	2.1931	2.2480	2.1644	10
40.	2.1718	1.8949	1.8451	2.1903	2.2718	2.1931	12-13

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos (Cont.)

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
15.	2.1761	1.8865	1.8633	2.1903	2.2601	2.1847)	Young
62.	2.1790	1.9031	1.8513	2.2014	2.2577	2.1790)	adult, ca.
22.	2.1875	1.9031	1.8692	2.2014	2.2648	2,1553)	16-21 (ex-
23.	2.1875	1.8976	1.8751	2.2095	2.2380	2.1703)	cept No.
18.	2.1889	1.9165	1.8573	2.2304	2.2648	2.1875)	53 who is
							large but
58.	2.1917	1.9031	1.8779	2.2122	2.2625	2.1790)	younger
24.	2.1945	1.9031	1.8837	2.2135	2.2672	2.1987)	than others
10.	2.1973	1.9217	1.8692	2.2068	2.2788	2.1959)	in this
53.	2.1973	1.9004	1.8921	2.2175	2.2648	2.1818)	group, ca.
41.	2.2095	1.9370	1.8779	2.2279	2.2601	2.1959)	14).

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123 Mrs. Angel to write down, closely resembles the Kamarakoto words for "die"
126 or "dead." I went over to Uruyén, gathered some of the Indians, explained what "eight" means, and to prove it and reassure them taught some of them to count from one to ten in English — an accomplishment that may puzzle future visitors. They then returned to be measured and no further serious difficulty arose.

M
128 238. He has only one woman estimated to be older than 25 but younger
141 than 40, and I have omitted her from the partial averages given above. His
114 male series does not have such a gap.
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141 239. Thirty-three for head measurements, 30 for the others

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114 240. Thirteen for head measurements, 10 for others

241. Farabee's outstanding general conclusion was that forest tribes are
128 larger than sabana tribes regardless of race, i.e. that forest Caribs more re-
141 semble forest Arawaks than they do sabana Caribs. He believes that the dif-
101 ference is an effect of environment, especially food. That the somatic differences of these various tribes are to some extent influenced by environment is possible, even probable, but Farabee's conclusion does not follow from his own figures if these are more carefully and correctly examined, and it is quite disproven by the present new data. Although manifestly allied to the Makuchis and just as typically sabana Indians, the Arekunas are at least as large as any of Farabee's forest Caribs, or even Arawaks, which may average a little larger than Caribs in this region. Since Farabee's sabana Caribs are simply the Makuchis, his data would tend to show not an influence of environment regardless of race, as he supposes, but a strictly racial difference. His figures merely suggested, and mine confirm, that the Makuchis are small Caribs, not that sabana Indians are small.

Moreover he has drawn conclusions that his data cannot prove, even if these conclusions are true. His samples of forest tribes are for the most part very inadequate and potentially misleading, and these tribes apparently differ considerably among themselves so that to lump them as one thing and to compare this very arbitrary and artificial average with the Makuchis, a good sample that is of one tribe, can prove nothing. He has also failed to show that his sample differences are significant regarding the populations, or even to consider this problem. It is evident that very few of them, even those used as a basis for strong conclusions, are really significant.

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

114 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the ex-
152 pression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured.
[142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--22b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

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Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

2:Armellada--32a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

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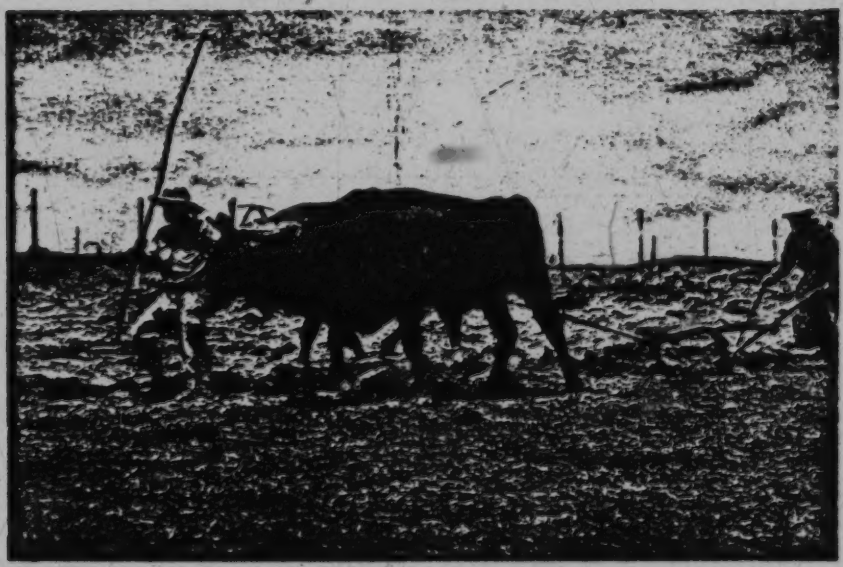
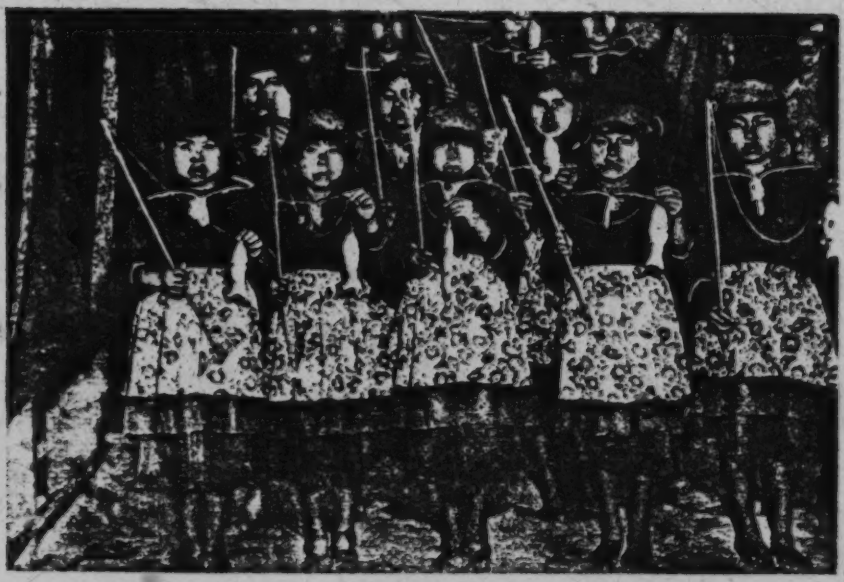


The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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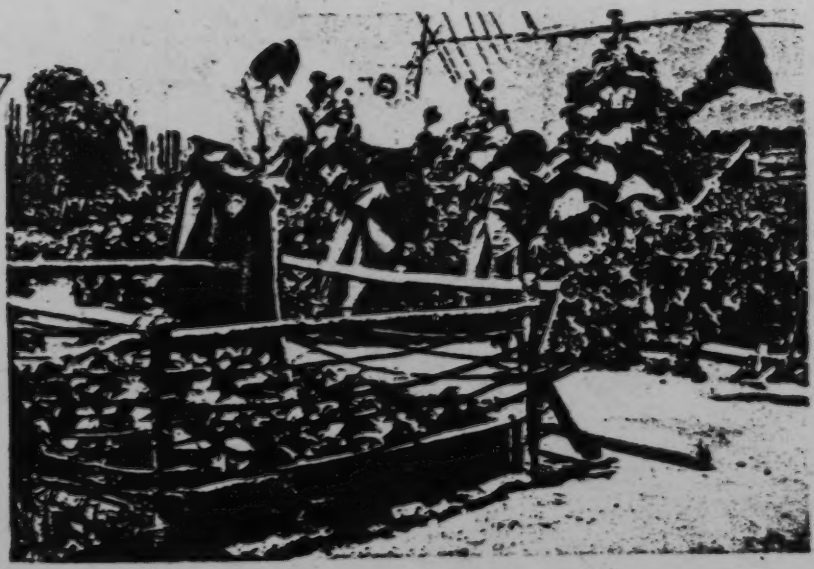

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

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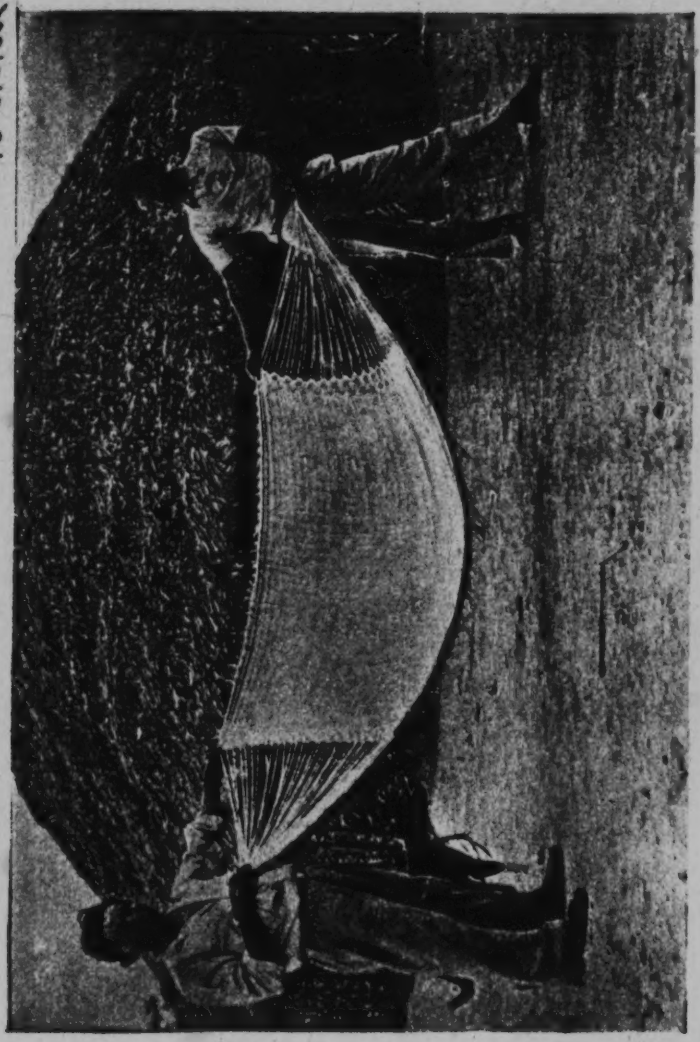

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See P 204, Category 116 -- Analysis]

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

5:Simpson. N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pejmon SS16
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Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.
Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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Fig. 87 — Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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Fig. 89 — Kamarakoto Adult Women.

No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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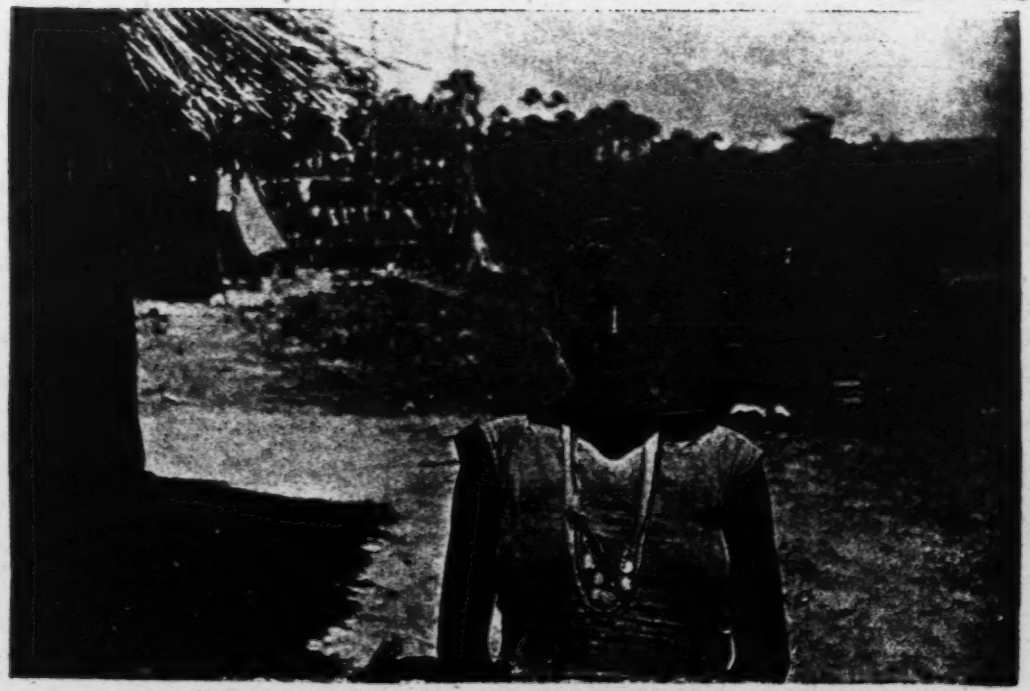

Fig. 90 — Kamarakoto Adult Woman:
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 92 – Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekunas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the hand-[162] someness of the other Arekunas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the [302] chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 93 – Feet of Kamarakoto Females.

No. 49 (left; only one foot showing) is adult and the mother of the other three, left to right Nos. 52 (youngest sister), 51, and 50 (oldest sister, but probably not over 8 years). Note increasing spreading of foot and divergence of great toe with greater age.

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult
142 Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of
[101] Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although
141 doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with
[128] the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

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Fig. 94 – Arekuna Adult Male.

No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.
No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
● [144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
192 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to [144] favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

141

Adult Female Taurepanes: N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ± 1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5 ± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6 ± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ± 1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0 ± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3 ± 1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ± 1.7	5.5 ± 1.2	3.6 ± .8

141 144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these [582] [648] Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seeming contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekumas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekumas.

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

141

Comparison of No. 25 (known as "Simon Bolivar") Adult Male, with Adult Male Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 1.1	.2
Head breadth	165	+10.8	3.0
Head index	88	+ 5.8	2.5
Stature	158 1/2	- 1.5	.3
Standing height	84 1/2	- .3	.1
Span	167	- 2.0	.3
Weight	140	+16.3	1.5

Comparison of Head Dimensions of No. 25 with Adult Male Taurepanes

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	188	+ 3.7	1.0
Head breadth	165	+10.8	2.4
Head index	88	+ 4.8	1.8

Comparison of No. 14 (known as "Rosa Bolivar"), Adult Female, Sister of No. 25, with Adult Female Kamarakotos

	X	d	d/σ
Head length	183	+5.9	1.3
Head breadth	160	+9.1	2.7
Head index	87	+2.3	1.0
Stature	148 1/2	+1.6	.3
Sitting height	79	+1.9	.7
Span	157	+5.0	1.0
Weight	100	-3.6	.3

[144] Simon's head is significantly broader than those of the Kamarakotos and is confirmatory of the belief that he has some non-Arekuna blood. His head index is not quite significantly greater (P is less than .02 but greater than .01). Rose Bolivar's head is about at the limit of significance in its greater breadth in comparison with Kamarakoto (P slightly less than .01), but her index is not shown to be significantly different. In other dimensions these Indians fall well within the Kamarakoto normal range. The difference of Simon's head breadth

P 141 These differences are all far from significant. As regards these measurements the Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples, both male and female, could have been drawn from a single very uniform population. The suggestion is that the Arekunas as a whole present a rather uniform physical type, which is fully supported by the more subtle factors of appearance, and, of course, that the Taurepánes are Arekunas, which is further supported by their culture and language.

[144] [101] P M 128 141 114 The Kamarakoto and Taurepán samples are absolutely comparable (allowing for recorded defects of representation in the latter) because taken by the same observer in the same way. Wider comparison introduces a possible personal element but there is little reason to doubt that Farabee's measurements, the only ones of much importance for wider comparison, are sufficiently comparable. His male Makuchi sample is larger than any one of my samples (30 to 33) and has an apparently representative age distribution. His corresponding female sample is small (10 to 13) but sufficient for comparison. It contains two fairly distinct age groups within the adult series, one of five women 25 and below (by his estimates of age) and 141.3 cm. in average height and the other of four women 40 and above and 144.4 cm. in average height, so that two adult growth levels occur, but the sample as a whole seems to be of about the same average age as mine.[238]

P M 141 The comparisons are as follows:-

Comparisons of Means for 15 Kamarakoto Adult Males and 30 to 33[239] Makuchi Adult Males, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	186.9	184	2.9	.11
Head breadth	154.2	148	6.2	<.01
Head index	82.2	81.0	1.2	.13
Stature	160.0	156.0	4.0	<.02>.01 (nearly .01)
Sitting height	84.8	81.0	3.8	<.01
Stature less sitting height	75.2	75.0	.2	---
Span	169.0	164.3	4.7	.02

238-239 [see footnotes on p. 335, category 116 -Analyst]
[text continues on p. 296]

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

141

Fully Adult Male Kamarakotos: N = 15

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	175 - 194	186.9 ± 1.4	5.5 ± 1.0	3.0 ± .5
Head breadth	150 - 160	154.2 ± .9	3.6 ± .7	2.3 ± .4
Head index	77 - 86	82.2 ± .6	2.3 ± .4	-------
Stature	147 1/2 - 168 1/2	160.0 ± 1.3	5.0 ± .9	3.1 ± .6
Sitting height	79 - 90	84.8 ± .8	3.1 ± .6	3.6 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	68 1/2 - 81 1/2	75.2 ± .8	3.3 ± .6	4.3 ± .8
Span	153 - 180	169.0 ± 1.7	6.5 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .7
Weight	105 - 140	123.7 ± 2.8	10.7 ± 2.0	-------

Young Adult Male Kamarakotos; N = 9

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	173 - 190	182.7 ± 1.4	4.2 ± 1.0	2.3 ± [illegible]
Head breadth	143 - 158	152.4 ± 1.5	4.6 ± 1.1	3.0 ± [illegible]
Head index	78 - 86	83.2 ± .8	2.5 ± .6	-----
Stature	150 - 162	155.0 ± 1.0	3.1 ± .7	2.0 ± .5
Sitting height	77 - 86 1/2	80.9 ± .9	2.6 ± .6	3.3 ± .8
Stature less sitting height	71 - 76 1/2	74.1 ± .6	1.7 ± .4	2.3 ± .5
Span	155 - 170	162.4 ± 1.5	4.5 ± 1.1	2.8 ± .7
Weight	105 - 125	112.2 ± 2.1	6.3 ± 1.5	-------

For this group the head index (which is not significantly correlated with age in any of my samples) is not significantly different from that of the fully adult group. The head breadth and the derived figure of stature less sitting height are not technically significantly different from the adult group as isolated figures, but this may certainly be taken as a chance result and the difference shown may, on broader grounds, be taken to characterize the populations. The other means are all decidedly significantly different from those for the fully adult group, the weight most so, and prove that this sexually mature and apparently adult group is not, in fact, full-grown, or in other words that some adult growth occurs.

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141 importance can be given a character so largely dependent on environment, even over a short period of time, when the environment of this Indian certainly is different (in whatever way) from that of the central group. In other respects these Indians are well within the Kamarakoto range, as they are also in the less measurable characteristics of appearance, and there is no reason to separate them physically from that tribe or at least from the group of Arekunas of this general region.

Kamarakotos and Taurepánes compare as follows:-

Comparison of Adult Male Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 15 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 12 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	186.9	184.3	2.6
Head breadth	154.2	154.2	0
Head index	82.2	83.2	-1.0
Stature	160.0	156.9	3.1
Sitting height	84.8	82.4	2.4
Stature less sitting height	75.2	74.5	.7
Span	169.0	164.4	4.6

None of these differences is significant (d/σ is less than 2.5 in all cases) and as far as these measurements go no distinction between male Kamarakotos [145] and Taurepánes is shown. The fact that the Taurepánes appear to be slightly smaller in all dimensions is due to the observed fact that the average age of the individuals in the Taurepán sample was slightly less, and some adult growth occurs in these groups.

Comparison of Adult Female Kamarakotos and Taurepanes

	a. Mean of 14 Kamarakotos	b. Mean of 11 Taurepanes	a-b
Head length	177.1	176.5	.6
Head breadth	150.9	150.6	.3
Head index	84.7	85.4	- .7
Stature	146.9	145.8	1.1
Sitting height	77.1	77.3	- .2
Stature less sitting height	69.8	68.5	1.3
Span	152.0	153.1	-1.1

P
M
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Comparisons of Means for 14 Kamarakoto Adult Females and 10 to 13[240] Makuchi Adult Females, the latter after Farabee

	a. Kamarakotos	b. Makuchis	a-b	P
Head length	177.1	172	5.1	<.02>.01
Head breadth	150.9	144	6.9	<.01
Head index	84.7	84.0	.7	---
Stature	146.9	142.8	4.1	.02
Sitting height	77.1	74.9	2.2	.07
Stature less sitting height	69.8	67.9	1.9	---
Span	152.0	151.9	.1	---

P
M
[128]

In making the comparisons the standard errors of the differences between the means have been calculated by the formula assuming (as is the case) that the populations are distinct and comparing only means. Where no value for P is given, the deviation is obviously not significant.

In every case the Kamarakoto averages are larger than the Makuchi, although the differences are not all statistically significant. Among the men, the Kamarakotos almost surely are significantly taller, have wider heads, and greater sitting height. The leg length is not significantly greater, so that the greater height is in the torso and the legs are proportionately shorter. The span is greater. The Kamarakoto women likewise are taller, probably significantly, and have larger heads than the Makuchis. The span is not absolutely greater and is proportionately less, but not surely significantly. The torso-leg proportions, unlike those of the males, are about the same in Kamarakoto and Makuchi females.

P
M
[101]

That the Kamarakotos and Makuchis are physically distinct, despite their resemblance in appearance, culture, and language, is evident even on the basis of these few measurements. This tends to support my classification of Makuchis in a general Roroimá group but as distinct from the Arekunas, with both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes placed as tribes of Arekunas.[241]

Growth

P
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[114]

Absolute growth plotted against time cannot yet be studied for these or any allied Indians because none of them are of known age and no interested and competent observer has ever lived among them long enough to follow the growth of individuals over a known span of years. Estimates of absolute age are manifestly too unreliable to serve as a basis for detailed study. Relative age can, however, be judged within limits narrow enough to be of some use. Thus the

240, 241 [see footnotes on p.335, category 116 – Analyst]

Thus the

128 15 male children of pure central Kamarakoto stock that I measured can, with
145 a single exception, be placed with almost complete certainty into three groups
141 such that the relative ages of the groups are known and it is known that there is no overlap between them, even though the relative ages of individuals within a single group may still be uncertain. Omitting the one doubtful case, (who might belong either in group C or group D), the mean measurements of these groups, in comparison with young adults and full adults, are as follows:

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Growth in Male Kamarakoto

	a. Mean of 4 children about 2-5 years old	b. Mean of 5 children about 7-9 years old	c. Mean of 5 children about 10-13 years old	d. Mean of 9 young adults	e. Mean of 15 full adults
Head length	171.5	175.8	180.4	182.7	186.9
Head breadth	141.5	146.6	146.2	152.4	154.2
Head index	82.5	83.6	81.0	83.2	82.2
Stature	95.4	126.8	144.7	158.0	169.0
Sitting height	54.0	67.8	75.2	80.9	84.8
Stature less sitting height	41.4	58.0	69.4	74.1	75.2
Span	96.0	125.4	150.2	162.4	169.0
Weight	26.3	38.0	51.0	112.2	122.7

[126] Only eight female children were available for measurement, the females
[123] in general being less employed by us as workers and somewhat shyer about visiting our camp, where measurement was practicable. Three of these were of so nearly the same age that relative ages could not be certainly judged, but the others fell into a clear sequence, as follows:

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Growth in Female Kamarakotos

	No. 52, about 3 years old	No. 64, about 5 years old	Mean of Nos. 29, 32 & 51, about 6-7 years old	No. 50, about 8 years old	No. 27, about 10-11 years old	No. 61, about 15 years old	Mean of 14 adults
Head length	158	170	166	181	177	173	177.1
Head breadth	136	143	140	148	150	157	150.9
Head index	86	80	82	82	85	91	84.7
Stature	92	107	113	134	143	146 1/2	146.9
Sitting height	51 1/2	59	60 1/2	73	73	76	77.1
Stature less sitting height	40 1/2	48	52 1/2	61	70	69 1/2	69.8
Span	92	108	114	138	148	157	152.0
Weight	30	35	40	65	85	85	103.6

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The available data for male children and young adults, of whom 24 of central Kamarakoto stock were measured, in addition to the 15 older adults, provide (apparently for the first time) an opportunity to study relative growth in such a relatively pure and primitive human stock. This rather lengthy study is not within the proper scope of the present work, but in order to make the important data all available here in most convenient form, a tabulation of the linear measurements of these individuals (omitting the oldest group in which no determinable growth occurs) is presented below. Logarithms are given instead of raw measurements because the latter should be turned into logarithms for clearest study of relative growth in any case and one step is thus saved the reader without using any more space here. The sequence is that of stature.

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
35.	1.9320	1.6946	1.5563	1.9395	2.2175	2.1335	2
68.	1.9335	1.7160	1.5563	1.9395	2.2380	2.1461	2 1/2
30.	2.0149	1.7634	1.6580	2.0128	2.2430	2.1761	4
67.	2.0191	1.7520	1.6812	2.0294	2.2380	2.1461	4
63.	2.0828	1.8195	1.7404	2.0899	2.2455	2.1584	7-8
33.	2.0969	1.8261	1.7634	2.1004	2.2430	2.1732	7-8
37.	2.1038	1.8228	1.7818	2.1206	2.2355	2.1523	8-9
54.	2.1106	1.8261	1.7924	2.1271	2.2455	2.1675	8-9
36.	2.1206	1.8603	1.7745	2.1038	2.2553	2.1790	9-10
48.	2.1492	1.8808	1.8129	2.1492	2.2553	2.1761	12-13
46.	2.1538	1.8603	1.8451	2.1761	2.2480	2.1335	12-13
47.	2.1568	1.8692	1.8420	2.1732	2.2577	2.1553	12-13
16.	2.1703	1.8779	1.8603	2.1931	2.2480	2.1644	10
40.	2.1718	1.8949	1.8451	2.1903	2.2718	2.1931	12-13

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Logarithms of Linear Measurements of Male Kamarakotos (Cont.)

Record No.	Stature	Sitting height	Stature less sitting height	Span	Head length	Head breadth	Guessed age
15.	2.1761	1.8865	1.8633	2.1903	2.2601	2.1847)	Young
62.	2.1790	1.9031	1.8513	2.2014	2.2577	2.1790)	adult, ca.
22.	2.1875	1.9031	1.8692	2.2014	2.2648	2,1553)	16-21 (ex-
23.	2.1875	1.8976	1.8751	2.2095	2.2380	2.1703)	cept No.
18.	2.1889	1.9165	1.8573	2.2304	2.2648	2.1875)	53 who is
							large but
58.	2.1917	1.9031	1.8779	2.2122	2.2625	2.1790)	younger
24.	2.1945	1.9031	1.8837	2.2135	2.2672	2.1987)	than others
10.	2.1973	1.9217	1.8692	2.2068	2.2788	2.1959)	in this
53.	2.1973	1.9004	1.8921	2.2175	2.2648	2.1818)	group, ca.
41.	2.2095	1.9370	1.8779	2.2279	2.2601	2.1959)	14).

/17 cont./

are not going to talk about what we have heard; we have lived long years with the Indians and we speak from daily, intimate experience, which obliges us to speak the truth even though bullets may keep on flying.

We have not come to break spears in favor of the Indians, but in favor of the truth. This idea of the innate laziness of the Indians we believe to be the twin sister of the "black legend" about the Spaniards, against which of little avail have been the voices of Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Perhaps the voice of the missionary, so often accused of being blinded by affection, may also be scorned and turn out to have been preaching in the desert, but, anyway, magis amica veritas.

147 38. A very different matter, with which we shall not here deal, is the physical endurance and useful labor of the Indians, which gave rise to the bringing of Negroes for the working of the mines and the sugar mills. Also different is the other question of malnutrition or incomplete nutrition and the degeneration produced by alcoholism, malaria, etc., although they have a bearing upon the main point we are dealing with here. Speaking of useful labor, I do note that, with regard to the Guaraúno, the Rev. Fr. Gaspar de Pinilla, a missionary among them, has often told me that in the handling of the axe, canoe paddle, and dragging of temiche /18/, he would not exchange them for any Negro or Creole, despite the fact that the Guaraúno are among those most accused of being slothful and lazy. The same can be said of the Pemón of the Gran Sabana with respect to traveling with burdens, construction of huts, etc., that is to say, everything that makes up their daily life and their own activity.

People who often speak, to relieve their overflowing impatience on trips, against the sluggishness, stoicity, laziness, etc., of the long-suffering Indians, two days later, when the discomforts have now disappeared, can be heard to outdo themselves in praise of how fine they are for carrying and a thousand other things.

252 [285] basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõiʼ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The [482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõiʼ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʼ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat [251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard. 262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin [171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs. [252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of [269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be- [135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it [439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless [146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

/17 cont./

are not going to talk about what we have heard; we have lived long years with the Indians and we speak from daily, intimate experience, which obliges us to speak the truth even though bullets may keep on flying.

We have not come to break spears in favor of the Indians, but in favor of the truth. This idea of the innate laziness of the Indians we believe to be the twin sister of the "black legend" about the Spaniards, against which of little avail have been the voices of Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Perhaps the voice of the missionary, so often accused of being blinded by affection, may also be scorned and turn out to have been preaching in the desert, but, anyway, magis amica veritas.

147 38. A very different matter, with which we shall not here deal, is the physical endurance and useful labor of the Indians, which gave rise to the bringing of Negroes for the working of the mines and the sugar mills. Also different is the other question of malnutrition or incomplete nutrition and the degeneration produced by alcoholism, malaria, etc., although they have a bearing upon the main point we are dealing with here. Speaking of useful labor, I do note that, with regard to the Guaraúno, the Rev. Fr. Gaspar de Pinilla, a missionary among them, has often told me that in the handling of the axe, canoe paddle, and dragging of temiche /18/, he would not exchange them for any Negro or Creole, despite the fact that the Guaraúno are among those most accused of being slothful and lazy. The same can be said of the Pemón of the Gran Sabana with respect to traveling with burdens, construction of huts, etc., that is to say, everything that makes up their daily life and their own activity.

People who often speak, to relieve their overflowing impatience on trips, against the sluggishness, stoicity, laziness, etc., of the long-suffering Indians, two days later, when the discomforts have now disappeared, can be heard to outdo themselves in praise of how fine they are for carrying and a thousand other things.

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially
461 related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

●147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
080 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and [481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe- [147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this [514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one [578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con- [857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing dur[illegible]ay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
[illegible] pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

/14 cont./

128 they might be of the same race. It is known that not even the fingers of the hand are the same, nor are there two faces alike, nor two perfectly equal characters. Apart from this, this question is very complex: somatic and psychological. A brief stay among them and a superficial knowledge of their language (the liveliest expression of the soul) cannot give more than glimpses and more or less erroneous conclusions. By contrast, a long stay with them of ten years, intimate, familiar, and colloquial, I believe gives me a certain authority to touch upon the subject.

152 32. Breaking down, in order to clarify and define well, we encounter, on the first level, a somatic, or, more specifically, a facial, gaiety.

114 In this sense the lack of vivacity can be noted in the ex-
152 pression of all of their passions, those of love as well as those of hate, in the Indians. I am in agreement with Humboldt in that the semi-immobility of the features is a characteristic feature of native tribes; and I am greatly surprised /15/ by Simpson's statement about the habitual smile and even more by the loud guffaws and that they are always good natured.
[142] Quite the contrary, Indians, by their physiognomy, look like silhouettes cut out with scissors or bronze statues in the temple of fatalism; with their eyes half open and downcast, "as though drowsy with lassitude," the nose flat, the forehead low, and the lips thick and coarse, they have (as Humboldt says) "rather more a tribal or group physiognomy than the personal physiognomy of a given individual."

33. But the German explorer warns us that we must not take for melancholy the indolence and dullness or lack of vivacity. We must further bear in mind that every race has its standard of expression and of beauty, which might not be exactly the Hellenic or Caucasian ones. And thus, as the proverb says that "under a humble cloak there hides a good drinker," so also behind an amorphous face that might perhaps

/15 cont./

114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological preoccupations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

522 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm
195 against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?

What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-pueti? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

2:Armellada--33a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16
Bari SS13

/25 cont./

that more cases do not occur, since outside of the /26/ mission territories, almost the only remedy which the Indians have is to have recourse to Catalonian justice, that is to say, justice by their own hand.

54. Having thus untangled the question asked us about the peacefulness or fierceness of the Indians, we can come to some general conclusions:

1) The Indians are timid, suspicious, and even retiring.
2) Sometimes they are or become fierce and even make reprisals.

Chapter VII

Are the Indians Temperate or Gluttonous?

55. Temperate through necessity, gluttonous if they have the chance. 56. The great blot on the Indian's character. 57. Attenuating circumstances for this defect. 58. Intemperance in drinking. 59. From the belly it comes forth.... 60. Falsely religious inebriation. 61. Government measures against alcohol. 62. Pagan idea of drunkenness. 63. A digression about the ancient Indians of Caracas.

55. The question that somebody asks us is framed in the following terms: "Is it true, as some say, that the Indians are a piece of stomach, an animal that simply feeds itself and procreates, or are they, on the contrary, as others say, temperate and abstinent as ascetics?"

I love the Indians but I must love the truth more. And the truth in this case obliges me to say that, in general, the Indian is sober and temperate through necessity, but, given the occasion, he easily falls into intemperance and gluttony.

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "caouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

● 152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 539 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[268] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
● 152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [381] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

● 152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [754] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

152 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

●152 [593] parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together 857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

857 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not 855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much [861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion. 854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a [853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and 155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt 854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some [17] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They 842 seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always [597] by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults [514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that [291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
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[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

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157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, a:, ai, etc., are often heard, also the less universal aká:, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so ●[153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard.[89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maicha'	ɛpətipə	putapun	maicha'	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛɪon	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛɪseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)

a gourd bottle. He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving

wai-kɛ	morɛ -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's

him (Maichak) a gourd bottle. Then he showed him how

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an ama:tu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
●153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

●153 There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals
[158] (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

141 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed
126 best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[197] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

152 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian 181 is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the [415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for [252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for [262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and [231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, 155 dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

/13 cont./

181 guayere /sic/ laden with fruit or with a deer across his back,
155 he comes also with his soul impregnated by nature, which later the magic of his imagination transforms in a thousand ways during the shadows of the night and which he later gives birth to in the form of tales and legends, saturated with phantasmagorias.

155 To understand well the great assimilation of the Indian with nature, we must bear in mente that metamorphosis, anthropomorphism, and animism form, to put it one way, the basis of his mentality, more imaginative than logical.

30. Wise ethnologists have already noted that primitive peoples, who live in an environment of wild and untamed nature, as yet not in the domain of mankind, undergo an extraordinary development of the imagination. And, therefore, if of all it is said that imagination is "the madwoman of the house," when we speak of the Indians we must say that imagination is "the mistress and absolute owner of their soul."

From this great predominance and overflowing of the imagination onto the other intellectual and volitive faculties, I believe to be derived all the moral defects and aptitudes previously listed as being of the Indians: inconstancy, short-sightedness, moral weakness, good humor, simplicity, brotherhood.

774 The imagination of the Indians, in its facet of fear,
155 sometimes terror and panic, populated the clouds with uaranapí, the hills with mauaritón, the mountains with piaimá, the waters with rató and tuenkarón, graves with orodán, hollow trees with amariuak, plains with seipán, and subterranean cavities with tiripuení.

776 Another of the great creations of the Indians' imagination is the Kanaimá, which we shall have to discuss in particular in another section of this work.

000 Here is complied with, to the letter, the famous phrase of the Latin poet, in which he says, "Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit," for men's fear when faced with great natural

157 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A
522 young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied
[824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is
[384] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe
[302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class
158 are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and
158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ-
[157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that
● 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear
[828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might
[254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens
[539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
● 155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[171] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
842 seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
[597] by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

● 155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

/67 cont./

538 that he could be the Kanaima of the night before and went to
776 see his brother-in-law; he wanted to see the wound but he resisted showing it to him; then he was even more suspicious and by force he tore off the bandage. The arrow was still stuck in; then he recognized that it was his own and, pulling it out of him violently, he said:

" This arrow is mine; you were not shooting toucans, /68/ you were trying to act like Kanaima, and this happened so that you will learn a lesson."

And let what has been said suffice, since the proverb warns us that "intelligentibus, pauca."

Chapter XVII

Are the Indians Shameless or Modest?

100

145. Clothing and virtues, modesty and morality. 146. Individual morality. 147. Modesty seeks clothing. 148. Nudists and Freudians. 149. Accidental morality. 150. From the word to the act. 151. Knowledge of morality or ethics. 152. Polygamy. 153. Negative and positive morality.

145. This question, asked perhaps in a merely physiological sense, gives us the basis for dealing at the same time with the morality of the Indians, since, according to what St. Paul said, clothing is the image of internal virtues and modesty, of moral decency.

•156 146. In the first place, it is clear that one cannot talk of the Indians in the plural without making any distinction, as one can about mice, since for them, as for everyone else, there is value in the saying that "not even the fingers of the hand are the same." Every individual among them, simply because they

/68 cont./

●155 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "their faces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

vas 147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/.

291 Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among
171 other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
156] other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/13 cont./

000 phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

C

114 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians:
● 157 "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

P Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's,
114 who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the
157 opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is
P a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst
[522] out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category
128 all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

301 177 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi[9] is [237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregamsa and the yaichi[9] are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuru-pregamsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 184 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. [304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence. 301 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special 304 occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear. 301 The most prized type of pendant, panadaino[9], and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away [157] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty
[696] of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."223
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [754] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

152 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
[578] ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

● 157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

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224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

153 There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals
[158] (although there are among the Taurepanes) and as far as one can judge in such an alien race the average of intelligence is well up to the Venezuelan standard, or that of any other civilized country. The most stupid man encountered was not of Kamarakoto descent and although below the Kamarakoto observed range was dull normal rather than truly abnormal in any way.

Measurements

141 No special equipment for anthropometry was available, so that it seemed
126 best to take only a few standard measurements on each of as many subjects as possible. In all, 68 individuals, mostly Kamarakotos, were measured in Kamarata and 25 Taurepánes in Santa Elena. As far as I know, these are the first measurements to be made on Arekunas of any sort, and relatively few are available for any living Venezuelan Indians.

Head calipers were devised on the spot from pieces cut from an empty gasoline tin, a clumsy instrument but one that proved to give consistent and accurate results within about 1%, or less, quite close enough for figures to be averaged and almost as close as can be obtained on a living subject with the best of means. Only the standard head length and width (with the index calculated from them) were taken. These were recorded and are here given throughout in millimeters and were read to the closest millimeter. Stature was measured against a post and span with a steel tape. These were read to the nearest half centimeter and are given in centimeters. Sitting height, similarly read and given, was obtained by having the subject sit on a box against a post, with the thighs approximately horizontal, the buttocks firmly against the post, and the torso as erect as possible with the eyes directed straight forward. The important element leg-length was not directly measured but was taken as the difference between stature (standing height) and sitting height, also given in centimeters to the nearest half centimeter. Weight could be only very crudely taken with game scales calibrated in pounds and readable only to the nearest 5 pounds, but accurate to that point. These weights are given in pounds. Despite this crudeness, it was worthwhile to investigate this point which seems never to have been studied in any allied group and the averages are generally reliable to within about a pound. Weights of Taurepánes were not taken.

126 Besides these measurements, the detailed records include the Spanish name (if any) of each individual, estimated or relative age, place of residence, notes on personal appearance, and whenever accurately possible relationship to other recorded individuals, marital state, and numbers and sexes of children living and dead. I also have at least one and sometimes several photographs of each recorded individual. These detailed records are permanently filed and available to anyone interested, but they are not here published. For present

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
286 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

/67 cont./

159 himself in the field. But this time playing Kanaima did not
776 serve him any purpose, since his companion recognized him
578 and, far from being frightened, fell upon him with blows of a stick, so that, going for wool, he came back fleeced and, with his back redder than annatto, ran off to hid his sad fate.

538 144. The Indians themselves, for whom it is easier to let the imagination run to create a tale than to tie together the
776 ends of various facts and ideas to form a well-reasoned out argument, have in their folklore this extremely significant story:

In a certain place there lived two Indians, each one married to the other's sister. During the night they heard Kanaima's whistle, who, or so it seemed, was going around the house with the intention of catching someone. One of the women with the greatest secrecy got down from the hammock and began tc spin cotton. The Kanaima whistled again: Soé, soé. The Indian woman opened the door as though to throw out the seeds, and she saw the Kanaima hiding behind a tree. Then speaking in a loud voice in order to cover her intention, she said to her husband: Here is a rat which is eating up my cotton seeds, come shoot it with an arrow. Her husband leaped out of the hammock, picked up his bow, and approached his wife; she said in his ear: The Kanaima is there behind that pole, shoot it. The Kanaima was watching, fooled, to see what would come of that scene, when all of a sudden he received a blow with an arrow on his forehead. Protected by the darkness of the night, he went running to his rancho; to hide what had happened he told his mother that he was shooting at a toucan and that the arrow had come back and wounded him on the forehead.

When day came the Indian woman went to her mother's house and found her brother sick; her mother explained to her that in trying to shoot a toucan he had wounded himself. She returned to her house and told this to her husband. He suspected

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

● 16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to›-esa›, "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

● 161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

P 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and

101 the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

110

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta)	-37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-nopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
	Total in Karao Valley	-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2	
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3	
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2	
	Total others -		7
	Total men in central group -		78

162 125 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming 161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be [167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really [119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) [101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
● 161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
103 marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib <u>paraba</u>, <u>parava</u>, or <u>parawa</u>.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
223 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōse, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

Casapare
Pemon 5516

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Marí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P 177 799 161 Y 177 648 Y 101 619 Y A 104 A 241 433 439 A 501 A 582 A 101

Casapare
Auake 555
Pemon 55 16

/184 cont./ expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

/185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

"Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

"They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motə, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimbaᵛ.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher.
165 Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

125 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more
162 were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other
163 close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females
589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is
165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are,
[605 however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain-
829] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none
165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

● 162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [44] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe in-
to more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right
to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no
doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not,
in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will
and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or
normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive
peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is
doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and
sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no
means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are mar-
riages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement
of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds)
and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members
of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there
was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it ap-
pears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is,
however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one
case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
[582] illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost univer-
sal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It ap-
parently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear
commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[404] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

145
162
163
291
302

Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31,

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekumas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the handsomeness of the other Arekumas. [162] In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuma belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the chin. [302] On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

	a. Male mean	b. Female mean	a - b
Head length	186.9	177.1	9.8
Head breadth	154.2	150.9	3.3
Head index	82.2	84.7	-2.5
Stature	160.0	146.9	13.1
Sitting height	84.8	77.1	7.7
Stature less sitting height	75.2	69.8	5.4
Span	169.0	152.0	17.0
Weight	123.7	103.6	20.1

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means d/σ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepánes and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 142 [101] Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although 141 [128] doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.
No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

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114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

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103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
● 162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher.

165 Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

125 162 163 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females 589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

162 165 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are, however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certainly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife; No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 89 – Kamarakoto Adult Women.
No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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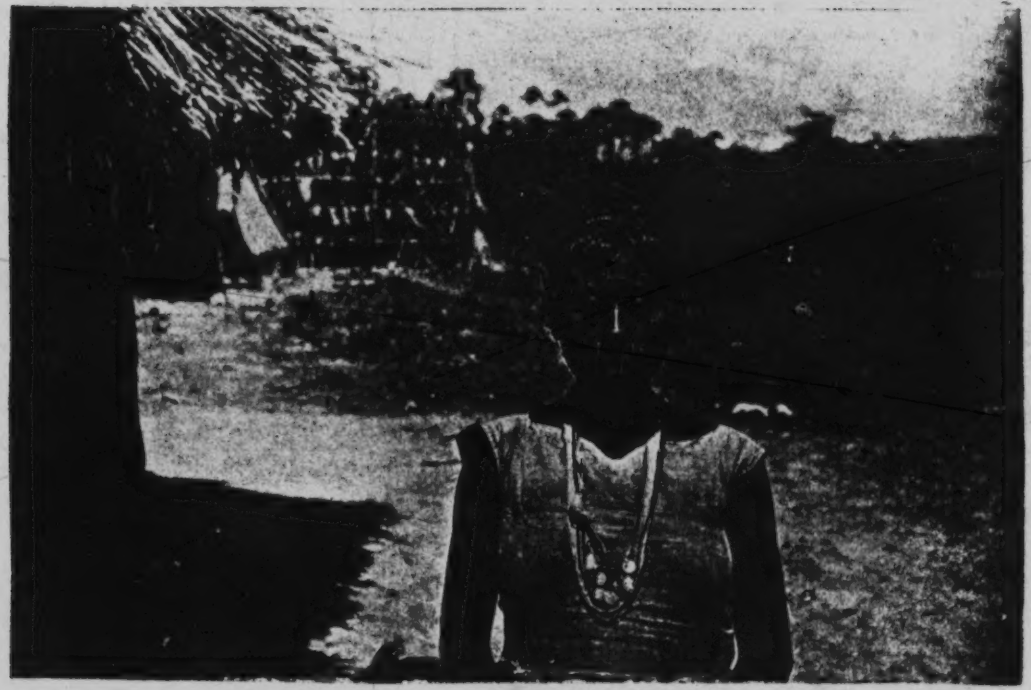

Fig. 90 — Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

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Fig. 92 – Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T_2), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

/38 cont./

164 85. Just like the foregoing is the utopia of those who imagine the Indians absolutely exempt from sickness and only infected by contact with our civilization. Nothing could be less correct. Unfortunately, the Indians know through sad experience an infinity of endemic diseases. In addition to the generic parán and emorón, being ill or feeling bad, they call by their own names the chills of malarial fever (e-komi-ma), measles (apikoroimá), smallpox (apotoimá), dysentery (kuasuk and uenarok), diarrhea with blood (muenimá), whooping cough and other coughs (arautaimá), tuberculosis (apueká), the common cold (atón), anchylostomiasis (motó, poriké, etc.), swelling of the arm (achín and yeuán muré), biliousness (e-vepiká), blindness (enumí), and even venereal diseases in general (samoroní). All these words are not foreign or brought in, which indicates with considerable likeliness that the diseases that they denote were not either.

Concerning these diseases, Father Las Casas himself, who was not in the least suspicious when stating something against the Indians, says that the natives of the Antilles confessed to him that those illnesses were /39/ already known among them before Christians came to their lands.

278 86. But, at least, it will be said, are not these Indians perfect herbists, with a knowledge of an infinite number of plants and their curative properties? This is, as well, a gratuitous and false supposition.

87. It is true that the Indians know an infinite number of plants; and there is no doubt that, given their talent for observation and their intimate contact with the other kingdoms of nature, they would have discovered many of the therapeutic properties of plants if medicine had been for them something separate from magic and sickness something apart from the maleficent influence of occult beings. But the opposite occurred: imagination sidetracked their observation and animism diverted them from physicism.

/37 cont./

83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by armchair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live
826 looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians
165 are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

Vital Statistics

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165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe
177 and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married
[144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 As shown in the list of household head-men (to›-esa›, "amo de la casa")
177 given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[76] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[133] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[188] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

342 343 824 [768]

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

342 343 The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[2] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

621 592 342 343 In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D [166] was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

592 768 F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case [768] the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[2] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 11b – Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 11b – Analyst]

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/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
020 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

110

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abarapari.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepí.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
		Total others - 7

Total men in central group - 78

162 125 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming 161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be [167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really [119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Balusar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) [101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

P Y 648 439 P [131] Y 241 194

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Y 114 192 194

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

Y 114 Y [648] [177] Y [197]

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Airí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

Y 167 648 Y [131] P 131 [167] P 177 797 161

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health) which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosug-
787 gestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies. In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth, meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation, but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
• [171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

P /63 cont./
582 people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying
[563] that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want
P to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry
C Indian men.

584 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the
585 ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe
171 a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

/68 cont./

are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "the[illegible]ces and their characters are like grains of rice."

Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/. Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

/72 cont./

431 with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances; so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The eouvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

/91 cont./

lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observation, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

/0/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
/3/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

/77 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
/3/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuna. The Arekuna division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
● /7/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger-community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish r, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) l. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name Lnepa belongs to the r - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it Ruepa, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer l than r. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce r without lateral opening before a very short u or w. This can be done before a longer u, e.g. in Karume, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the r.

Before a distinct, non-gliding e the sound is generally a fairly pure r, e.g. akare.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing l when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using r when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter w, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme b, not w. The sound differs from u principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic u, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort u, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as w. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic u.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by y is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort i - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English j as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English y in "yield" or Spanish y in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French j of "je" or English z of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
[171] of y and ll. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, ll has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto y.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 - Analyst]

601

80. parstsi
81. pipi

Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):

82. 'awo (see below, under wari)
83. 'wari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

*197 601 171 114 Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo, Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo, T. (K.-G.) -ta:mo; K. awo, T. (K.-G.) a:uo; K. poitoru, T. (K.-G.) poitolū; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: na'nai, "older sister," moyi, "younger brother," ukeipone, "father-in-law," wa:'nemule, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ayike', "older brother," and a:'yeke', "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rūiko or pi (uyadeto), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto rūiko, is a common Carib root. I do not place ayike'.

Kamarakoto paikōi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) a:mai. Forms like amai, mamai mama, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. paikōi, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (mure, mulɛ, mɔlɛ, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*197 a father and is usually used by males or in speaking of the child-father relationship but in Kamarakoto means "offspring" in general. It is not impossible that the two roots are connected in origin (in which case -nr- is probably older than -rm-), but they became differentiated at a very ancient period as they are distinct in almost all dialects. mure is also and more obviously related to mu, mumu, etc., a root that means "son" with respect to his father.[46]

Kamarakoto manon, "daughter of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ma:ˀnon, "female cousin." Makuchi (Williams) (e)-ma-non, "young, unmarried female." Here there is no question of identity or identification of the root, but the varying significance attached to it in these three dialects is interesting. Williams suggests comparison with Makuchi e-mai-non, "the first one.". Despite the strong phonetic resemblance, it is hard to see a probable connection in meaning.

Kamarakoto wari. This means primarily "woman, female," but my informants also gave it as a relationship word meaning "woman's paternal aunt" or "woman's mother-in-law." Now Williams gives -awobu for "woman's paternal aunt" in Makuchi and Koch-Grünberg gives the cognate (y)auopə for "mother-in-law"[47] in Taurepan. This clearly is the special word for this particular relationship concept; lost in Kamarakoto (or at least not known to my informants — of course others in the tribe may know it as an uncommon word) and replaced by the noncommittal wari. Note, however, that the basic root-element of awobu does occur in Kamarakoto as awo, "woman's maternal uncle" or "woman's father-in-law" and in Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) as a:uo defined simply as "uncle," but doubtless here also "woman's maternal uncle." The root is widespread in Carib, see de Goeje No. 26.

Kamarakoto tamupũi (also tamõipu- in compounds), "husband." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) -ti:yemu(n). Makuchi (Williams) ni-yo, -nyo. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)tamupə. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nyo. For discussion see next word.

Kamarakoto nopũi (also nopu- in compounds), "wife." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Makuchi (Williams) no-bu. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) nopə. Purukoto (Adam) (u)-peti. Galibi (Adam) puiti. Bakairi (Adam) (i)-witi.

In addition to a few rare and peculiar forms, there are in Carib dialects two general roots for "husband," -nyo and tamu + suffix -pu (and variants), of which the former is more widespread, and two for "wife," piti (and wide variants) and no + suffix -pu (etc.), of which the latter is more widespread. Even in languages in which -nyo and piti are used for "husband" and "wife," the roots tamu and no (without suffix -pu) generally occur and their usual meanings are "grandfather, old man" and "grandmother, old woman." For instance in Kamarakoto, itself, tamo (= tamu) and noiˀ (= no) have these meanings. Thus -nyo and piti (etc.) may be considered as primary roots for "husband" and "wife" and tamu + pu and no + pu as secondary or compound words with the

46, 47 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 — Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
● 171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.

*197 411

86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pa-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, sapalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura', Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun-dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).

*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ'.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru'. Taurepan, kari', but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

*192
386
824
171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192
*197
386

181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-te. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
283

Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analyst]

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan. wa-pa:re.

[482]

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

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534

j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nau-nau.

[172]
[231]

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171]

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, ura:na. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. [171] Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. [174] Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urare. [114] [101] Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analysis]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kōrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kōːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kōroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kalíña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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[114]
[171]

Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kalíña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analyst]

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Cumanagoto (Adam) t-uto, t-uta, y-ucha, y-ucho. Note also the following words for "tree" given by de Goeje: Cumanagoto ekiche, Chaima yekich. These contain the root for "tree" (yɛ' in Kamarakoto) and a suffix -ich- comparable with icha.

2. Cucurito (palm) yoloki maripa(da) mariba

I do not find any word very like yoloki. The somewhat similar Astrocaryum palm, awara in Modern Kamarakoto, is yawala in Oyana (de Goeje) and some other dialects. Compare also ka:-liki for the cucurito in Guinau (Koch-Grünberg) an Arawak dialect with which the Kamarakotos have been in contact.

[171]

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keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

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Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor. Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

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The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

*192

Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
alakaputsa [171]	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

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		any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.
[177] somberero	sombrero (hat))	These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.
kamisa	camisa (shirt))	
pantalon	pantalon (trousers))	
alpargata	alpargata (canvas slippers))	
[177] kaña	caña (sugar cane))	These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.
[177] t rabichi	trapiche (cane press))	
watea	batea (wooden bowl or trough)	
kacho	cacho (cow's horn)	A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.
kachimba	cachimba (tobacco pipe)	
kalaborso	calabozo (jail)	The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.
tap ra	tabla (wooden board)	The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.
sambura	tambur (drum)	The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.
pero	perro (dog)	There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

[343]

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

[171] [114]

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

[171]

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeaken, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dye, being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yare, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yare, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyare, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yare. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes:

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analysis]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analysis]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analysis]

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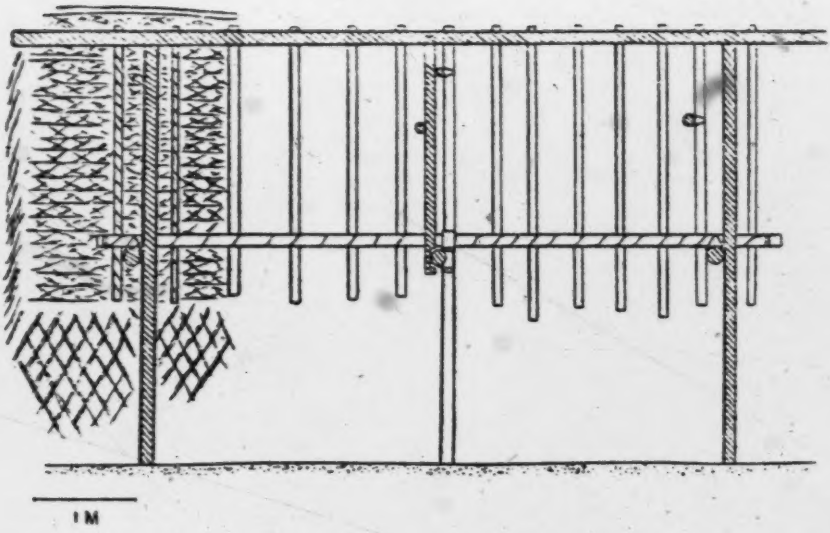

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal.

[text continues on p. 119]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[824] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
● 171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[208] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
[325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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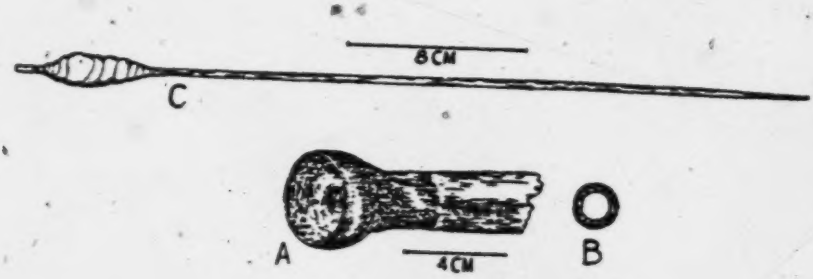


Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece. B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumatsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length,
[82] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[43] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is
[23] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun
228 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison
411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that
[171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] [423] [721] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsṭ, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōi' is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[142] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangōi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangai' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[139] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [260] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[172] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes [144] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analysis]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[172] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

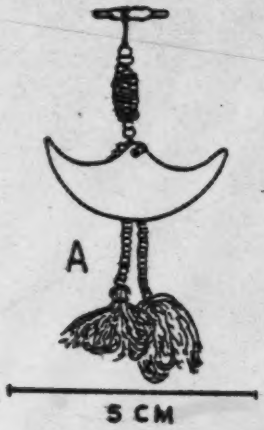
411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

301



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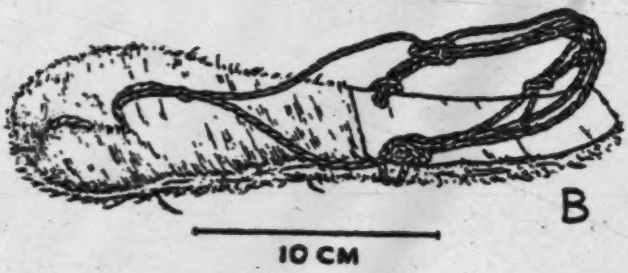

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [824]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[229] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[228] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[469] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
[53] dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

286 *III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

● [171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yare, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yare. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimo?, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thum and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

283 the upper end. The upper, working, end does not have a hook but a head, a slight double swelling formed by notching. This is a common type of spindle among the coast Caribs and the Motilones, and it is remarkably like many Bolivian spindles, but it is curiously unlike the Taurepán spindle which, according to Koch-Grünberg, has the whorl, which is usually decorated, near the middle and has a hook. It is still less like the Maquiritare type, which is much larger and is used horizontally and not dropped.

In use, the unspun cotton is held in the left hand, the spindle is started rotating by rolling the lower shaft (below the whorl) on the right thigh with the right hand, and it is then dropped, still whirling (Fig. 36). Tension is kept up by the left hand and by the weight of the spindle when dropped. This is the procedure also of the Taurepánes, despite their different spindle, and of most of the other tribes of this region but not, as has been noted, of the Maquiritares.

In all the Kamarakoto spun cotton that I have examined the spinning is to the left, i.e., when the thread is held horizontally the fibers (in the basic single strand) run from left-up to right-down. This is true also of the Taurepánes and Maquiritares and probably of Caribs generally, as far as the point has been determined, but the non-Carib Bakaïrís, who have given their name to this general type of spindle, spin to the right and so do many other tribes. Left-spinning is not exclusive to the Caribs but it is certainly one of their striking characteristics.

The single strand thread resulting from one spinning is, if well-made, very fine and rather weak and it is almost never used in this form. Usually two strands are attached and are twisted together on another spindle, making a two-ply twine. This spinning is always in the opposite direction, i.e. to the right, which keeps the first twist tight. Two two-ply strands are often twisted again, this time to the left, to make a composite four-ply twine, a double two-ply. A straight three-, four-, five-, and up to eight- (or even more) ply twine may also be made by one twist, to the right, from the basic strands and various combinations occur. A 21-ply heavy cord made from three 7-ply strands is not uncommon, and I have seen a piece of 93-ply cord, as strong as rope, made of three twists of thirt-one strands each, but I am not certain that this was Kamarakoto although so informed by the Indians. This heaviest twining is not done on a spindle but is rolled on the thigh with the palm of the hand.

All these native twines are remarkably fine and uniform and sometimes can hardly be distinguished from a machine-made cotton twine.

Moriche and curagua twines are not made with a spindle but are rolled on the right thigh with the right hand while the fibers are fed and tension adjusted with the left hand. Long strings finer and stronger than those of cotton may thus be made and like cotton twine they are usually of more than one ply, with about the same repertory as for cotton. With these fibers, however, and especially curagua, the number of individual fibers in the basic strand can be more exactly

[text continues on p. 163]

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Prödin and [17] Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[176] [162] man's work.

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They [171] are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[12] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekumas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

143 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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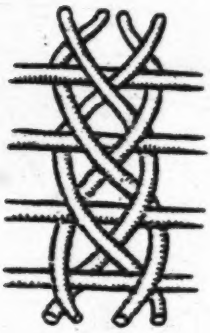

Fig. 38 — Kamarakoto Hammock Crosstie. Diagram showing how the four-strand crosstie holds the longitudinal warp strands of the hammock. In the actual hammock the warp strands, here shown as single for clarity, are always double.

286 Nordenskiöld calls this technique Tumupasa, from a group of Tacana-
171 speaking Indians northeast of Lake Titicaca, who use it, and he shows that it has a very curious distribution: in the Guiana region here considered and in the far southwestern part of the Amazon Basin (Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 26). It is barely conceivable that so complex a technique could have arisen independently in these two areas, but no satisfactory explanation has been given for its occurrence in two regions so separate geographically, culturally and racially.

286 In this technique there is no distinction of warp and weft. All the strands are placed on the loom in the same direction and all are treated in the same way, intertwining them with each other, so that the process is pure plaiting and not weaving even though a loom is used: This loom consists of two crossed sticks, like a large X, with a transverse stick tied across each end (Fig. 41). A new loom is improvised when needed and no care is taken in their manufacture except to see that the transverse bars are smooth so that the thread slips on them easily. The thread is tightly wound in a long spiral around these end pieces just as, on a much larger scale, the hammock warp is wound. When in use, one end of the loom is grasped with the toes and the other end rests on the knees or upper legs, leaving the hands free for plaiting (Fig. 42).

To make the simplest pattern, one-over-one, the first thread (on the worker's left side) is passed under the second, then drawn above it and looped over the fingers (first finger or first two or three) of the left hand. Then the

[text continues on p. 169]

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Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 45 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]

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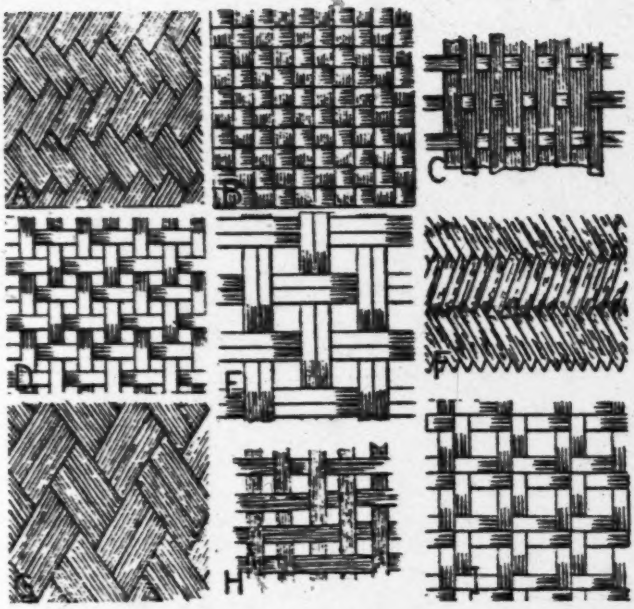

Fig. 50 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise noted.

A, One-over-two twilled woven plaiting. B, closed checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C, half-open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. D, open, one-over-one, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Siuai.) E, open, two-over-two, checked woven plaiting. (After Roth, Patamona.) F, all-over, one-over-four, twilled woven plaiting. G, all-over, two-over-three, twilled woven plaiting. H, all-over, open, single-strand, one-over-two twilled woven plaiting. I, all-over, open, paired-interwoven-strand twilled woven plaiting. (After Roth, Makuchi.)

*285 nor do they use special baskets for religious purposes, or in connection with burial rites.

[128] In attempting a summary of this abundant and complex material it is convenient to consider first the basic techniques involved, the way in which the materials are united to form basketry textiles, and next the forms, functions, and nomenclature of the objects produced. Basketry is here taken to include all textile work made of untwisted materials, as opposed to the thread-textiles and thread-and-bead textiles, and so includes such things as mats and trays that are not, strictly speaking, baskets.

*285 114 Technique. Indian basketry has been intensively studied in North America and several similar classifications of techniques have been based on those studies. For present purposes reference should be made particularly to Mason (1904), [171] Kissell (1916), and Weltfish (1930). The basketry of the northeastern part of South America, essentially a single culture area in this respect and one of which the Kamarakotos form an integral and typical part, has not been so carefully studied. Mason and some other students of North American basketry have mentioned it more or less incidentally and there are at least two excellent special studies, by Schmidt (1904) and by Roth (1924 and 1929). Practically all travelers in this region have mentioned basketry and many have figured or described various baskets, but without making any great contribution to classification and detailed understanding of techniques or of objects made of basketry. Even Koch-Grünberg, whose work is so thorough and extensive, says little of importance regarding basketry among the Taurepánes or other tribes that he studied.

*285 128 The following classification of techniques, although including almost all known, is made from the special point of view of the work of the Kamarakotos and their cultural allies. It is based especially on synthesis of the views of the five authorities cited above, as well as on the specimens themselves. Techniques positively known among the Kamarakotos are starred. Those that have not been surely identified among the Kamarakotos but are present in more or less typical form in this broader cultural area are marked with a dagger, †. Those unmarked do not occur here, or occur only as rare and decidedly atypical variants.

*285 *I. Elements of approximately equal size and flexibility and all more or less active----------PLAITING.

*A. Elements approximately parallel at start (worked together) (always worked in two directions)----------Plain Plaiting.

†1. Simply alternating quadrangles------Checked Plain Plaiting.

*2. In stepped or more complexly alternating quadrangles[146]----------Twilled Plain Plaiting.

*1 over 2.

Etc.

*B. Elements at angles to each other at start (one set or more woven across the others)----------Woven Plaiting.

*1. Elements in two directions

*a. Regularly alternating quadrangles----Checked Woven Plaiting.

†Closed

*Half-open (one set of elements open, the other closed).

*1 over 1

*1 over 2

Etc.

146 [see footnote on p.324, category 116 - Analysis]

*285

2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wicker.

†B. Weft twined (two or more intertwined strands in each weft element)----------Twined Weave.

†1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Twined Weave.

2. Warps in more than one direction---------- Lattice Twined Weave.

*C. Weft wrapped (single weft strand doubling around warp elements)----------Wrapped Weave.

1. Warp in one direction----------Plain and Twilled Wrapped Weave.

*2. Warps in more than one direction----------Lattice Wrapped Weave.

†D. Weft locked or imbricate[148]----------Locked Weave.

III. Active element coiled, or coiled along a passive element-----COILING.

A. One element, jointly active and passive----------Crude Coil.

B. Separate active and passive elements----------Foundation Coil.[149]

*285 128 171 Recent classifications based on North American basketry usually recognize five main techniques: plaiting, wicker, twining, wrapping, and coiling of which the second to fourth are often united as weaving and contrasted with coiling and with plaiting. Schmidt long ago pointed out that such a classification, excellent for most of North America, is very poor when South American baskets are included and that, indeed, the most common and typical of all South American baskets cannot properly be placed in any of these categories. They often have a relatively active (weft) and a relatively inactive (warp) set of elements, and so resemble weaving rather than plaiting, but they are not wicker in any usual use of that word and are not twined or wrapped in any possible sense of those words. On the other hand, they may be made with all the elements about equally "active" or "passive," and hence be considered as plaiting, but the technique and the result are not essentially unlike the more literally "woven" basketry and cannot logically be considered as in a different major category.

Schmidt maintains, and I think with considerable probability, that this most important class of South American basketry is genetically related to plaiting rather than to weaving even though in some variations it falls within some technical definitions of weaving. It probably arose from the still widely used plaiting of segments of palm leaves, left attached to their midrib, and developed in the direction of weaving when unattached fibers, particularly split reeds, were used. Such work did not develop over most of North America because its primitive material, palm leaves, was generally absent there, although some North American work converged toward it departing not from plaiting but from wicker weaving. Thus of the two techniques, even though

148, 149 [see footnotes on pp. 324-25, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 183]

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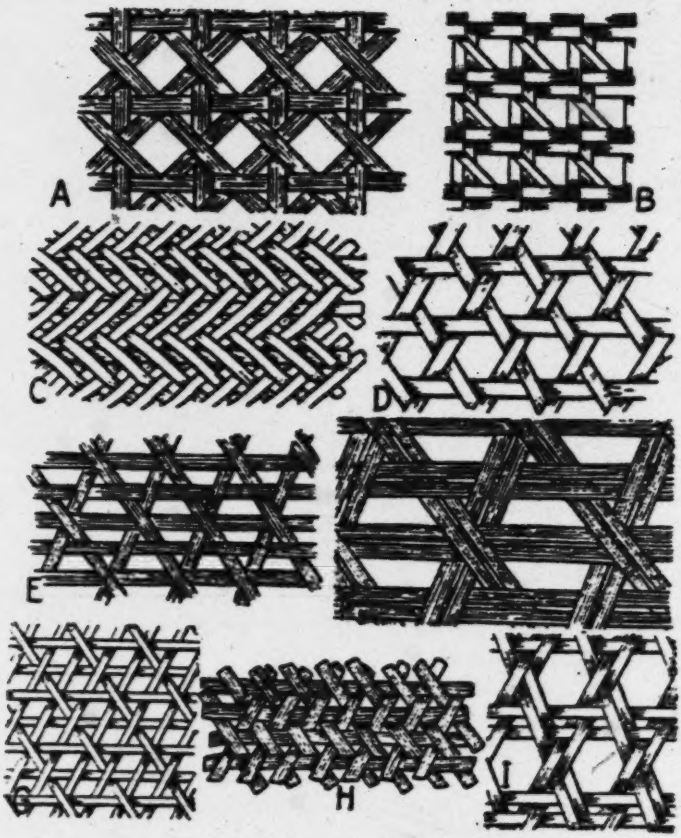

Fig. 52 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
Kamarakoto unless otherwise stated.

A. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base strands untwilled, elements in four directions. B. Crossed quadrangular lattice, paired twilled base strands, elements in three directions. (After Roth, Makuchi.) C. Crossed quadrangular lattice, base of single-strand one-over-three twill, crossed in one direction. D. Plain single-strand hexagonal lattice. E. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in one direction. F. Same as E but double-strand. G. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in two directions. (After Roth, tribe not designated.) H. Single-strand hexagonal lattice with extra strands in three directions. I. Two-ply hexagonal lattice of twilled, paired strands. (After Roth, tribe not specified.)

*285 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development
128 of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving
171 with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket
128 textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertinent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigidly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matu:tu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly
[286] rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of lattice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique really has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

150 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 171 The particular variety of wrapping that Roth calls locked or imbricate is unknown to the Kamarakotos and although Roth is not completely explicit on this point it appears to be nearly confined to the Arawaks and Warraus, but borrowed by a few adjacent Caribs. Its essential character is that the warp[151] is horizontal and either that it is looped (or wrapped) alternately by successive weft strands or that these interlock between themselves, or both. There are at least four definitely different techniques under this general subdivision, but they are not specified in the classification because none of them appear to be known to the Kamarakotos or to the Arekunas in general. Their special interest from a broader point of view is that they do constitute another limited and exceptional group of basketry techniques, like twining and wrapping, that cannot like almost all the basketry techniques of this culture area be closely related to plaiting.

*285 171 101 True coiling is quite unknown anywhere in this area, which is thus characterized by the exuberant development of plaiting and derived techniques, the sporadic and scanty development of the true weaving techniques (aside from those developed from plaiting) and the absence of the coiling techniques. This culture area is thus well distinguished, in this respect, not only from the almost completely different western North American areas but also from western South America, Mexico with Central America, and eastern North America. It is, however, interesting and significant that it does show unmistakable affinity with a relatively small area in southeastern United States (10 of Weltfish's map, 1930, Fig. 2), an area of quite distinct basic culture but one showing definite West Indian, and thence indirectly South American, influence, short-circuiting the long overland cultural transitions by way of Central America.[152] It is also pertinent to Schmidt's thesis that this is the only part of North America (beyond the transitional Central American region) where materials analogous to the South American palm leaves were generally available.

Within the categories of plaiting and woven plaiting, almost every reasonable possibility has been explored by the various Indians of this culture area and, as shown by the classification, the Kamarakotos use varieties of most *285 171 of the subdivisions of these techniques. I found among them no examples of what would seem superficially to be the simplest techniques of all: checked plain plaiting and closed checked woven plaiting. Roth gives some examples from British Guiana, but even there these techniques are evidently rare. In fact these are techniques that would be avoided by skilled workers and they may even be more difficult than twilled work because the usual basketry materials of this region are not flexible enough to close easily when the overlaps are as close together as they must be in the checked pattern.

Open checked woven plaiting is also eschewed by the Kamarakotos and probably by most or all of their allies, although Koch-Grünberg found examples *285 on the Rio Negro. This produces a relatively weak fabric decidedly inferior

151, 152 [see footnotes on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

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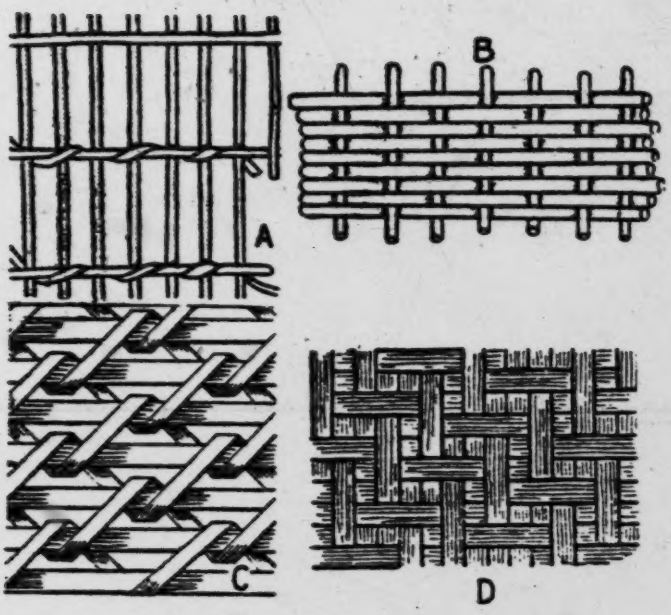

Fig. 53 — Guayana Indian Basketry Techniques.
A. Lattice wrapped weave (relatively stiff warp elements in two directions wrapped together by a flexible weft). Kamarakoto. B. Checked wicker. Kamarakoto. C. Locked weave. Tribe not specified (after Roth). D. An unusual, complex twill seen on a basket in use by Taurepánes, by some said to be made by that tribe and by others, said to be Makuchi, but surely Carib of the Roroima Region.

*285 to the various open twilled and lattice patterns and so is avoided by the more expert workers. The Kamarakotos do use a half-open checked woven plaiting (which, as will be understood by reference to the illustrations, Fig. 50 C, produces a weak closed fabric), but only as the inner layer of two-ply baskets and in some dubious examples that can better be classified as wicker weaving. It is never used for the main and independent fabric of a whole basket.

The only other conspicuous gaps in the Kamarakoto basketry repertory — and these may be known to someone in the tribe since they are everywhere relatively rare — are the crossed quadrangular lattices on a paired twilled base and multiple-strand twilled hexagonal lattices. These are complex patterns surely not beyond the skill of a Kamarakoto but with no incentive for

[text continues on p. 186]

*285 their use since they serve no better, in some cases even worse, than the simpler lattices. The Taurepánes do rarely use a crossed quadrangular lattice with paired twilled base, but the hexagonal pattern with multiple-strand twilled base occurs among no close allies of the Kamarakotos and is exceedingly rare. I know of only two recorded examples, one reported by de Goeje (1906, Pl. IX, Fig. 12) from Dutch Guiana and one recorded by Roth (1924, Fig. 188) found in British Guiana but of unknown tribal origin.

*285 On the other hand the Kamarakotos probably use no basketry techniques
171 that are entirely unknown to other tribes and it is doubtful whether they have
176 originated anything in this field. Indeed it is almost impossible now to point to any tribe that can be said definitely to have originated a basketry technique. The whole complex has spread over the whole region, with some irregularity but without clear regard for tribal or geographic divisions. Some tribes are more skilled than others — the Kamarakotos rank very high but perhaps not at the top in this respect — and each group has some tendency to prefer certain techniques and to reject others more or less similar, so that despite the general diffusion of this basketry culture each local group can be separately characterized in these details. I have identified one Kamarakoto basketry weave that is at least rare if not wholly unknown elsewhere, but it is also rare among the Kamarakotos and it is unlikely that it is really confined to or was definitely originated by this tribe. (Fig. 52 C.)

*285 Articles made of basketwork. The following outline classification includes
171 most, but not quite all, of the general classes of basketry objects used in this broad culture area with, of course, more detailed attention to those observed among the Kamarakotos. In cases where such an object of native manufacture was definitely seen in use among the Kamarakotos, its name is given.

I. Mats.
- A. Plain plaited.
  - Large door and floor mat----------kumara-katsa'.
- B. Woven plaited.
  - Twilled quadrangular fan or plate--------o. olori.

II. Trays (and sieves).
- A. Circular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - Fine, rail-edged, pictorial twill--------o:apa.
  - 2. Openwork.
- B. Quadrangular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - a. Edged mat.
    - b. Basket tray.
      - Basketry and rail-edged, with legs------matuttu.

*285
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2. Part or all openwork (sieves).
Rail-edged, open twill----------pangaiʔ.

III. Sacks and allied forms.
A. Plain plaited.
Deep back-carrying bag----------wakawaʔ.
B. Woven plaited.

IV. Baskets, strictly speaking.
A. Hexagonal base.
Closer weave, extra weft strands.
Deep, without worked-in handle------waricha.
Less deep, with spirally wound
loop handle----------warakapi.
More open weave, no extra weft strand.
(otherwise like waricha)------ɛno-saramba.
B. Circular or elliptical base.
1. Radiate foundation.
2. Vertebrate foundation.
Flask-shaped, wicker weave----------tsimuiʔ.
3. Diaphragm foundation.
4. Unenclosed foundation.[153]
C. Conical base.
D. Rectangular base.
1. Openwork.
2. Closework.
a. Checked.
b. Wicker weave.
c. Twilled woven plaiting (hourglass).
aa. Base equidimensional.
Flask-shaped, rim flaring, not re-enforced------sokoʔ.
Bucket-shaped, rim not flaring, re-enforced-----wapa.
bb. Base elongate.
Chest with cover----------amartu.

V. Presses.
Casave press----------tangōiʔ.

VI. Back-packs (knapsacks).
A. Openwork bottom----------akaiʔ.
B. Closework bottom----------koataiʔ.

VII. Quivers.
Blowgun-dart quiver----------mōi-yɛ.

VIII. Fish traps (or creels).
Wrapped lattice trap----------muroiʔ.

153 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 - Analysis]

*285 ●176 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the [797] mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the amatu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[12] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
● [17] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analysis]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as true weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

[171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ocapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

The casave sifter, pangai' (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized [171] basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern.

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

[text continues on p. 191]

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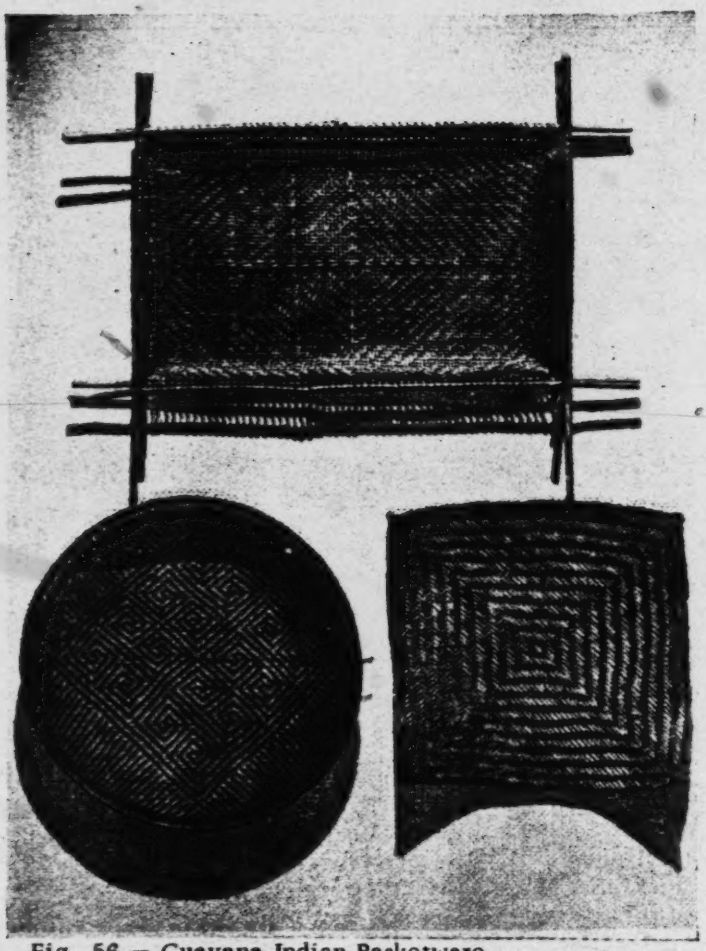

Fig. 56 — Guayana Indian Basketware.
A and C are Kamarakoto, B Maquiritare (Maiongon), in use among Kamarakotos and almost identical with some made by them. A, casave sifter, pangai'. B, o:apa. C, o.olori.

*285 them makes their bands produce a concentric square pattern on the fabric as a whole which, however, is very inconspicuous.

The rim re-enforcement is formed by two rails, one on each side, projecting well beyond the corners where they overlap as in a rail fence. At a given edge the basketry strands that are there at right angles to that edge are gathered in groups of two and each two-ply strand passes up inside the rails, circles completely around the top rail, is then passed over itself between the rails and looped back to the outer side, passes around this side of the lower rail, and is then woven obliquely into these same fibers where they depart from the sifting fabric, so as to form an obliquely twilled close-work border all around the bottom of the sieve. This edging technique is essentially constant and is seen on no other basketware.[155] The details of the bottom weave vary slightly.

The Kamarakotos do not, like the Makuchis, make sieves with basket-
● [171] work rims rising above the rails. In Santa Elena the Franciscan Sisters kindly gave us a casave sieve of Taurepán manufacture which has most of the bottom of closework with a small central quadrangle of complicated lattice (woven in four directions with a twilled two-ply quadrangular base) and Roth illustrates somewhat similar Wapishana (and Makuchi ?) sieves. Certainly these are native work and made with native techniques, but I am doubtful whether they are made for the Indians' own use. They are not the common siftens in these tribes and they are more adopted for display than for use, their sifting area being small and its mesh large.

Some Indians, including some Arekunas, make purses of woven plaited basketry but the Kamarakotos have abandoned these in favor of the somewhat less esthetic but decidedly more practical thread-textile purse of the same form (pakara, a word also applied to the basketwork purses).

The waricha (Figs. 59 C, D, F) is perhaps the commonest Kamarakoto bas-
[422] ket. A family may have a dozen or more of somewhat different sizes. These roughly bucket- (or rarely vase-) shaped baskets are used for the storage and transportation of any small objects. They always have hexagonal bases and side, as well as bottom, is of hexagonal lattice with at least one extra strand, horizontal on the sides. Roth distinguishes varieties with the horizontal side strands spiral (one or two continuous strands) and those in which they are circular (each a separate strand), but the Kamarakotos and their closer allies make only the former variety. Two varieties, not given separate names, can be distinguished, however, by the way in which the horizontal strands of the sides are worked in.

In both the horizontal strands on the sides consist of two separate strands both working around repeatedly, one above the other, in a spiral until the rim is reached. In both one of these strands is an oblique strand on the side which runs to a corner of the base and along one of its six sides but which then, instead of turning up and becoming an oblique strand on the side in the opposite

155 [see footnote on p. 325, category 11.6 - Analyst]

*285 then straight across the base, then obliquely up the other side, on the oblique opposite to that of its descent. The side weave has the same general character in both but that of the second type is much closer as it has, relatively, twice as many oblique strands.

At the rim the ends of the oblique side strands are gathered into pairs, one from each direction, looped over a split-cane hoop, and their tips woven back obliquely (all in the same direction) into the parts of themselves just below the hoop. In some cases no further edging is provided, but usually another split-cane ring is placed outside the rim and one inside and the whole re-enforced edging then bound together by spiral wrapping, or sometimes sewed and tied with curagua twine. No handle is provided as an integral part of the basket but a simple loop handle, usually a piece of fibrous bark, is commonly added at one side.

The sides of these baskets are usually cylindrical, but they may be slightly or rarely strongly constricted below the rim, making them more flask-shaped (Fig. 59 C).

[17] No single element in their design or technique is unique, but baskets exactly like these seem to be practically confined to the Makuchis and Arekumas and they are very characteristic of the so-called Roroima Carib tribes. They have taken the place of some circular or oval based baskets and of all the open-work rectangular based baskets of other tribes (Roth describes and figures many of these), which are quite unknown to the Kamarakotos and at least rare among the Roroima tribes in general.

The Kamarakoto warakapi (Fig. 59 E) is constructed exactly like a waricha (only the variety with spiral strand in the base was seen) but is relatively greater in diameter and much less in depth and usually has a permanent handle. This is a loop of spirally wrapped wadapi across the middle of the rim.

Another basket, the ɛno-saramba, differs from the waricha only in being without any extra strands, leaving the weave a plain, widely open hexagonal lattice. It may be used like a waricha, but is not as good for similar purposes, and the special reason for its construction is to use as a bird cage. A stick is pushed through the mesh and the rim is squeezed together and tied, for which purpose it is left more flexible than in the waricha.

The only circular or elliptical based basket made or used by the Kamarakotos, which is also the only one that is woven rather than woven plaited throughout, is the tsimuiʼ (Fig. 67), the small, inflexible basket that is attached to a dart quiver and used to carry a supply of kapok for putting the basal wadding on [128] the darts. Unfortunately my data on these are imperfect. Both radiate foundation and vertebrate foundation types are in use, but these are often obtained by trade and I am uncertain what type is woven by the Kamarakotos themselves, or whether both or neither are. Because of this uncertainty I do not give a de- [114] tailed description. For the distinctive characters of both types, reference may be made to Roth (1924).

[text continues on p. 194]

*285 wadapi as in the best matu:tu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The ama:tu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or of its cover) is made like that of a soko' or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the soko' but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

[171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 252 171 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangõi' (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 482 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akai' (Fig. 65 B) if the bottom is of openwork and koatai' (Figs. 65 A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amatu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
● 171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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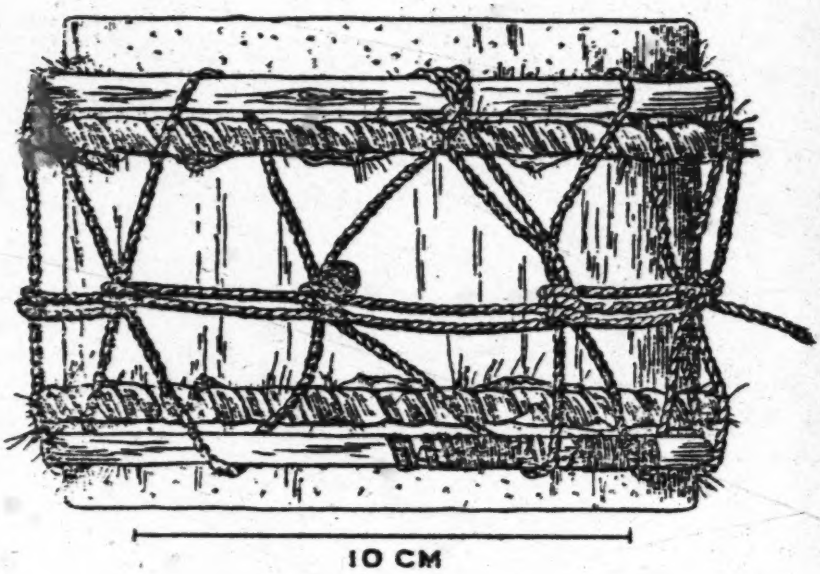

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
[535] A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
834 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warnings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure, either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and [illegible]amai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously. Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 The
193 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiiⁱ (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 87 [34] [628] [439] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-ɣ) trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
499 [824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying north-
western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawan-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Amerí- ●171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p.213]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[13] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

P 218
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601 Comparisons are made chiefly with
114 Williams' Makuchi vocabulary. The Makuchi system appears to be like that of
[171] the Kamarakotos and Williams evidently understands it.

P Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister."
M The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized
601 European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In
171 Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetá	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadeta	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nau
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	wa-ri-chi
Female	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguish-
P ing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetá, which means an older
601 person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

168 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

P 601

Sib of the same sex	(Older	(Male	- rüiko
	(	(Female	- pasi
	(Younger		- akon
Sib of the opposite sex	(Brother of a female		- pi(rika)
	(Sister of a male		- paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P [595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P M 601 171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	(Father - papai	pa-pa
	(Mother - paikōi[169]	ma-ma
General	(Father - yun	(y)un
	(Mother - san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 A [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

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P M 601 ●171

Sex of parent, (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.	Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).	mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi	enji	mure
Female	Male	(u)rmę	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon	(not given)	(u)-n-re

(u)rmę and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

P [597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tatamo
Grandmother	noi³	no, go-go

P [888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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Grandson	- pa-waraton, literally	"grandchild-male"
Granddaughter	- pa-wari, "	"grandchild-female"

Aunt, uncle, parents-in-law: Aunts and uncles may be designated descriptively, e.g. papai-yakon, literally "papa-younger brother," i.e. younger brother of father. In this case, however, the concept is of relationship between the brothers, of whom one is specified, and not really the uncle-nephew relationship. In dealing more directly with this latter relationship, special words are used which depend on the sex of all three parties, that is, of the person of reference (the nephew or niece), of the parent through whom the relationship exists, and of the person referred to (uncle or aunt).

Sex of person referred to	Sex of intermediary	Sex of person of reference	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Male	"father" i.e. papai, yun	inton (not given) papai
Male	Male	Female		
Male	Female	Male	mui	tori
Male	Female	Female	awo	awo
Female	Male	Male	wani	wan
Female	Male	Female	wari	awobu
Female	Female	Male	"mother," i.e. paikōi, san	mamai
Female	Female	Female		

[E.g. mui means "maternal uncle of a male," wari "paternal aunt of a female," etc.]

It is seen that special words are used for mother's brother (maternal uncle) and father's sister (paternal aunt) and that these are different for male and female (nephew and niece), but that for either sex a father's brother is addressed and spoken of as if he were the father, and a mother's sister as if she were the mother. This interesting classification is not merely verbal. In a sense, a paternal uncle is a father and, for instance, if a child's father dies or is away, this uncle takes the place of the father to the child in every respect. (But in Makuchi Williams does give a separate word for man's paternal uncle.)

The relationship between any person and the parents of that person's husband or wife is considered to be of the same degree as that between a person and his or her mother's brothers and father's sisters. Thus:

P M 601 171

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Father of husband	- woman's maternal uncle -	awo	(Not given)
Mother of husband	- woman's paternal aunt -	wari	(Not given)
Father of wife	- man's maternal uncle -	mui	tori
Mother of wife	- man's paternal aunt -	wani	wanə

P 601 These words are (in Kamarakoto) those generally used in direct address. In speaking of the person to someone else, it is usual to be more specific and special adjectival phrases for parents-in-law are then usually used:

Father of husband - tamõipuyun (for tamupũi - yun)
Mother of husband - yawoiʔ-pə
Father of wife - nopuyun (for nopũi-yun)
Mother of wife - yawoiʔ-pə

— thus yawoiʔ-pə is "mother-in-law" generally and a father-in-law is called "husband's father" or "wife's father" as the case may be.

P M 601 171 Nephew, niece: As with "aunt" and "uncle" the words used for "nephew" and "niece" involve not only the sex of the person referred to but also of the person through whom the relationship exists, i.e. of a parent of the nephew or niece. It would be expected that the sex of the person of reference, i.e. of the aunt or uncle, would also be involved. According to my informants this is not the case. The sex of person of reference is involved in words for "aunt" and "uncle," complimentary to those for "nephew" and "niece," and it is hinted at in Makuchi, which otherwise is rather close to Kamarakoto in these respects.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Male child of man's brother	- "son," i.e.	mumun	Not given.
" " " woman's "	- "son," i.e.	(u)rmɛ (?)	
Female " " man's "	- "daughter," i.e.	yentsi	
" " " woman's "	- "daughter," i.e.	manon (?)	
Male " " man's sister	-	poitoru	Not given, but see below.
" " " woman's "	-	poitoru (?)	
Female " " man's "	-	patsɛ	pase
" " " woman's "	-	patsɛ (?)	amu

Although Williams gives only the words for the daughter of a sister, they show a classification based on the sexes of all three persons involved. A root

P M 601 evidently cognate with poitoru occurs in Makuchi (Williams) i-(poi-to-rə')-be-
171 wai, "serve (?)," which Williams compares with pai-to, son-in-law of a male, or any subordinate young man. Whether or not this rather dubious comparison is valid, it is likely that this poi-to-ra' is connected with Kamarakoto poitoru, which seems otherwise not to have been identified in Makuchi or related languages except in Taurepán where Koch-Grünberg gives poitole (= poitore or poitorü) as "son-in-law" or "nephew" without the essential further specification.

P 601 Cousins: My Kamarakoto informants disclaimed knowledge of any special words for cousins. Under certain circumstances cousins would be considered as brothers or sisters and so spoken of. For instance a boy or girl calls his or her paternal uncle "father" and if the child lives with or in close association with this male's family he or she will call the uncle's children, actually cousins, "brother" and M "sister," using the words appropriate as to relative age.

601 Of the six words given by Williams as meaning "cousin" in Makuchi,
P four seem to be more or less random examples of this same sort of system, e.g.
171 a boy calls his father's brother's son (presumably younger than himself) mo-yi, which is Makuchi for "younger brother of a male." e-ru, which means "husband's sister" is also defined as a female's mother's brother's daughter. The only special word for "cousin," defined as a male's father's brother's son (for which, however, two other words are also given), given by Williams in Makuchi is -a-mi-bạ. This word, curiously, is practically identical with that for fifth ("little") toe or finger. It seems very doubtful whether Makuchi, any more than Kamarakoto, really has a special nomenclature for the cousin re-
P M lationship.

601 If the sexes of all four persons concerned were considered, a complete
171 system would involve sixteen classes, and if relative ages within each of the two generations were considered, sixty-four terms would be necessary. Needless to say, no Carib language really carries this to its logical extreme.

Husband and wife: No concept of relative age is here involved and the relationship automatically specifies the sex of both when one is mentioned, so the words have the same general limits as in European languages.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Husband	-	tamupüi	ni-yo, -nyo
Wife	-	nopüi	no-bu, -pə-san

Except, possibly, for adjectival differentiation when necessary, no distinction is made between the words applied to the various different wives of one man.

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601 Other relatives by marriage: In speaking of a son- or daughter-in-law, the sex of the person of reference (father- or mother-in-law) is not considered:

Son-in-law	without a child	- payunu
	with a child	- payun
Daughter-in-law		- patsɛ

payun means the actual and payunu apparently means the potential father of one's grandchild, pa "grandchild" + yun "father."

patsɛ is the same word as for the daughter of one's sister, an equivalence analogous to using the same word for mother-in-law as for paternal aunt.

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601 In Makuchi, Williams gives pa-se (cognate with patsɛ) for daughter-in-
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171 law, but specifies that it is used by males, and he gives pai-to (related to Makuchi (pai-to-rə, "servant," and not to Kamarakoto payun) for man's son-in-law. He does not give words used by females for a son- or daughter-in-law,
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601 although he specifies that the words given are used by males (only ?).

In speaking of brothers- and sisters-in-law the sexes both of the person of reference and of the person referred to are involved.

Husband's brother	-	pipi
Husband's sister	-	yerui'
Wife's brother	-	(y)etsɛ
Wife's sister	-	parətsi

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[601] In Makuchi, Williams does not give these words, but he does note that
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[171] pi, Makuchi word for younger brother of a female, sometimes means husband's brother. The Kamarakotos distinguish the words for woman's brother, pi, pirika, from that for husband's brother, pipi.

On the other hand, the Kamarakoto word for wife's sister, recorded as parətsi, seems to be cognate with that for a man's younger sister, paruchi, and I am not sure that they are not simply pronunciations of the same word by different persons or in different contexts, but I think not.

A man calls any woman whom he knows well but to whom he is not particularly related parətsi, i.e. "sister-in-law." A woman similarly calls male friends pipi, "brother-in-law." There is no analogous word for a man's male or a woman's female friends. yetsɛ and yerui' were specifically stated not to be used in this way, and a man cannot use the word pipi or a woman the word parətsi without ridicule.

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to?-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 category 116 – Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
●171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

721 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

771
171

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[285] [276] [533]

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b - Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some [171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent- [124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me [114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they [648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague rē- [171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds [551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re- [123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 776 . There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

● 171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 7/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paíba and invites

7/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
●[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 – Analyst]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come. I have come. I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekumi põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

● [171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maluchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[26] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[17] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one Wewe as hero, and a Taurepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichaure (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called Kasamá-podoré and his heads are named Mõuyimõn and Etetó. The Kamarakoto name Atitó is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taurepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

171 539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceibo like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221,222 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 11b – Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).* He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Plaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Plaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

* [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 263]

157 522 became this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [38] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 168 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[1 7] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
842 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

194 written. To use u in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from u and u: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of u. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

194 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely
●171 possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . , which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 238 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingɛ' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingɔ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg [114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

● 171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual 184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or 302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown 114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians 824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

● 171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is 286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually 352 factory-made, is of cotton.

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown—strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use <u>ocapa</u> for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill
●171 involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is cor-
482 rectly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form,
114 since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a raw-
411 hide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant
283 fibers for such purposes.

*285 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British
227 Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps
[171] and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they
[224] will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was
192 told that it is "correct."
194

*285 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after
531 they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a
177 non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as ap-
824 plying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been
114 devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534
171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482
171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123
674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123
436
439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.

[For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
766 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [148] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

● 171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
298 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several tim[illegible]lled out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst]
3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend
[805] curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from
[101] farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

7 [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

173 101 [131] Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna [144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 72 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 797 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 114 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks' residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of 122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M. 114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

539 etserukɛ — use. — to use the gourd bottle.
maroden — Forthwith — Then
maicha'-ya — Maichak — Maichak
moro? — fishy — emptied (from

tuna — water
anokapatipa — emptied
to? — then
anumbatupõyɛ — gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-pɛ — For a time
moro? — fish
anumbatupɛ — gathered.
itetsɛton-ya — His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itɛtseru — his method
putu pura — know(ing) not
yetsipa — were
teumo-dakara — his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin — only
yepatipa — was
moro? — fish
anumupa — gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

*192 *197

Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tu'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).*

109 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
* [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all [249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes [177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing [171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal [173] warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of 177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analysis]

285 kumara-katua? — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, [173] gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 48]

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[474] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

●173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[683] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant koseɾa, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[129] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[265] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[48] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174
114 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of
291 believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be sup-
291 posed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea
177 verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to
114 his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for
291 loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[172] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
● 174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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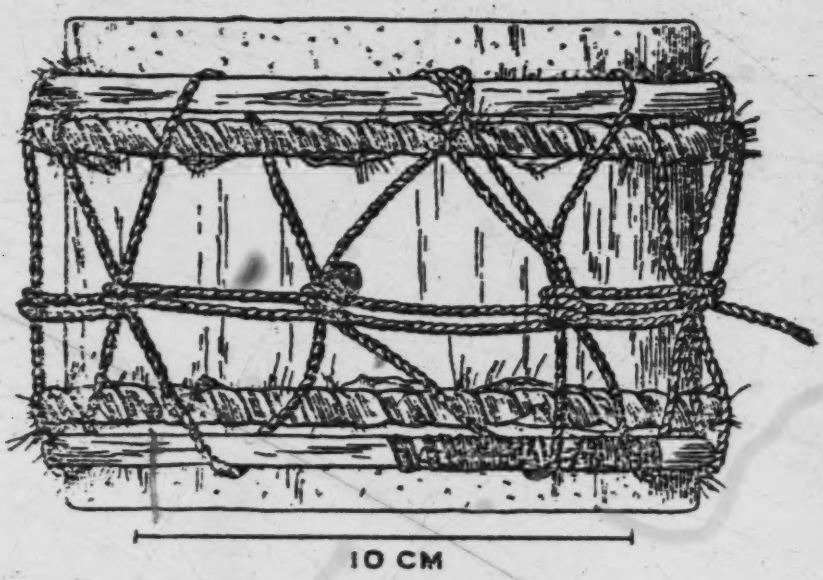

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of
curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

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Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

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With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

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Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

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These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the sur-
178 vivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe
177 before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
[511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 281]

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Venezuelan Indians SS4

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians

P does not reach 60,000.

101 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./

175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

114 Williams' fine grammar and vocabulary of the Makuchi language is particularly valuable among studies in British Guiana. Perhaps the work of Farabee should also be mentioned as a source for comparative material, but it has been severely criticized on many points and contains virtually nothing beyond a series of physical measurements that is not obtainable in more detailed and more accurate form from other students.

101 121 Such, then, is the general racial, linguistic, and cultural picture into which the Kamarakotos fit and such are the main outlines of anthropological studies with which this monograph is to be integrated.

Historical Notes

175 131 The Kamarakotos appear in written records at a relatively late date. Search of maps purporting to cover the area where they live, from de Bry's map of 1599 down to those of the present time, has not revealed the name of the tribe on any map earlier than 1840, when it appeared on Codazzi's "Carta del Cantón de Upata." Since that date the word Kamarakoto, spelled in several different ways, has appeared on most maps including tribal names in this region. The exact positions given to the name on various maps differ by as much as five hundred kilometers, but it would be profitless to go into this point in detail. The changes in position all appear to be accidental or based on poor evidence and they certainly do not reflect any known migration of the tribe or exact knowledge of its location at any given time.

175 Probably the earliest record of Indians called Kamarakotos, although it has only recently been published, is that of Fray Ramón Bueno, a Franciscan missionary who was stationed with the Orinoco missions from 1785 to 1804 and who left a manuscript description of Guayana written between 1800 and 1804 and published in Caracas in 1933. This curious and valuable work includes the following passage (p. 85 of the printed edition):

"Los Camaracotos, Guayanos y Guaicas, son naciones mezcladas; los primeros y últimos se fugitivan continuamente a los montes y los Guayanos, siendo, los más, criollos, vuelven a los montes a sacarlos. De estas naciones tienen algunos pueblos los RR. PP. Capuchinos Catalanes del Bajo Orinoco y sin embargo de la sujeción con que los tienan, les dan bastante en que pensar: los hacen andar vestidos, a ellos con calzón y camisa y a ellas con fustan terciado; teniendo para el efecto un hato de común cada pueblo, cuyo producido invierten en esto y gastos de entradas a los montes, verificando cada ano una."

175 101 This information, interesting as it is, is extremely vague and it is by no means certain that the Camaracotos of this account are really the forerunners of the Kamarakotos studied in the present paper. The passage gives no exact

175 information on the location of the "Camaracotos" of that time, but the inference from their association with the Akawais and reduction by the Catalán Capuchins is that they lived a long distance, probably to the northeast, from the present home of the Kamarakotos. The "Guaicas" of this account were doubtless Akawais.[5] There is, as I shall mention below, some slight evidence that the Kamarakotos did come from the northeast in post-discovery times, but certainly if they were really reduced to mission towns and forced into clothes around 1800, both the memory and the effects of this reduction had been completely lost a century later. Moreover, their present linguistic, physical, and cultural affinities are very definitely with tribes that now live east and south of them, into British Guiana and Brazil, and for whom movement from the north is improbable. It is improbable that our Kamarakotos are as nearly related to the Akawais, with which Fray Ramón Bueno's account associates them, as they are to the Makuchis and certainly the relationship is far less close than with the Taurepanes. With all of this, it is doubtful whether the account really refers to the ancestors of the present day Kamarakotos. It might refer rather to some other northern branch of the Arekunas, who are not mentioned under that name, than specifically to the particular tribal unit to which the name has now been limited or been transferred. The appearance of the name is certainly interesting, but not clearly significant. The other information given has no real ethnographic interest in any case, an unfortunate circumstance, since some of the remarks on other tribes in the same work are of the greatest ethnographic value.

114 Search of many works of travel has not revealed to me any first-hand account of the Kamarakotos between 1804 (if that account is first-hand and does refer to them) and 1938. No one previous to 1938 appears to have given a circumstantial account of a visit to them and reliable information was limited to the bare name and the fact that they lived somewhere on or near the Caroní. [131] The maps do give some reason to believe that by 1850, more or less, they lived in the same general region now occupied, whether or not they lived there before that time. The indefatigable student Koch-Grünberg added that they are Arekunas and gave three words of their dialect, but he also gave a few other hearsay details that were not correct and so did little to make them truly known.[6]

As far as the scientific world is concerned, the actual discovery or rediscovery of the Kamarakotos should perhaps be dated only from the Phelps-American Museum expedition of 1938, since the members of this party were the first definitely to place on permanent record any notice of first-hand contact with the tribe. This was done by Tate (1938), along with some photographs of these Indians, whom he called simply "Arecunas." His brief popular note gave no data of particular anthropological value but did finally put the tribe definitely on record. This expedition had as its antecedents the discovery of Auyán-tepúi (and of the Kamarakotos as well) by James Angel a few years

5, 6 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [253] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes [147] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 their use since they serve no better, in some cases even worse, than the simpler lattices. The Taurepánes do rarely use a crossed quadrangular lattice with paired twilled base, but the hexagonal pattern with multiple-strand twilled base occurs among no close allies of the Kamarakotos and is exceedingly rare. I know of only two recorded examples, one reported by de Goeje (1906, Pl. IX, Fig. 12) from Dutch Guiana and one recorded by Roth (1924, Fig. 188) found in British Guiana but of unknown tribal origin.

*285 171 176 On the other hand the Kamarakotos probably use no basketry techniques that are entirely unknown to other tribes and it is doubtful whether they have originated anything in this field. Indeed it is almost impossible now to point to any tribe that can be said definitely to have originated a basketry technique. The whole complex has spread over the whole region, with some irregularity but without clear regard for tribal or geographic divisions. Some tribes are more skilled than others — the Kamarakotos rank very high but perhaps not at the top in this respect — and each group has some tendency to prefer certain techniques and to reject others more or less similar, so that despite the general diffusion of this basketry culture each local group can be separately characterized in these details. I have identified one Kamarakoto basketry weave that is at least rare if not wholly unknown elsewhere, but it is also rare among the Kamarakotos and it is unlikely that it is really confined to or was definitely originated by this tribe. (Fig. 52 C.)

*285 171 Articles made of basketwork. The following outline classification includes most, but not quite all, of the general classes of basketry objects used in this broad culture area with, of course, more detailed attention to those observed among the Kamarakotos. In cases where such an object of native manufacture was definitely seen in use among the Kamarakotos, its name is given.

I. Mats.
- A. Plain plaited.
  - Large door and floor mat----------kumara-katsa'.
- B. Woven plaited.
  - Twilled quadrangular fan or plate--------o.olori.

II. Trays (and sieves).
- A. Circular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - Fine, rail-edged, pictorial twill---------o:apa.
  - 2. Openwork.
- B. Quadrangular.
  - 1. Closework.
    - a. Edged mat.
    - b. Basket tray.
      - Basketry and rail-edged, with legs------matu:tu.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

2:Armellada--5 M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16
Venezuelan Indians SS4

P /4 cont./

101 Therefore, for the reasons given, I propose to missionaries and ethnographers that they use preferentially this word Pemón

P when talking, in common, of these tribes or of their language.

161 6. From the census published in the Boletín de la Sociedad

114 de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. VIII, No. 53, and which contains,

[113] almost complete, the account of "Exploración del río Paragua y sus affluentes /Exploration of the Paragua River and Its Tributaries/," and from another census included in an unpublished memoir about "Exploración de Kamarata, Tiriká y Urimán /Exploration of Kamarata, Tiriká, and Urimán/," and published by Mons. Gómez in the memoir of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, 1941, and through Father Baltasar de Matallana in his book Labor de los PP. Capuchinos en la Misión del Caroní /Work of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, it turns out that the number of Pemón Indians is only 2,500 (two thousand five hundred).

Quite a revelation for those who believe in uncounted hordes of Indians!

The number of Indians is generally exaggerated for the reasons that we point out in the already referred to "Exploración del río Paragua"; there was a missionary who, taken in, in good faith, by the accounts of the Creoles, stated that there

V were on the Gran Sabana no less than 14,000 Indians.

161 Although it only be in passing, I shall avail myself of this

114 opportunity to state that the official census, which computes the number of natives existing in Venezuela at 130,000, is highly exaggerated. Through personal knowledge and other trustworthy data, I can state positively that the number of Indians does not reach 60,000.

P 7. The Pemón have as bordering tribes the Makuchí and

101 the Uapichana toward Brazil; the Uaika, Seregóng, Patamona,

P etc., toward British Guiana; the Sapé, Arutaní, and Pauaná

[175] toward the Paragua River. In addition we must bear in mind

[177] that since four centuries ago the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch,

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

157 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons,
[372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down
177 by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/39 cont./

755 Therefore, the Indians, scorning natural observation, go with blind faith to their piaches or enchanters, who are considered doctors or curers and never as priests. Pliny the Elder has already made note of and written: "No one doubts that magic was born from medicine. In primitive societies the magician was, above all, a physician." Very correctly did Proodt also write that "as primitive men attribute sickness to the action of a spirit, they are not content with the simple administration of infusions or powders."

757 177 The use of a few tisanes, purgatives, and emollients, of a few shell poultices with more or less tannic acid (and as a result disinfectant), and the application of formic acid directly by means of the bite of ants or wasps, all of these almost certainly were learned from the Creoles. In any case this constitutes an exception in their medicinal regimen and in their mentality or means of conceiving of diseases and their remedies.

755 88. The typical way in which the Indians cure themselves is by means of the tarénmurú (charms or magic prayers) and the practices of the piaches, which are of the same sort. We might, perhaps, have a chance to return to the subject of these charms; for the time being let it suffice to say that they are "a short prayer addressed to a piá or pachí (trunk or head) of a certain animal, plant, or legendary being, possessor of qualities or power against the evil which it is desired to dispel, or with the ability to produce some good which is desired, or the vehicle of some disease which it is desired might enter into another." These words are pronounced over some receiving-transmitting object and in addition it is blown upon, not with the mouth but with the nose; this also gives rise to the name of blowing (tarén), which is given to the charms. These, as has been seen, can either be beneficial, tarem-bá, or maleficent, mui-má. /40/

89. For the greater clarity of what is herein said, I shall copy a Pemón charm and shall transcribe another Egyptian one,

797 /79 cont./

[177] The Indians have very good dispositions; they do not resist our civilization, nor do they refuse to learn our language, nor are they systematically opposed to exogamy or matrimonial union with those of other areas. But they ought not to be educated for our benefit, but for their own; we should not seek our own well-being in them, but to dedicate ourselves in truth to procuring for them their own physical and moral well-being.

172. Maternal love. One of the causes which, in the native oral literature, appears as the most frequent reason for their flights, is that attraction which in our language is called patriotic love and maternal love. And it is quite clear that, far from being a reprehensible feeling, this is on the contrary a most noble feeling and one worthy of all praise. And this is what those who would like to always keep next to them the Indians whom they have educated should think of, without thinking about what greater rights the mothers who bore and nursed them have.

A short time ago an employee today attached to a Venezuelan embassy abroad said to me (without realizing that I was a missionary) that all work carried out on behalf of the Indians was useless, that missionaries were wasting time and energy and the Government its money. I replied to him that I was a missionary and that we missionaries had a higher opinion of his Indian compatriots, and that far from wasting time and energy, the fruit gathered both in former times as well as in the 20 years of this second stage of the missions was sufficient.

[113] 173. Results. Today I can refer to Cuaderno 42 of the Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, entitled Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní /Labor of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, by /80/ the Reverend Father Baltasar de Matallana. I recommend the reading of this, particularly pages 73-80, since they expound clearly and simply our mission methods and their effects.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
(301) they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
(291) cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

/0/ territory that is now Venezuelan Guayana was occupied by Indians of Carib
/3/ stock, not greatly unlike those of the coastal region of Caracas or Cumaná.

●177 In northern Venezuela, although Indian blood still visibly survives in many places, Indian culture and tribal organization are now almost completely absorbed into the modern Venezuelan culture, mainly of European origin. Some European influence has penetrated everywhere, even to the most remote tribes who have not yet seen white men, but in general the great mass of Carib tribes south of the Orinoco have resisted this advance, aided by the difficulty of access to their region. Many of them still retain their tribal organization and an almost purely aboriginal culture. Here pre-Columbian American civilization can still be studied, and particularly that of the Caribs, in most respects the most important aboriginal stock in Venezuela.

/2/ The importance of studying these Indians is very great and its urgency not less so. From the historical point of view, such studies show the indigenous basis of Venezuelan history and culture. From a social point of view an understanding of them may permit an easing of the inevitable process of Europeanization and a lessening of the unintentional brutality that usually accompanies it. Such a study may also prove that the survival of these Indian cultures is a definite economic resource. In any case, these Indians belong to Venezuela, even though they are barely aware of this fact, and knowledge of them by the other, the more civilized Venezuelans, is an obligation and can be a great pleasure. These studies are urgent, because the renascent Venezuela of recent years is advancing impetuously into the most remote fastnesses, and much that is most picturesque and most important in their Indian cultures is disappearing from year to year.

/0/ Most of the Indians of southeastern Venezuela, especially between the
/3/ Caroní on the west and the borders of British Guiana and of Brazil on east and south, belong to a particular branch of Caribs that can best be called Arekuma. The Arekuma division of Caribs, which forms an important surviving nucleus of such Indians, is itself divisible into several quite closely allied by consciously separate tribes, including the Taurepanes near Roroima and the Kamarakotos around the equally great mountain Auyan-tapui. The latter Indians form the subject of this monograph.

/0/ From a broader point of view all the aboriginal cultures of Venezuela
/7/ east and south of the Andes, with all those of British, Dutch and French Guiana and those of extreme northern Brazil, have many traits in common and can be considered as belonging to one culture area or subarea of South America. This is well called the Northeastern or the Guayana (or Guiana) Area, the latter because it centers around Venezuelan Guayana and is typically developed also in the other Guianas. This area in turn has some more general traits in common with others in South America east of the Andes in the north and of the Chaco and Uruguay in the south. This, the so-called Amazon Area, is thus a major

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305; category 116 - Analyst]

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is [192] relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] [177] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analyst]

Numbers.

802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are seldom used. [177] During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually *192 replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic *197 affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dia- 802 lects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

1. One — tankin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsagangʲ. Taurepan, tsagane, sa:kane. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ga-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= atsar(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seulnane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e) tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsaka-leïlaʾ-ngʲ. Taurepan, tsakurölangʲ. (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-ra-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 11b — Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-tamo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
411

86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pa-reu. Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *upalari. Taurepan, sapalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura'. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa. Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).

● [177]

*192
*197
227

102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ'.[48]

Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):

106. *iru'. Taurepan, kari'. but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

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The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

[41]

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

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b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakoː for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulū-kulū. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kōlō-kōlō. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulū-kulū. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kūlū-kūlū). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

[177]

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apoi'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bə is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
225 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
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154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pəregə:nsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi'.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsirinka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ kasa'. i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupə. i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-kasa'.
[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo'. (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mbaipon. (u)pon.
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*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r.[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
● 177 guayuco.[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akemūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

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175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

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176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

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177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

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178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

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179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o.ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o.i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

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180. *karōi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

[482]

225. Paddle — kan. wa-pare.

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

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j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamaiyen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nau.

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

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232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau samhola, in Shiriana sambosra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyingə, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.ingà). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tökönomə. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyingə) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapelon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp 815-16, category 116 — Analyst].

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

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402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

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404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anaiʼ.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʼ

407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʼ

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keuke that is not too wildly conjectural.

*192 Of the "Ancient Kamarakoto" words, it can be said that 1, 3, 5, 6, and
*197 8 are rather surely Carib. Four, 7, and 9 might be but the evidence is poor.
128 Two is wholly uncertain. Four is suggestive of Arawak, but not conclusively, and the list as a whole is definitely not Arawak. It is interesting that 1 and 5 quite definitely and 4 and 9 vaguely and uncertainly suggest true Carib roots that are absent or strongly modified in modern Kamarakoto. Since the Kamarakotos could hardly invent these resemblances to dialects unknown to them, these words thus tend to confirm their claim that the list represents a real and distinctive language now extinct.

Without placing too much reliance on it, this curious lot of words is consistent with the Kamarakoto claim that their present language has replaced another. If so, the ancient language was apparently also Carib, but probably was a distinct language and not simply an ancestral form of Kamarakoto. The list is obviously insufficient to establish the closer affinities of the extinct tongue. The whole problem is highly conjectural, but it is possible that some of the Kamarakoto words that differ radically from Taurepán may have been derived from this extinct Carib language.

Spanish Influence in Kamarakoto.

*192 The Kamarakotos, as a tribe, have had very little contact with Spanish-
●177 speaking peoples and the influence of Spanish on their language is almost negligible. The following words of Spanish origin were heard in use by Kamarakotos who did not otherwise speak Spanish:

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Kamarakoto	Spanish	Remarks
[171] alakaputsa	arcabuz (arquebus, archaic word for gun)	This is a very old borrowing, spread from tribe to tribe among almost all Indians of this region. The Indians, and most Spanish-speaking travelers, are quite unaware that the word is Spanish.
sara:sa	zaraza	Not, as in Spanish, a particular kind of cloth but

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		any non-native cloth, a recent borrowing.
[177] somberero	sombrero (hat))	These are very recent borrowings; both the things and the words have been acquired by the tribe only within the last four or five years.
kamisa	camisa (shirt))	
pantalon	pantalon (trousers))	
alpargata	alpargata (canvas slippers))	
[172] [171] kaña	caña (sugar cane))	These are relatively old borrowings, sugar growing and extraction evidently having spread among the wild tribes even in Colonial times.
t rabichi	trapiche (cane press))	
watea	batea (wooden bowl or trough)	
kacho	cacho (cow's horn)	A very recent borrowing, the horn being still a great novelty and rarity.
kachimba	cachimba (tobacco pipe)	
kalaboxso	calabozo (jail)	The Indians apply this term to an air-tight house, not used as a jail.
tap ra	tabla (wooden board)	The Indians apply this word to boards or mats used to close a door.
sambura	tambur (drum)	The generally accepted Spanish derivation of this word is not quite certain.
pero	perro (dog)	There is a Carib word for "dog" but the Kamarakotos do not use it.

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439] oro, woro'	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapara and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
umamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulū-kulū	file
kōroitoko	chicken

*192 The last two words are probably onomatopoeic and the others are proba-
177 bly names of native things now replaced by introduced substitutes. The numerous varieties of bananas, supposedly introduced, also have names that are of native origin, as far as known.

*192 Few words can be identified as surely borrowed from other Indian languages and Kamarakoto shows no extensive mixture with non-Carib dialects. They use a few words perhaps of Tupi or Arawak origin but so widespread among Caribs as to be Carib words for all practical purposes. Karoi, for the Genipa dye, differs radically from the word in allied Carib dialects (usually variants of ruku) and may be related to some variant of the Arawak word karutu. If so, it would be a nearly unique example of borrowing direct from a wholly foreign Indian language and not through other Carib dialects.

Classification of Kamarakoto and Allied Languages.

*197 Omitting numerous subdialects, poorly known dialects, some that became extinct before they were well classified, and others of doubtful or unimportant status, the principal Carib languages may be classified as follows:

I. Main or northeastern division.
- A. Coastal group
  - Kalíña, Kalinga, Galibi, Karibi, Caribi. (The so-called Island Carib is a mixture of Kalíña and Arawak).
  - Kumanagoto, Cumanagoto.
  - Palenke, Palenque.
  - Chaima, Chayma, Core, Paria.
  - Tamanako, Tamanaco.
  - Oyana, Ayana, Uayana, Rukuyen, Roucouyenne.
- B. Amazon group
  - Trio.
  - Umaua: a. Hianakoto.
    - b. Guake, Huake.
    - c. Kariona.
  - Pianakoto.
  - Apalai, Aparai.
  - Wayewe, Wayawai, Woyaway, Waiwai.
- C. Bonari group
  - Bonari.
  - Yauapery, Uaimeri.
- D. Central or Roroima group
  - Akawai, Acawai, Accawai.
  - Ingariko. (Perhaps only an Akawai dialect.)

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe
● 177 and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married
[144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa")
177 given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

551 177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from out-
551 side the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later,
[123] when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly
[829] have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least
[123] known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would
[177] have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essential-
[797] ly as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized.
[553] The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames.
551 The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and
553 the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analysis]

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakon, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyε[2] being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarε, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarε, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarε, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarε. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

241 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop.
311 In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or
134 pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.
242

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and
● 177 probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319 category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

231 In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
235 mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[522] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).*

[See footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
* [See vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 11b - Analyst]

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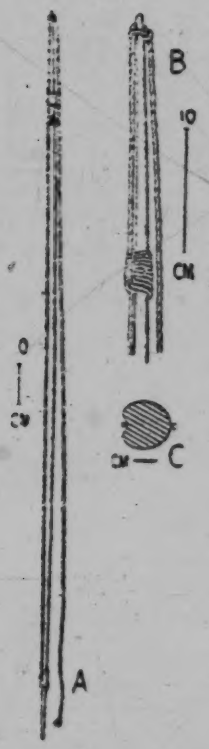

Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
● 177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[278] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
● 177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
[325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

411

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece. B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [242] [423] [72] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p.320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[172] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes [174] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analysis]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[172] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analysis]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 67, category 116 - Analyst]

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[578] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[582] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 ● 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 48]

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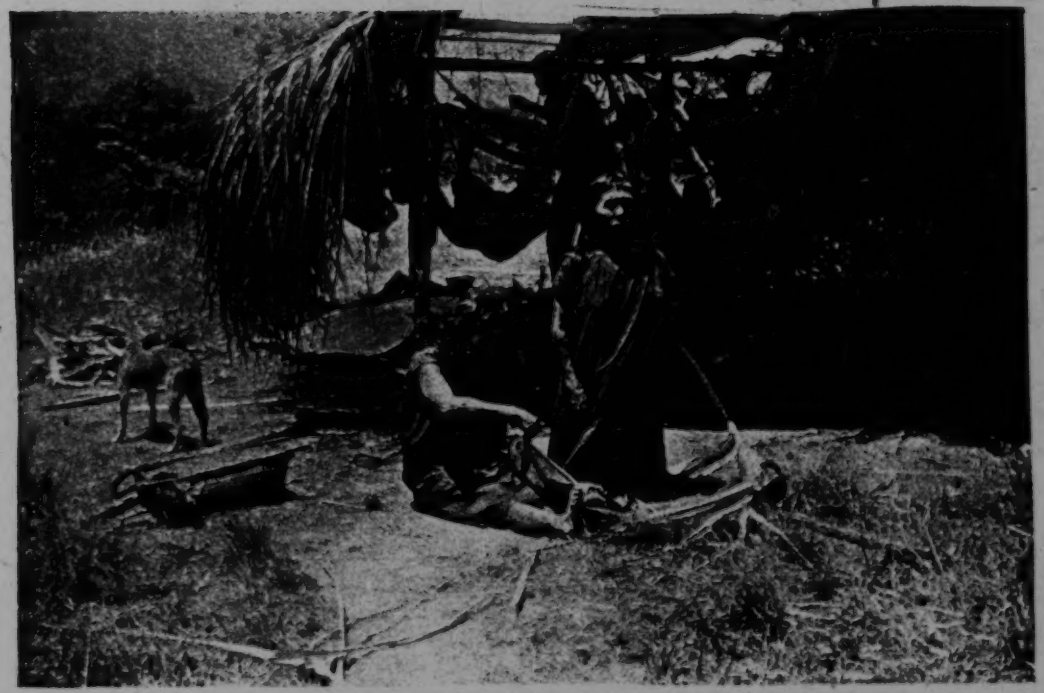

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-aka:mūi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 11b - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[285] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[481] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates,[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

174 114 291 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 291 177 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be supposed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 114 291 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekumas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[172] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[22] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okōi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great ● 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 11b - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

301 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber
177 or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi' is
[237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregaːnsa and the yaichi' are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuːru-pregaːnsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so,
184 but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do.
[304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.
301 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special
304 occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.
301 The most prized type of pendant, panadaino', and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away
[157] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst].

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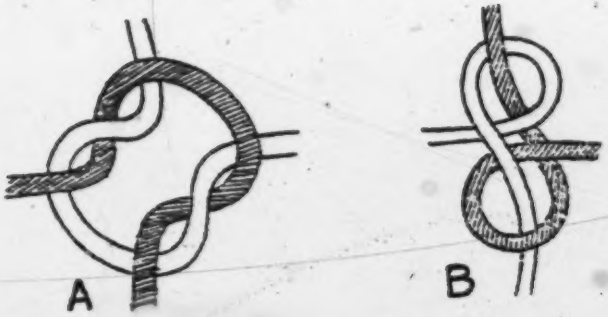

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [17] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
● 177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]

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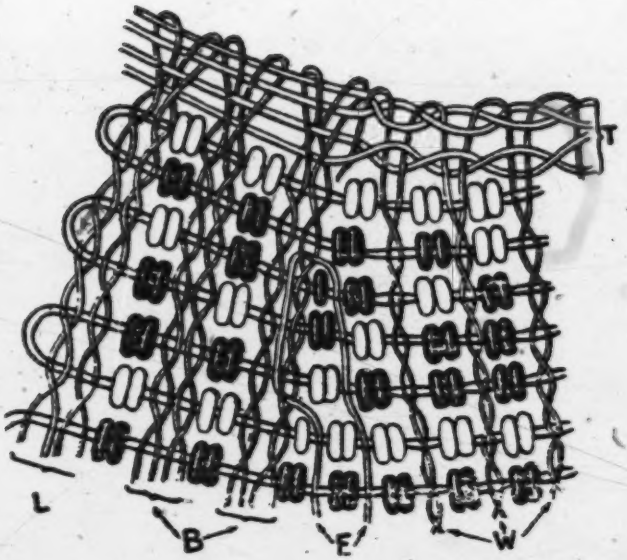

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho).

534 171 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageolet, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. It is used in some dances, notably the tukü̇i' (not the parichara), and, unlike any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [36] [628] [432] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[172] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[179] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[440] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare ocapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
● [177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [291] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 32 category 116 — Analyst]

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

●177 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not
771 significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have
[764] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were
[531] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
●177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
[12] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).* He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

* [see p 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 178 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the survivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 177 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
123 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

177 123 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

231 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Mud-sealed square "calabozos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics, (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

232-234 [see footnotes on p. 334, category 118 - Analysis]

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	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are so barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that they must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actual features of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

177 178 A brief review of the apparent causes of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

177 178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

177 178 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos [174] were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably improve the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. [731] It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by being "civilized." [511] They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 281]

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

101 5. They[1] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g, "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[1] [i.e. the Acawai - Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōse, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

114 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor
286 three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region,
● 177 but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized"
286 technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
●177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P 177 799 161 Y 177 648 Y 101 619 Y A 101 A 241 433 439 A 501 A 582 A 101

Casapare
Auake 555
Pemon 55 16

/184 cont./

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

/185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

"Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

"They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic ex-
ample of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an ob-
server can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth pub-
lishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certain-
ly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in gen-
eral, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-
1/A, 2/A [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 [4/2] [252] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively small one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawan-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[265] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 [252] [531] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[5] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of
● 178 the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very
[184] popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black.
[531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances,
386 but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black
824 paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

*285 171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] [797] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o.olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[474] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

778 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[302] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[307] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A toʔ-esaʔ (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. No one but the toʔ-esaʔ is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a toʔ-esaʔ were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obligatory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 178 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maiuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

[#269]

THE OLD AND THE NEW

177 The Indians are most interesting, from many points of view, for the sur-
178 vivals in their culture of aboriginal objects and customs, but it would be a mistake to think of these entirely indigenous elements as the real and true Indian culture of today and to study them only from that point of view, rejecting later modifications as irrelevant or solely as intrusions. The Kamarakotos as they exist today are subject like all of us to ever changing influences and have a culture that is integrally theirs, wherever its elements came from, and that is compounded, as ours is, of a mixture of older and newer parts. Indeed the mixture of such diverse elements in their culture is in itself interesting and instructive. The fact that they are now observed in the very process of transition from primitive culture to what we believe to be advanced culture makes their study more, and not less, interesting than would be that of a tribe showing no European influence, if such a tribe existed.

Cultural Contacts

174 Although we know virtually nothing of the history of this particular tribe
177 before the present generation, it is possible to infer the general course of their cultural contacts with some probability. Elements that were not developed directly or indirectly under European influence are usually readily recognizable. In some cases there is room for argument, such, for instance, as the use of square shelters which I believe to be indigenous but some students do not. There are not many such cases and they do not obscure the general facts. These aboriginal elements may be considered representative of a single culture level basic for the tribe as we see it today. Of course this culture itself evolved and is a mixture of elements developed at different times and by different tribes, diffused in varying patterns, the overlap of which in this precise region gave the

177 for years over the painful overland route of ordinary Indian trade. They show
123 still other and often desirable things in use. They give an example of an alien and perhaps apparently more desirable way of life. In general they enlarge horizons very suddenly.

Cultural Stratification

●178 A result of these successive waves of innovations is to produce a sort of cultural stratification on three distinct and many less distinct or transitional levels. A few concrete examples will suggest the general nature of this stratification.

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178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Fire making.	Fire drill.	- (total replacement)	Flint and steel.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Matches.
Weapons.	Blowgun.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Bow and arrow.	- (survival)	Steel arrowheads.	- (survival)	No further change.
		- (completely new introduction)	Firearms.	- (slow change by introduction of newer weapons evolved elsewhere)	Firearms, slowly replacing primitive weapons which still strongly survive.
Tools.	So totally lost that their very nature is uncertain.	- (total replacement)	Knife, machete, ax.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Fishing.	Poison, nets, traps.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Wooden fishhooks.	- (total replacement)	Steel hooks.	- (survival)	No essential change.
Male costume.	Loincloth.	- (survival)	Modification by use of trade goods.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Trousers.

127
178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Female costume.	Apron.	- (survival)	Modification by use of glass beads.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Dresses, supplementing and not replacing the aboriginal costume.
Cooking.	Clay pots and gourds and calabashes.	- (survival)	No change.	- (very incomplete incipient replacement)	Enamelware, bottles, etc.
Foodstuffs.	Various native foods.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
		- (new introduction)	Banana, sugar cane, and a few others, supplementing, not replacing, aboriginal foods.	- (survival)	No change.
Cane press.		- (purely native invention, following colonial introduction of cane)	Cane press.[231]	- (survival)	No change.
Domestic animals.	Dog.	- (survival)	Possibly slight change of race.	- (survival)	No change.

231 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]

177
178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
		- (new introduction)	Chickens.[232]	- (survival)	No change.
Musical instruments.	Flageolet.	- (survival)	No change.[233]	- (survival)	No change.
	Either no drum at all or one of somewhat different pattern.	- (introduction or modification)	Two-headed drum with X or V cord stretchers.	- (survival)	No change.
Buildings.	Round, elongate house.	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
	Square shelters.[234]	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change.
				- (new introduction)	Mud-sealed square "calabonos."
Fabrics.	Plaited cotton fabrics. (baby-slings, etc.)	- (survival)	No change.	- (survival)	No change, except slight replacement by trade cloth.
	Woven fabrics (for loin cloths, etc.)	- (survival)	No change. (Next modification may have begun on this level.)	- (extensive but not quite complete replacement)	Trade goods.
Ornaments.	Necklaces of seeds, etc.	- (survival with addition)	Glass beads and seeds, etc.	- (survival)	Very slight change by addition of silver coins, etc.

232-234 [see footnotes on p. 334, category 118 - Analysis]

177
178

	Aboriginal level		Colonial level		Modern level
Burial.	Temporary burial in crouching position, bones later removed and kept in baskets.	- (modification)	Permanent burial in crouching position.	- (incomplete modification)	Permanent prone burial.
Trade.	Indian trade of Indian products.	- (retention with complication)	Addition of three-handed trade with European products for Indian use included.	- (survival with modification)	Similar trade intensified and new products (gold, balatá) for European use added.

178 Changes in thought and habits, except as reflected in these more material changes, can hardly be tabulated although they are of at least equal importance. Among the Kamarakotos, as compared with the Caribs in general as known today and from early records, some such changes seem to be a slackening or blurring of more clear-cut older beliefs and customs. Thus one can hardly avoid the impression that their system of religious belief and practice was once more extensive and more definite in phases not related to medicine. It is a reasonable inference that the social dances once had a ritual element now [177] quite lost, that the maraka-rattle once had magical uses, etc. It might be believed, a priori, that such changes show European influence, but as regards this tribe there is no evidence that this is the case. It is, indeed, more probable that the rather few modifications of this sort are spontaneous and represent evolution on the aboriginal level. At most, it may be true that the general modification of Indian life in recent years, such as the lessening of the necessity or likelihood of native warfare, has had some influence in this direction.

Other and more definable changes in Kamarakoto culture that fall within a social, as opposed to a material, category appear almost without exception to be extremely recent, within the last few months and years. They are so barely incipient and have as yet had so little real influence on the tribe that they must be considered rather as harbingers of a possible future than as actual features of present culture.

Factors of Replacement and Supplement

177 178 A brief review of the apparent causes of material cultural stratification and the factors governing its outcome is instructive regarding the present and suggestive regarding the future. In the first place, most of the innovations evidently fall into one of these three categories:

1. Materials adaptable to native forms without essential modification of these forms.
2. Objects that offer a new way of performing functions already adequately performed on the aboriginal level.
3. Objects that introduce new functions, not performed on the aboriginal level or there performed on an essentially different basis.

In the first category are to be placed steel as used in arrowheads, glass beads as used in aprons and necklaces, and trade cloth as used in loincloths (not dresses). Innovations of this sort change techniques, but they have no important influence on aboriginal culture as a whole and merely modify but do not replace native objects.

In the second category fall such things as firearms (with the same functions as blowguns and bows), flint and steel or matches (same function as the fire-

177 178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
[511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 281]

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
179 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

/10 cont./

080 inhabitants, its born owners, the patá-muná and the tarenó, as they themselves call themselves.

Without the Indians this region would be beautiful no doubt; but silent, cold, and unattractive: without a language to give a name to the rivers, lakes, hills and mountains; without feet to trace the pathways and seek the fords in the rivers and the passes in the sierras and the footpaths joining one settlement with another; without imagination to populate these places with fabulous and legendary beings and to explain poetically the great natural phenomena; without heart and without tenderness to welcome in its huts travelers and visitors; and without arms to master and tame the forces of wild nature.

● 181 For this is what the Indians who people these parts have been and still are: literati in their fashion, who create tales, legends, and fabulous beings not just with vivid and childlike imagination, but also with a comic cast and an implicit moral; geographers, who know the relief of their land to its tiniest detail; naturalists, who call by their proper names the infinity of beings that make up the flora and fauna of their patria chica /"little homeland"/; engineers, who have traced with the sure compass of their instinct and the robust tread of their feet routes to the four cardinal points among precipices and craggy mountains; and, finally, servants, and even faithful friends with broad shoulders and even more long-suffering and broad souls than those of all of us who have come to their land.

25. Against that evil proverb that says: "neither is the cassava bread, nor the Indian a person," it is necessary to assert, although it be a truism, that the individuals of the copper-colored race are just as much people as are others of the white, black, or yellow races.

829 Also widely circulated is the opinion that the Indians call the Creoles "rational ones," and that this is a sign that they themselves consider themselves to be irrational. In addition to there being in this a manifest logical contradiction, it has

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian 181 is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the [415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for [252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for [262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and [231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, 155 dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

/13 cont./

181 guayere /sic/ laden with fruit or with a deer across his back,
155 he comes also with his soul impregnated by nature, which later the magic of his imagination transforms in a thousand ways during the shadows of the night and which he later gives birth to in the form of tales and legends, saturated with phantasmagorias.

155 To understand well the great assimilation of the Indian with nature, we must bear in mente that metamorphosis, anthropomorphism, and animism form, to put it one way, the basis of his mentality, more imaginative than logical.

30. Wise ethnologists have already noted that primitive peoples, who live in an environment of wild and untamed nature, as yet not in the domain of mankind, undergo an extraordinary development of the imagination. And, therefore, if of all it is said that imagination is "the madwoman of the house," when we speak of the Indians we must say that imagination is "the mistress and absolute owner of their soul."

From this great predominance and overflowing of the imagination onto the other intellectual and volitive faculties, I believe to be derived all the moral defects and aptitudes previously listed as being of the Indians: inconstancy, short-sightedness, moral weakness, good humor, simplicity, brotherhood.

774 The imagination of the Indians, in its facet of fear,
155 sometimes terror and panic, populated the clouds with uaranapí, the hills with mauaritón, the mountains with piaimá, the waters with rató and tuenkarón, graves with orodán, hollow trees with amariuak, plains with seipán, and subterranean cavities with tiripuení.

776 Another of the great creations of the Indians' imagination is the Kanaimá, which we shall have to discuss in particular in another section of this work.

Here is complied with, to the letter, the famous phrase of the Latin poet, in which he says, "Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit," for men's fear when faced with great natural

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekumas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
● 182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[221] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[172] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[129] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[28] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
● 182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[40] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called <u>purai</u> while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[88] the waist. This apron, the <u>mosa</u> or <u>motsa</u>, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the <u>mosa</u>, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name <u>kamisa</u>, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such
621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-
622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called toʔ-esaʔ, but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the
[621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its toʔ-esaʔ, and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most
[578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the toʔ-esaʔ is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as
[183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no
643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective toʔ-esaʔ. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal
643 group superior to the local autonomy of the toʔ-esaʔ. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point
[191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a toʔ-esaʔ over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[164] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[267] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
619 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[133] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[188] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

301 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber
177 or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi' is
[237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregamsa and the yaichi' are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasumru-pregamsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so,
●184 but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do.
[304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.
301 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special
304 occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.
301 The most prized type of pendant, panadaino', and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away
[157] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

*285 Around it is woven a vertical rim, extending both above and below, which is made of the same material (manare) but may be considered as tme weaving rather than woven plaiting. The bottom strands that reach a given edge at right angles become the weft strands of the rim. They are taken two at a time, making a two-ply weft, and are woven upward across two (sometimes three) warp strands (ordinary manare, not heavier rails as in some allied trays) and doubled around a third (or fourth) whence they return next to their former course, closing the fabric as far as the weft is concerned (although the warp strands are spread apart). Past the join with the bottom of the tray, they continue downward across two warp strands, double on a third, return in adjacent courses, and are cut off near the join.

Upper and lower edges are bound with heavy pieces of split cane, inside and outside, lashed on with wadapi. In addition to this the upper edge is more smoothly and elegantly finished by placing a slender stick spirally wrapped with wadapi above the edge of the basketry between the split reeds and lashing it on at the same time. A brace of wadapi, specially wrapped with the same strand, is now attached across each corner at the upper rim and a short vertical stick, notched for the corner of the basketry, is lashed outside each corner, forming legs and making what some students have (rather confusingly) called a table. Some tribes are said to use these trays without legs, and obviously they would function without this addition, but I saw no completed Kamarakoto square trays without legs.

[171] [184] Since essentially similar trays are known from British Guiana, it would be supposed that the Taurepánes would make them also, and so they may, but in fact I have found no mention or description of them among the Taurepánes and my Taurepán informants did not know either the object or any basketry name similar to matu:tu. This probable absence and certain rarity among the Taurepánes of what is technically one of the most complex Kamarakoto basketry forms tends to confirm my opinion that the Kamarakotos are probably somewhat superior to the Taurepánes in this art.

The uses of this tray are essentially the same as those of the ocapa but its being raised from the ground and stable makes it more suitable for many purposes, such as drying cotton.

The casave sifter, pangai[9] (Fig. 56A), is an example of specialized basketwork that serves only one purpose. Every household requires at least one and it is so essential in the preparation of casave that it occurs among all casave-eating Indians with numerous variations in weave but very little in basic pattern. [171]

In the common Kamarakoto form the bottom or main surface, woven flat, is an elongate rectangle of open twilled woven plaiting. It is divided into four quadrants by intersecting lines of half-closed three-strand twill. Each quadrant has an all-over pattern, generally one-over-two, but this method of joining

[text continues on p. 191]

*285 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that [128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. [237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

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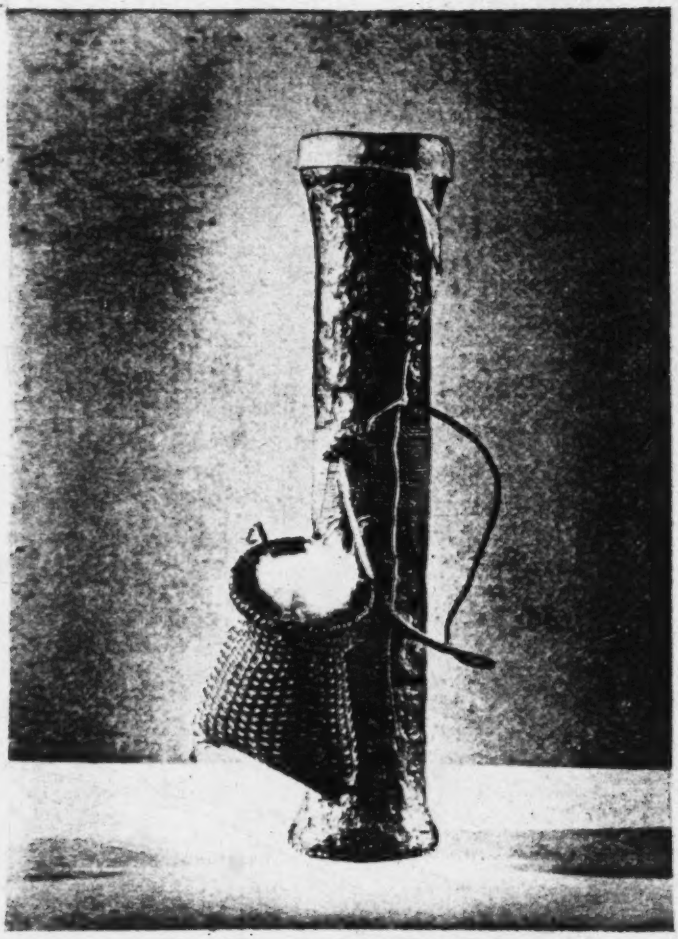

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (möi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map. liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekumas use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawan-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 232 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [247] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

● [184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruʔ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
● 105 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[627] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[25]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 137]

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac- [185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war- [854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [464] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
● 185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
123 our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

128 examined many maps and determined the first appearance of the name of this tribe on a map. Gene Weltfish, of New York, gave advice and references concerning phonetics. E. W. Berry, of Baltimore, gave information on the antiquity of Musa and Dioscorea in America. A. Jahn, of Caracas, gave some suggestions concerning the name and history of the tribe. Of course, none of these authorities is responsible for the use I have made of their information, and in one or two cases my opinions differ from theirs, although mine could not have been formed without the aid of theirs.

114 Finally, it should be mentioned that my wife, Dr. Anne Roe, accompanied me throughout the field work. The observations on women's dresses were made by her and the judgment of the psychological characters of the Indians is in part based on her expert opinion. She has helped also in other less definite respects.

126 The phonetics represent in the main the pronunciation of Antonio Montes-
128 deoca, who speaks Kamarakoto as his native language and without an accent
[1/5] recognizable by other members of the tribe. Most words were also heard from
[19] one or many non-Spanish-speaking Indians and the very few anomalies in pronunciation noted or reconciled.

The descriptions of material culture are fairly full and can hardly involve any serious misapprehensions, for I was able to see, handle, draw or photograph, and often to collect practically everything made or used by the Indians.

114 As regards the far more difficult problems of social culture, my observa-
128 tions are necessarily less complete. The best work in this field requires years of residence, fluent grasp of the local dialect, and the complete confidence of the Indians. I had only a few weeks and of course the other requirements could not be met in that time. Before I left, however, and in time to be of material aid, I had enough Indian words at least to be sure that my interpreter was really giving me the gist of what was said and to acquire some information without his aid. There was naturally some reticence on certain points but in almost all cases this was largely broken down before I left. Although many of the more esoteric details could not be obtained in the time available, the general outline and many details of social culture were obtained and these were so carefully checked that I feel confident of their essential accuracy except where I have explicitly stated doubts.

121 In this connection there is one deliberate omission. Everything pertain-
128 ing to health, disease and medicine was assigned for study to the medical doctor who accompanied the party and is therefore omitted from this monograph. In dealing with some essentially non-medical subjects it was necessary to touch briefly on this field, for instance, approximate vital statistics were incidental to census taking and somatic records, and exorcism as a medical procedure had to be mentioned in connection with magic and religion. Everything strictly or primarily medical is, however, purposely left out. There are,

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

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101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
● 192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings,
[114] but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-dá, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

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Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101, Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/81 cont./

177. What has been said about the modesty of the Indians and (by analogy) of their moral feelings and what has been briefly noted concerning their language is enough to form an idea of their spiritual culture; now the study of their physical inventions will complete the view of their material culture, which, however rudimentary it may be, will always speak to us very highly of its authors. "The most simple and crude of instruments and utensils discovered in the areas where lived and worked men of the first ages reveals to us the presence and action of a mind which knew the relationship between cause and effect, deducing from it another relationship, that of means and end.... No animal ever did so much, crossing the Rubicon from the shore of instinct to the shore of reason." (Msgr. Fernández Valbuena.)

By the manner in which the question is asked us, it is seen that our questioner is not one of those whose opinion is that Indians are "one more animal" or that "they live like real flocks of animals," but rather that he supposes that they have some culture and wants to know how much it is. Happily, it is thus: The Pemón Indians, whose material advance is not great if compared with ours, do not fail to have an appreciable culture and one worthy of study. /82/ The mere enumeration of words referring to instruments and utensils would fill several pages.

The material culture of these Indians has been most minutely studied by Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson in his book Los Kamarakotos and before him and with greater perfection by T. Koch-Grünberg in his monumental work Von Roroima zun Orinoco /From Roroima to the Orinoco/. (To be sure in the study of their language and psychology we do not believe these to be so correct nor can we recommend them unconditionally, especially the first of them.)

178. Well then, whoever may wish more details and minutiae can find them in the afore-mentioned authors about the things we shall hereafter list and others as well. Hunting

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ′ this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

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[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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Taurepan

194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

● 192 825 197 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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CHIROPTERA

192 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera
197 and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by
825 Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupirisi*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

[pararagraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

CHIROPTERA

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tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripai'*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*alikri* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas?*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:rẽ*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

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192 197 825 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremā*. Taurepán *waremɨ*. Makuchi (Williams) *tama:nowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremā* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walīli* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA[3]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:-pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

[p. 6-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

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tyla") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremā* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *muru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimē*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

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Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *urana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *akuri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *akuli*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

[p. 7-A]

192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, certainly use the same word only for the spiny rats.
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Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mōmbē*. Taurepán *mōmbē*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulūya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pē* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mōmbē* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mōmbē*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mōmbē* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mōmbē*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulūya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pē* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsā*. Taurepán *kaikusā*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:-chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*.—Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimōraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

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192 197 825 records of native nomenclature of the otters are otherwise very confusing. See *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of

[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the

[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in

[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 9-B]

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

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early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatē*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusa:ri*, *usa:ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usa:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukē*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

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192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "cháchara," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

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192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga, poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga, piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[p. 10-B]

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

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/For a comprehensive listing of Kamarakoto vocabulary, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 38-52, 70-77, 92-100./

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 — Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 197 128 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 197 114 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly [104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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330. *"Chupacacáo" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʔ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʔ) — kurinata.
333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, "Podager nacunda, the Nacunda night-hawk."

*197
825 c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okōi. Taurepán, ōkōi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʔ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.
342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʔ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sergbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiʔ.
351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — akaːre. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yakaːre. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.

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352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kuraːtu. Taurepán, kura-tu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʔma.
354. Toad — pōlɛːa (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written pōlɛa). Taurepán, pōreu-tukuʔ.

78 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 — Analyst]

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp 115-16, category 11b - Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — tsigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaime.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

241 403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

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404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anaiʔ.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʔ

407. Small, yellow variety — adamakaːyena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʔ

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation.[90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease,[91] although it is by no means an
*197 identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of
194 common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán, Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak mũi = Taurepán yenegam: shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is
●192 from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 vocabulary. There are also frequent cases like Kamarakoto maikuri = Taure-
192 pán waira (or waila) in which synonyms in the two languages come from completely different roots. Finally, the same roots may be used but in different ways as with words like kabai = kawai, which means tobacco, in general, in Taurepán but only an infusion of tobacco leaves in Kamarakoto.

*197 Kamarakoto and Taurepán are thus two distinct, allied dialects. The further expression of this fact, although a nominal matter, is of some importance. To say that either one is a dialect of the other would be confusing and incorrect. They are co-ordinate and neither one represents merely a modified form of the other, nor can one have been derived from the other as they exist today. After long consideration, I believe that convenience and accuracy will best be served by calling both Taurepán and Kamarakoto dialects of a language that may be called Arekuna.

101 In earlier works virtually all the Caribs of southeastern Venezuela who
114 were not Maquiritares were called Arekunas. Koch-Grünberg divided them into Arekunas and Taurepánes (or "Taulipangs"). This was merely because the Taurepánes were the only Arekunas that he happened to know at first hand, and he apparently did not realize that they do not differ any more from his Arekunas than the latter do among themselves.[92] He gathered an "Arekuna" vocabulary, again without realizing that it is only one (or perhaps even a mixture) of at least three dialects, probably more, lumped under Arekuna but differing as much from each other as Taurepán differs from any of them. From a taxonomic point of view, more recent knowledge thus makes Koch-Grünberg's classification indefensible. Moreover, as he notes, his Taurepánes are Arekunas even in native terminology. The Kamarakotos, for instance, call them Arekunas (except under external influence, for they have been taught the name Taurepánes by explorers and the missionaries of the Gran Sabana), and the Taurepánes told Koch-Grünberg that they were Arekunas and only gave the more personal or specific local name after he became intimate with them.

101 In fact, the name Arekuna is that applied by all these Indians to each other and frequently to themselves. The Kamarakotos, for example, use that name for themselves but they call nearby people from the Caroni Arekunas, even though these people be of Kamarakoto descent or close relationships and call themselves Kamarakotos! The Kamarakotos also call all the Gran Sabana and all the more distant upper Caroni Indians Arekunas.

I see no reason for not returning to the older traveler's usage, which is sanctioned by the Indians themselves, and calling this whole incoherent mass of Indians and the common language that they speak Arekuna. Here and there a better known or better defined nucleus or group appears and local names may
*[193] be available for these. So far only the Taurepánes and the Kamarakotos, which I should speak of as two Arekuna tribes speaking two Arekuna dialects, have been adequately distinguished. The northern Indians of the Gran Sabana

92 [see footnote on p. 317, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [242] 423 [72] [185] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [139] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[28] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[46] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called pural while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
[53] dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
●192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuma means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuma pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	ɔtapa	ɔtəpa
	pangai'	pəngai'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p.326, category 116 - Analyst]

*285
192
197

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
	(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
	pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pákara (basketwork purse).
Baskets.		
	waricha	waikarapɔ, variety chimaran.
	warakapi	(Not observed).
	(Not observed)	shimuʼ (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
	tsimuiʼ	tsarambɔ
	sokoʼ	sokoʼ
	wapa	waikarapɔ, variety warokupa
	amaːtu	damaːtu
Miscellaneous.		
	tangõiʼ	tɔngõiʼ, tenkei[160]
	akaiʼ }	akaiʼ
	koataiʼ }	
	mõi-ye	mõi-ye
	muroiʼ	muroiʼ

*285 531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e.g. in a matuːtu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 — Analysis]

534

Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument [171] and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamarakotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying northwestern South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).

Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yé?, probably a species of Nectandra. Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

101 5. They were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is 101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred 192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ö, a with ō and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ōi.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

† [i.e. the Acawai – Analyst]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

●192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mele (= mure) as Ingariko and unle (= -nre) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

[i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

●192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[197] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [224] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

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101 After many studies I have come to the conclusion that this word is not from their vocabulary, for which reason they do not come up with its real meaning. If some day we publish the detailed ethnographic study that we have in preparation, I shall give a detailed account of the reasons why I believe that this word is a transformation of the Aruako Yarijuna, "Spaniard," and the reason for the semantic change or change in meaning.

101 4. The name Taurepán first appears in the writings of
114 the German explorer Koch-Grünberg, who states that it was revealed to him by the Indians as something secret, after he had become intimate with them. After him, explorers, ethnologists, missionaries, and cartographers, all of us, have blindly followed the /3/ terminology proposed by him, slightly modified, since he wrote Taulipang.

101 Speaking briefly, I must confess that at least we missionaries, taking the path of least resistance, continue to use the word Teurepán, in spite of the fact that we do not believe it self-consistent. But what is certain is that no such word, despite our intimacy with and long period of living among the Indians and despite having tried to elicit it either directly or deviously, ever came forth spontaneously from the mouths of these natives; and when we would say it, they were never able to give us a meaning.

101 In the year 1935 I put forth the hypothesis that the word
192 Taurepán might have been derived from the verb tauré, "to
193 say or tell," and the particle -pan, which has varied meanings, but I noted that this particle never appears joined to verbs but
[114] only to nouns. Years later I had the good fortune to find the Gramática, Vocabulario y Catecismo Caribe /Carib Grammar, Vocabulary, and Catechism/ by Fr. Martín de Taradell, of our old mission of the Caroní, in which I read: tauropún, an
[114] ignorant person, a savage, a barbarian. And I became convinced that the word heard by Koch-Grünberg could have been tare-puen, an appellative which perhaps the Indians of our old

/3 cont./

101 missions of the Caroní might have given as a nickname to those
192 being converted at the time, because they considered them
193 more savage and backward than themselves and especially
[114] poorer speakers of Spanish or less fluent; taure-puen, "he who says or speaks nothing."

5. The word Pemón. Since the first year of my stay among the Indians (1933), there has been maturing in my mind the idea that this word might be the most exact denominator for all of these small subdivisions of Indians, since invariably the reply that is obtained on inquiring about the tribal or gentilitious name is this: Pemón yuré, "I am Pemón." And when one asks them how they say some sentence or some word or other in their language, they also say: Pemón damá (or Pemontón) maimú tau nauá ekamá iná-ó, "In the Pemón language we say thus or thus."

This is precisely the word that they contrast to all of the other races known to them, which are: españoro, Spaniard-Venezuelan; karaivá, Portuguese-Brazilian; mekoró, Negro; parana-kirí, coast-dweller, Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman; and, in general, tepón-kén, "clothed men," in contrast with the naked Indians.

[114] It is to the point to recall that the plural of this word, Pemontones, has already been used by another missionary (The Rev. Fr. Nicolás de Cármenes, in a report of a trip among the Kamarakoto), who in simple religious verses wrote, "Divine Shepherd, -- pray to Jesus -- for the Pemontones, -- who adore the Cross." /4/

I was nonetheless held back from the use of this word by the belief that Pemón meant, in general, "any individual or tribe of the copper race," or Indian, as we say. But on the reconnaisance trip on the Paragua River, I had to set aside this idea, since every time I asked about some Sapé, Arutaní, or Sirianá: Pemón nak mueré? "Is this one Pemón?" I was always answered: Aké, pemón neké mueré. "No, this one is not Pemón."

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Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

5: Simpson SS16 Pemon SS16

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/For an analysis of Kamarakoto grammar, see category 116, pp. 72-91./

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñla'-nę'.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wə'-rə. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) teknankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kalíña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty - taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teukin-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wə' -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin karíña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

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When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

*192 *197 suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more distantly allied dialects.

826 [193] 13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."

14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.

15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.

16. *Eye —enu-to. Taurepan (k)einu. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.

17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (ny)euna-le.

18. Lips — epi-to.

19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda, "our mouths" (dual) = ana m -ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

*197 193 This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root-meta-, as in Taurepan to-meta, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umata — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

*192 *197 826 [193] 20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hanna-ri. Bakairi (Adams) nana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).

21. Neck (front) — pūimōi-tó.

22. Neck (back) — pūimōi-yepa-to.

41 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eunnukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
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[194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena, (it)enyā. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative, ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareō-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaøn
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aung:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eunøta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"), "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pøta -pipø, in which pøta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 *226 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupe.

Persons and Relationships.

*192 *197 38. *Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) urazuo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. *Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. *Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

● [93] [10] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamarata" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — mure.

44. Older person — uyadeta.

45. Younger person — yamipe.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ksi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b — Analyst]

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛrɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə̄, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

*192 823 ● [193]

a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə̄ as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepũi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tuʾrita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tōʾ. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tō, təʾ. Makuchi (Williams) təʾ.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in everyday use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: bená, tuná-bená. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-təpüi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpüi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-təpüi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tuküi-wokō-küyen-təpüi, or Tuküi-po-kuyen-təpüi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyēn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-təpüi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

● [193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari', "female," and warato, "male," to kõroitoko.

*197 825 262 (b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kũrikũri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

*197 824 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:ʾ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛ̃ʾ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛʾ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

[193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiʾ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛʾ, gwai-yɛʾ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elaïs sp. ? — mausa-yɛʾ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛʾ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛʾ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaʾ-yɛʾ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛʾ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, =
193 (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
171 steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

● 193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

●193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 197 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike that of any European language and also varies greatly from one dialect to another, so that any exact representation of the pronunciation is impossible without lengthy discussion and the use of many specially cast typographic symbols. Only a rough approximation, sufficiently close generally to produce a pronunciation recognizable by the Indians, is here attempted. The following remarks are based chiefly on Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but extension to other dialects will not produce unrecognizable distortion. In citing names from other authors I have transferred them into my system of transcription, as nearly as may be, instead of attempting to explain the different system used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* will be recognized if pronounced as in Spanish or Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental values.

There is a whole system of intermediate (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be correctly represented with our ordinary letters. For typographic simplicity I have represented the most essential of them by *ä*, *ë*, *ö*, and *ü*. *ä* is to be pronounced approximately like short *e* in English, i.e., about as in "met." This is quite different from the sound represented by *e* and is sharply distinguished by the Indians themselves. In many cases however, authors have not distinguished them in transcribing Indian words and in names cited from other authors the sounds given as *e* doubtless include some that are really *ä*. *ë* is near the so-called neutral vowel of English, about like the last *e* in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced in rapid speech, not with an affectedly clear pronunciation) and almost exactly like the French sound in "de" or "le." It is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like *ö*, and the best authorities (such as de Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually distinguish it, but here again some writers, especially those whose native language (particularly Spanish) includes no similar sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

[p. 3-A]

TRANSCRIPTION

194 authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. *ö* and *ü* are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *oe* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects *ö* is barely or not distinguishable from *ë*. Most Spanish-speaking authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish *ö* from *o*, or sometimes from *ë* or even *e*, and *ü* from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg.

Two successive vowels of which the second is *-i* or *-u* are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish or as in the English word "aisle."

CONSONANTS.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by *'* is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *l* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *mapariwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

LANGUAGE

197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, [192] being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [177] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect, the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, wailà (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

● 194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 – Analysis]

194 b - phoneme is open, while that of the Spanish b - phoneme is more nearly stopped. Subsidiary members of the Kamarakoto r - phoneme overlap both the r - and the l - phonemes of Spanish. Similarly a single Spanish phoneme may be represented by two in Kamarakoto, for instance Spanish e overlaps both Kamarakoto e and E. Some Kamarakoto phonemes, like ə, do not occur in Spanish at all and some Spanish phonemes, like f, are wholly lacking in Kamarakoto.

The Kamarakoto language is characterized phonetically by its relatively vocalic character. It is rich in vowels, including a whole series of central vowels that are particularly foreign to the Spanish ear, and most of the vowels produce shades and intergradations that are practically innumerable. Long successions of vowels and semivowels occur, as in the word woiwo which has no true consonants and is a succession of five distinct vowels and semivowels together with several intermediate gliding vowel sounds not written in broad transcription. There are relatively few really distinct consonant phonemes and successive consonants are rare and confined to a very few simple groups; for instance, such combinations as st, pr, bl, etc., so common in Spanish and most other European languages, are wholly absent in Kamarakoto. Like many other Indian languages, Kamarakoto is especially poor in pure fricatives. Several phonemes have fricative members or are transitional to fricatives, but there is no phoneme that is always and purely fricative. Unlike many, perhaps the majority of, Indian languages, Kamarakoto does not have a finely subdivided system of gutturals but has only two definite post-alveolar stop phonemes, one plosive (k-g) and the other non-plosive (ʔ). Intonation is peculiar and striking because of the shortening and strong stressing of virtually all final syllables.

104 Transcription. For present purposes it has been most practical to use a broad transcription, one in which each symbol represents a sound or a group of sounds which are for the Indians themselves members of a single phonetic unit, that is, belong to one phoneme. The only exceptions are the symbols g, ts, and l, which are respectively members of the k, s, and r phonemes but which are here distinguished for reasons given below. The symbols used are essentially those of the broad (or "simple") system of the American Anthropological Association,[9] which has the advantages of previous wide use for Indian languages and of requiring few symbols not found in all ordinary type fonts — for Kamarakoto only two, ɛ and ə, are necessary. Of course most of these symbols require special definition for adaptation to this particular language. The only definite departions from the A. A. A. broad system are the use of a period (.) to separate non-diphthongal vowel combinations, as in the A. A. A. narrow system, the use of ʔ to represent a non-plosive stop for which the system makes no provision, and the use of ch to represent a sound essentially like Spanish ch. The system has the important advantage that Indian words so written are generally recognizable if pronounced in the Spanish manner.[10]

9, 10 [see footnotes on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 128 Although the fact is well known it should be added that different speakers or the same speaker at different times will often say the same word in distinctly different ways. It would be possible to write many or all of these Indian words in some other way and still to have them as nearly "correct" as they are here. I can only say that, given the definitions of my symbols, I have heard each word pronounced by a native about or exactly as I write it and that I believe these to be the "standard" or "received" Kamarakoto pronunciations as spoken in and immediately near Kamarata. As a practical test, I could read over my transcriptions of Indian expressions after the auditory memory of them was vague or lost and the Indians invariably understood them easily, even though they occasionally corrected slight shades of sound.

194

Vowels.

Simple vowels. The nine vowel phonemes definitely distinguished may be represented as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ü	u
Half-close	e	ə	
Half-open	ɛ	ö	
Open		a	o

i, u, and a are essentially as in Spanish.

e is about as in Spanish, except that in Spanish it includes members that approach ɛ, which is a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto. ɛ is a more open and slightly more posterior sound than e, similar to the English e as in "pen." e and ɛ intergrade in Kamarakoto, a fact charted by inserting a line between them,[11] but their principal members are quite distinct.

a is similar to Spanish a but is an open intermediate vowel resembling the non-Spanish ö but more open. It sometimes differs from o (or also from ö) rather by a more open, less rounded lip position than by a decided difference in tongue position.

The greatest peculiarity of the Kamarakoto vocalic system, especially in comparison with Spanish, is its possession of a series of distinct central vowels, whereas practically all the Spanish vowels are near or on the anterior and posterior sides of the vowel triangle. I have been able to distinguish three

11 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analysis]

194 fairly distinct central vowel phonemes in Kamarakoto and represent them by ü, ə, and ö.

ü, which resembles German ü without being identical, is in almost every respect intermediate between i and u and may be adequately reproduced by moving lips, jaw, and tongue half-way from i to u and then vibrating the vocal chords. Subsidiary members of the phoneme grade into i and into u and sounds practically indistinguishable from these two may appear in a ü - diaphone. Thus the word usually pronounced o. ina is also pronounced o. üna and the word usually pronounced təpüi is also pronounced nearly (although not quite) təpui.

ə is the so-called neutral vowel, about like French e in such words as "de" or "le." It also resembles the neutral sound to which unstressed short English vowels tend to degenerate; e.g. a as in "along," e in "pavement," i in "horrible," o in "method," or u in "chorus," but in Kamarakoto it is more definite and distinct and is often stressed.[12] It is sharply unlike the Spanish e and does not grade into it noticeably.

ö grades into ə and the two are often difficult to distinguish, but I believe them to be separate phonemes. ö is similar to, but not the same as, German ö or French eu and is intermediate in position between ə and a, sometimes with greater protrusion of the lips than in either of these.

The fact that ü, ə, and ö do not occur in Spanish and that there is no specific spelling for ə in English has made the transcription of Indian words and names containing them very difficult and variable. ü has usually been written as u and ə as e, for instance the common geographic word təpüi ("mountain") is usually written "tepui" or "tepuy." As regards the ü this is a fair approximation, but e is a very poor approximation of ə, in fact a very short u, although equally incorrect, is acoustically nearer ə (to my ear) than is e and the spelling "tupuy," pronounced as if Spanish, is at least as good an approximation as is "tepui" or "tepuy." Variants of the sound here written ö have usually been recorded as o, but sometimes as e and sometimes as a. If only Spanish vowels are to be used, a is generally the closest acoustically, but not always — for instance the diphthong öi is very unlike Spanish ai and is better rendered as oi or ui. On a later page I have suggested Spanish spellings for some of the geographic names in the territory of this tribe.

Diphthongs. The following diphthongs were definitely recorded:

au ai
ei
eu öi > oi
üi

12 [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Of the other possible diphthongs in -i or -u, no close approach to ou, ōu ȯu, or uu was heard and it is probable that in these combinations the two vowels are too much alike to be spoken as distinctly separate elements although they may appear vaguely as a result of glides that are not real phonemes. As in most languages, iu does not form a falling diphthong but becomes a rising diphthong or semivowel + vowel, yu. Something very near ɛu is often heard, but usually it is closer to eu and is probably not a separate phoneme. Perhaps the -u tends to draw ɛ closer to e and in any case the two, if they are really both present, are practically indistinguishable acoustically and do not appear to be distinguished by the Indians. The same is true of ɛi as against ei. ui was not recorded as separate phoneme, although approximations of it appear within a üi - diaphone. If ui can properly be said to occur at all, the -i has probably drawn the u- forward so as to be practically indistinguishable from ü.[13] It is highly probable that əi occurs, but ə and ō are usually difficult to distinguish and in this combination I found it impossible to do so with any consistency. The whole range of sounds around əi and ōi is recorded as ōi. I could not determine that the Indians themselves consciously differentiate the two.

The diphthongs in -u and -i are all falling. Whether or not rising diphthongs occur is purely a matter of definition. The sounds here written wa, ya, etc. could be considered as rising diphthongs and written ua, ia, etc. It is, [104] however, more usual phonetic practice and is more nearly self-explanatory to consider these combinations as semivowel + vowel and I have so written them.[14]

Unless a few syllables like wai be so considered, there are no triphthongs.

Successive vowels. Successive vowels in Kamarakoto are rare, tending to run into diphthongs or to become separated by semivowels, but they do occur. Thus the word o.ina is clearly three, not two, syllables, o-i-na, not oi-na, a separation here indicated by a period between the non-diphthongized vowels. Its diaphone o.ünа also has successive vowels and a diphthongized variant of this word was not heard among the Kamarakotos.[15]

Similarly the word usually pronounced ita.i occasionally becomes itai. The difficulty of pronouncing such a word without diphthongizing is interestingly illustrated by the fact that a child attempting to say ita.i consistently produced it as itoyi, apparently realizing that a.i is not the same as ai but unable to pronounce successive a and i. The tendency here shown, toward separating successive vowels by a semivowel, is fairly general in the language and perhaps explains why successive vowels are so rare. Thus po.inga is also pronounced poyinga, and a shadowy semivowel y often occurs in such a position.

This difficulty appears to be less when the second vowel is one other than i. Thus such combinations as o:apa or ko.atai show less tendency toward insertion of a semivowel, although even here a very fleeting w-like sound may be present between o and a.

13, 14, 15 [see footnotes on pp. 306-07, category 116 - Analyst]

194 Sometimes the distinction between successive vowels and diphthong or semivowel + vowel is so little as to be really subjective. For instance in the word lue the u is longer and more vocalic than the usual w but shorter and less vocalic than the usual u. The sound actually heard could about equally well be represented by lu.e, lue, or lwe (and also about equally well by ru.e, rue, and rwe). Similarly there are a few words like mausa, which is hardly different from ma.usa because the u is longer than it usually is in a diphthong but shorter than it usually is as a simple vowel. This is only likely to occur when the u is the penultimate vowel.

Double vowels, as distinct from merely long vowels, seem to be very rare but I have recorded one instance, in the word o.olori, which is not pronounced ōlori (nor oulori, wolori, etc.).[16]

Vowel quantity. Something has already been suggested of vowel quantity as it affects diphthongs and successive vowels. All vowels vary greatly in quantity, but most of the variations are nonfunctional, related to phonetic surroundings, speed of speech, and similar factors rather than approaching the status of phonemes. In most words the last vowel is relatively short, the penultimate vowel longer, and preceding vowels intermediate in length between these two. Thus in such an average word as Kumasa the relative vowel quantities are:

1. u — medium.
2. a — moderately long.
3. a — short, stressed.

Frequently a word pronounced out of context will have all the vowels somewhat lengthened for distinctness and the penultimate disproportionately so.

In words that follow this rule, which includes most of those recorded, no special indication of length is given. In some words, however, the penultimate vowel is still longer, this relative length is retained regardless of style of speech, the acoustic effect of the accent of the word is thus definitely altered, and the word may be unrecognizable or may sound decidedly wrong if the penultimate vowel is given only normal length. In these cases, then, the long vowels [104] achieve the status of true phonemes and (in accordance with both A. A. A. and International systems) I indicate them by placing a colon after the vowel, e.g. amartu, in which the relative quantities are:

1. a — medium.
2. a: — very long.
3. u — short, stressed.

Such long vowels are very rare except in the penultimate syllable, but do occur elsewhere in exceptional words, e.g. in o:apa in which the quantities are:

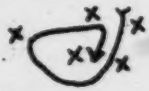
1. o: — long.
2. a — very short.
3. a — short.

16 [see footnote on p. 307, category 11b - Analyst]

194 This is so exceptional phonetically that the penultimate a should perhaps be considered as incidental to the glide from œ- to -pa rather than as functionally syllabic, but the word is unrecognizable to the Indians if pronounced œpa.

It goes almost without saying that supershort vowels (and continuant consonants) commonly appear in glides between many other sounds. Since these are practically physiological necessities in a continuous speech-act and have no linguistic function, they are not written in broad transcriptions like this unless (as in the exceptional œapa) they become so pronounced that they do acquire some linguistic value.

The word woiwo, already mentioned as peculiar, is interesting in connection with vowel quantities and glides. It might be described as a continuous vowel sound during which the raised part of the tongue goes through a closed, rounded, triangular path, thus:



— moving continuously but slowing down differently at the various points marked x. The result could be expressed thus:

u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — moderately long (pronounced slowing).
ə — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
i — short (brief slowing).
ü — supershort (continuous movement, no slowing).
u — very short (very brief slowing).
o — short, stressed (movement slows briefly and then ceases abruptly).

How such a sequence should be divided into syllables and what status should be given to its sounds is largely subjective. The sort of transcription used has shown the five points at which slowing occurs, w, o, i, w, and o, shows that this is definitely shorter at the first and fourth slowings, w and w, than at the others, and shows that it is shorter at the third than at the second. These are enough data for the correct pronunciation of the word without attempting to represent its more subtle glides, etc.

Consonants.

Many of the Kamarakoto consonant phonemes do not fall categorically into the usual phonetic classifications. Thus the b - phoneme includes both a plosive stop and a (nearly stopped) fricative, s includes both a fricative and an affricative, k includes both surd and sonant members, ʔ is a stop but is not plosive ("stop" and "plosive" often being used as if synonymous), etc.

194 As nearly as these peculiarities permit formal classification, the Kamarakoto consonants are as follows:

	Stops and Semistops			Fricative-Affricatives	Nasals		Flaps[17]	Semi-vowels
	Pricative-plosive	Plosive	Non-plosive		Short	Long		
Bilabial	b	p	—	(b)	m	—	—	w
Dental-alveolar	d	t	—	s-ts	n	nn	—	(y)
Palatal	—	—	—	ch	ñ	ññ	r-l	y
Palato-velar	—	k-g	'	—	(n)	—	—	—

17 [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 - Analyst]

194 There do not appear to be any consonant phonemes in Kamarakoto that are distinguished only or mainly by being sonant or surd. -ts and ch are always surd; p, t, and k-g have their principal members surd but also include semi-sonant or sonant members. The other phonemes are practically always sonant.

Counting long nasals as distinct phonemes and counting b, k-g, n, r, and y as single phonemes (which I believe to be correct although some of these may possibly include two phonemes), there are fifteen consonants in Kamarakoto. Each of these is more exactly defined below.

b. —In Kamarakoto there is an almost continuous series of sounds from u to p and it is difficult to draw definite boundaries between phonemes in this series. w is a much shortened and somewhat relaxed u. When the lip-rounding is fully relaxed, w becomes a sort of bilabial v which is not a distinct phoneme in Kamarakoto but is approached by a relatively open b. In the typical pronunciation of b the lips are brought together, but without any muscular pressure, so that some breath does escape, producing a sound intermediate between fricative and a plosive. If no breath happens to escape, a weak plosive b is produced. As both the muscular lip tension and the breath-pressure are increased, this sound becomes stronger and becomes a sonant, bilabial, plosive fortis (a sound not clearly developed in either Spanish or English and only a rare variant in Kamarakoto). Now as the tension of the vocal chords is relaxed, this sound becomes semisonant and then surd and in the latter case is a typical p. As in English and Spanish, the relaxation of the vocal chords usually accompanies the tensing of the other organs of speech, but the overlap is more extensive and different so that a variant sound that might be described as a dull, b-like p does occur.

Within this series, the principal member of the b - phoneme has the lips brought together but fully relaxed, so that there is usually some escape of breath and the sound is partly a fricative and partly lenis plosive. Other members of the phoneme, less often heard, are close approaches to true bilabial v and to true plosive b. At the latter point I am not sure that I have always drawn the line correctly between this phoneme and the p - phoneme, but in most cases they are distinct.[18]

p. — The principal member of the p - phoneme is a surd, bilabial, plosive fortis, essentially as in Spanish or English. Only when it becomes somewhat sonant or somewhat lenis, as it occasionally does, is confusion with b likely.

d. — The relationship between d and t in Kamarakoto is exactly analogous to that between b and p. In the principal member of the d - phoneme the stop, here made between the blade of the tongue and the dental and alveolar parts of the front of the mouth, is loose and usually some air escapes giving the sound a fricative element. This is very like Spanish d in such words as "merced," but in Kamarakoto it may be initial and is never terminal. Less

18 [see footnote on p. 307, category 116 — Analyst]

194 common variant members of the phoneme are more open, producing an approach to English sonant th as in "this," or fully closed, producing the typical plosive d.[19]

t. — The principal member of the t - phoneme is almost as in Spanish, but these appear to be semisonant, and possibly even fully sonant, variant members. The stop is complete so that the sound is a non-fricative plosive, generally fortis.

k-g. — An incompletely stopped palatal or velar plosive was not heard.[20] The principal member of the phoneme is a true plosive k with various position variants conditioned by the surrounding vowels and, unlike those of many Indian languages, not distinguished as separate phonemes. The differences in acoustic effect are insignificant. There is, however, a plosive g-sound in the language, which sounds quite different from the k to Spanish- or English-adapted ears. It is not distinguished from k by the Indians and almost invariably occurs under special phonetic conditions where k is unusual, i.e. after nasals and before w.[21] It must therefore be regarded as a member of the k - phoneme. I have nevertheless departed from broad transcription to the extent of using g when the sound was normally and distinctly voiced. Spanish- and English-speaking readers will thus achieve a better pronunciation of the words and no confusion will result if they remember that this g is merely a voiced k.

[104]

'. — One of the most typical characteristics of the Kamarakoto language is the existence of a sound produced by bringing the tongue into contact with the nearest part of the roof of the mouth and then relaxing the vocal chords and releasing the breath pressure so that the subsequent opening of the stop is practically inaudible. It thus differs essentially from k in which the sound is chiefly produced by the opening of the stop, that is, is plosive. ' is a stop that is not plosive. The exact position in which the stop is produced varies from velar to anterior palatal, but this is determined by the position of the preceding vowel and is not a difference in phonemes. After a posterior vowel, such as a, ' produces an acoustic effect something like a completely unaspirated k and after an anterior vowel, notably i, the effect is that of a similarly unaspirated t, or, more accurately, they are rather like completely voiceless g and d, respectively.[22]

This sound only occurs after vowels and is hardly ever heard except at the end of a word. Sometimes it is retained in compounds but often it is then weakened or lost, depending on the degree of fusion attained by the compound. Thus in enwarapaima the ' of enwara' is lost, but in maicha'-ya the ' of maicha' is retained. It may appear in weak form after any terminal vowel (except those that are or can be nasalized, see below), but I have written it only when it is normally strong and distinct and is felt to be an essential element in the word.

19, 20, 21, 22 [see footnotes on pp. 307-08, — Analyst]
category 116

194 I have considered this sound as a phoneme, and certainly many words cannot be correctly pronounced unless it is indicated, but I suspect that it is a secondary phonetic phenomenon not quite analogous to the other stops. It probably arises from the strongly stressed but at the same time short nature of final vowels in Kamarakoto, as a means of quickly and definitively shutting off a short, sharp vowel. Indeed the sound may readily be obtained by attempting to pronounce a vowel as forcefully as possible and at the same time to stop it with the tongue as quickly as possible.[23]

The symbol ʔ is usually used for the glottal stop, but it is convenient to borrow it for this analogous and acoustically somewhat similar palato-velar stop.

s-ts. — The Kamarakoto s resembles that of Spanish but is still stronger. It is always surd and is a very strong, decisive hiss. The enunciation is so forceful that the tongue is brought nearly into contact with the roof of the mouth, opening again as it slides into the following vowel. This grades naturally into a sound in which the tongue does actually touch for the briefest instant, producing an affricative ts.[24] This affricative or transitional fricative-affricative ts is not a separate phoneme in Kamarakoto but is only an s still stronger than usual, as is well shown by the fact that s and ts are often interchangeable, even within this dialect, and that the Indians do not distinguish them. Thus the word usually pronounced motsa is also sometimes pronounced mosa and in some related dialects is always mosa. I have written ts when it is clearly present and relatively constant, a departure from broad transcription but one that permits better pronunciation of the Kamarakoto words without undue complexity of symbols.

ch. — The sound so represented is a strong affricative practically the same as Spanish ch or as English ch in "church." In its variation it sometimes approaches ts, but is usually quite distinct.[25]

ch is a poor symbol for this sound from an international point of view, but it conveys it immediately to Spanish- or English-speaking readers. The A. A. A. symbol, tc, conveys an incorrect idea to anyone not constantly concerned with that system, and the International Phonetic symbol requires special type.

Since ch has the same relationship to English sh as in "English" that ts has to s, it might be expected that sh would be the principal member of this phoneme as s is of the s-ts phoneme. In fact sh is a common diaphone in related languages, compare, for example Kamarakoto chayu = Taurepán shu:yu, panachika = pana:shika,[26] etc., but I did not hear any Kamarakoto pronounce ch without a distinct initial close, however brief.

m. — This is the ordinary sonant bilabial nasal and offers no noteworthy peculiarities aside from the tendency for the voicing to cause progressive similitude, i.e. a following p or t tends to become partly or almost fully voiced and to resemble or even to be indistinguishable from b or d, respectively.

23, 24, 25, 26 [see footnotes on p. 308, category 11b – Analyst]

194 n. — The usual n is similar to the usual voiced alveolar nasal of European languages, varying somewhat in position under the influence of surrounding sounds. The voicing is generally very full and, as with m, tends to be progressive so that fully surd p or t are rare after n.

In certain fixed positions, n becomes partly or fully velar, almost like English ng in "sing." (As in Kamarakoto, this sound is not a separate phoneme in Spanish but it does occur, being present, not always fully developed, in such words as "brinca," "banco," "tengo," etc.). n in Kamarakoto is always somewhat velarized before k-g (which is usually nearer g in this combination) and w and also when it is final. Since this sound is essentially invariable in these positions and clearly belongs to the n - phoneme, it is not written with a special symbol.

Terminal - n is always velarized but the degree varies. In some cases the sound is nearly that of alveolar n with very slight velarization and in others the velarization is complete. The sound may also be reduced so that it amounts only to a brief nasalization of the end of the preceding vowel or may even be almost inaudible. The variations are individual or developed by the context and do not, strictly speaking, represent distinct members of the n - phoneme, still less separate phonemes but belong in a diaphone with the velar member of the n - phoneme. A recognizable and valid pronunciation will be produced if terminal n is always pronounced as a velar.

n:. — There are a few words in the language, like ben:ɛ (cf. the quite distinct word bene) which contain a functional long nasal recognized by the Indians themselves as unlike the short sound. This should therefore probably be considered a separate phoneme although it is merely a prolongation of n.

ñ. — This is a distinct palatal n or n - mouillé, acoustically indistinguishable from Spanish ñ. It is less variable than n, apparently never being distinctly reduced or velarized.

ñ:. — There is a rare long palatal n, or ñ, as in ñ:amoro, which is acoustically well distinguished from ñ and may be a separate phoneme. It sounds much like nñ, but analysis shows that the prolonged first part is really palatal, as in ñ, and not alveolar, as in n. It has, however, probably arisen from n+ñ.

r-l. — Sounds generally transcribed as r and l belong to a single phoneme in Kamarakoto. The principal member of this phoneme is a flapped r, resembling the Spanish flapped r, as in "era," and the British (not American) flapped r as in "very."[27] It is very unlike the trilled or fricative r's, as in Spanish rr or initial r or English r in "ready," and still less like the uvular or so-called guttural forms general in French and German.[28] Despite this decided difference from various sounds commonly written r in European languages, the close resemblance to the common flapped Spanish r makes this a good symbol for the principal member of this phoneme.

27, 28 [see foot notes on p. 308, category 116 - Analyst]

194 It is, however, typical of the phoneme that the sides of the middle and back of the tongue are generally less tense than in the Spanish r, with the result that there may be some lateral opening and the sound then becomes a flapped (non-continuant) l. This is especially likely to occur when the following sound is posterior.[29] For instance the initial consonant of the geographic name Lnepa belongs to the r - phoneme (and some missionaries, for instance, do write it Rnepa, which is technically correct broad transcription), but the Kamarakotos, at least, always pronounce it with some lateral opening so that the acoustic effect is nearer l than r. Indeed it is almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to pronounce r without lateral opening before a very short u or w. This can be done before a longer u, e.g. in Karume, but even here there frequently appears an audible down-glide after the r.

Before a distinct, non-gliding e the sound is generally a fairly pure r, e.g. aka:re.

It is, however, difficult to sum up these position variants in any simple rule and there are other cases for which I detect no rule. For this reason and because the acoustic effect of the two may be so different, at least to the non-Indian ear, I have departed from broad transcription to the extent of writing l when the lateral opening was essentially constant and made a strong acoustic effect, using r when the lateral opening was absent, highly variable, or so slight as to produce little acoustic effect.

w: — This is the bilabial, non-fricative semivowel, essentially as in English, and unlike the usual Spanish pronunciation of the foreign letter w, which is usually fricative, as in German. The sound does occur in Spanish, e.g. it is almost the same as the initial semivowel in "hueso." In Kamarakoto similar but fricative sounds appear invariably to belong to the phoneme b, not w. The sound differs from u principally in length, being shorter than the shortest independent vocalic u, but also in tensity, generally being more relaxed. Especially after consonants, it could be considered a supershort u, but transcription is considerably simplified if it is always represented as w. The phoneme is clearly different from that of vocalic u.[30]

y. — The phoneme here represented by y is one of the most variable in Kamarakoto, grading into a supershort i - glide at one extreme and into an affricative not far from English j as in "judge" at the other. The principal member of the phoneme is pronounced in about the position of English y in "yield" or Spanish y in "yegua," but the position of the tongue is closer and the exhalation of the breath stronger so that the sound has a slight fricative quality, verging on the French j of "je" or English z of "asure." This sound does not occur in standard Spanish, but is a frequent colloquial pronunciation
[171] of y and ll. In colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, ll has almost exactly the sound of a typical Kamarakoto y.[31]

29, 30, 31 [see footnotes on pp. 308-09, category 116 - Analyst]

Especially when it may be regarded as instrusive and is glide-like, as in poyinga,[32] the y may be a non-fricative semivowel, but it is impossible to set this aside as a separate phoneme. Once the y appears, even as an intrusion, it tends to become fricative and even the truly consonantal semi-fricative y varies greatly in the strength of the fricative element.

Some idea of the variation within this protean phoneme may be illustrated by the word yɛʔ, "tree." Pronounced by itself, the word begins with a fairly clear, almost non-fricative y. In compounds, which are very numerous, it usually is strongly fricative, becoming nearly -zɛʔ (z as in English "asure"). From this, the normal pronunciation in compounds, arises a (rather imperfect) affricative and the pronunciation is nearly -dzɛʔ (dz like j and g in English "judge"), e.g. tsimara-ozɛʔ, also pronounced simara-zɛʔ. Finally in a few cases the closure approached in the last form predominates over the sibilant fricative sound and the acoustic impression is that of a vague and not quite stopped palatal or somewhat mouillé d, e.g. paunɛ-dɛʔ (d as just explained). Close transcription would require six or seven symbols for this one phoneme. As is proper in broad transcription, I have used only one and always write it y. If it is always pronounced as its principal member, described above, it will always be understood and will seldom sound definitely wrong to an Indian.

Successive consonants. It is typical of Kamarakoto that successive consonants are rare and belong to only three simple types:

1. Nasal+stop: saunampa
   mõmbə
   nungə
   pendə
   yentsi[33]
2. r+ nasal or stop: karmaiha
   parpari
3. Nasal, r, or stop+w (which could in such cases be considered a supershort vowel and hence not a successive consonant):
   sanwoto (n velarized)
   kan. wa (n not velarized)[34]
   yurwa
   kwai=gwai

Combinations of types (1) and (3) give rise to the very rare cases of three successive consonants, e.g. kambwõ.

The absence of combinations like pr, tr, st, sp, bl, skr, spl, etc., so common in European languages, is striking and complete.[35]

Occasionally word- or phrase- building brings ʔ before a consonant. In this case it is usually weakened and may disappear altogether but it is occasionally retained, e.g. maichaʔ-ya. None of the other stops can occur in such a position, even in successive words.

32, 33, 34, 35 [see footnotes on p. 389, category 11b — Analysis]

Stress and Intonation.

194 The numerous peculiarities of individual sounds and of successive vowels and consonants, already mentioned, in themselves produce a phonetic type clearly unlike any European language and also differing from most Indian languages.

Equally striking, especially when hearing the language spoken in consecutive phrases, is the effect of its peculiar stress and intonation. Without important exception, Kamarakoto words have a single, strong stress which falls on the last syllable. This syllable is always short, but it is clearly enunciated and emphatic. The last vowels of words spoken alone, of important words in connected speech, and of words ending sense-groups are almost invariably spoken with a rising tone, making a very peculiar effect on the non-Indian ear, almost as if everything said were questioned. The terminal stress is not marked in my transcription because it may be assumed to be present in all cases. In writing names, etc., in a European language context, however, it is well to write an accent on the last vowel of most Kamarakoto words, thus Karoni should be written "Caroní" in general usage.[36]

An apparent but not real exception arises in the cases of words, like ama:tu, with very long penultimate vowels. Then the prominence of this vowel is, to our ears, about as great as that of the terminal vowel, but the prominence has a different cause. The penultimate vowel in such cases is long but unstressed, the ultimate is short but stressed. Since accent in Spanish and English is generally based on coincident length and stress, in these words the ear is often baffled as to which vowel really carries the accent.

When words are compounded, the original stress may be retained, weakened, or lost, and I have detected no fixed rule for this except that it seems to be roughly in universe ratio to the degree of fusion of sense involved. When the stress is strongly retained, or fusion is clearly incomplete, I have written the word with a hyphen. Thus in tuna-wapai, (coming out) "from the water," the stressed -a of tuna, "water," is retained. The postposition wapai is a separate speech unit (analogous to a preposition) and could be written as a separate word. But yeteka, "(he) is dying, dies," loses its stress in yetekasa, "(he) has died, is dead." Here the added syllable fuses and the whole thing is essentially a new word with a new single stress.

It may be added here that Kamarakoto words can only end in vowels, ʔ, or (velar) -n.[37] Any of the vowels and of the diphthongs in -i can be terminal, but terminal diphthongs in -u are extremely rare (although not quite lacking.) Any of the vowels can be followed in terminal position by ʔ or -n and terminal ʔ is common after -i diphthongs, but -n was not noted after these.[38]

36, 37, 38 [see footnotes on p. 310, category 116 -Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
826
● [194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena, (it)e:nya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative, ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareõ-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawaɨn
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aung:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumɵta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pɵta -pipɵ, in which pɵta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 single word spoken by a Kamarakoto, although both speak Carib languages, and Kamarakotos and Maquiritares cannot converse with each other although their languages are relatively closely allied. In addition to these divisions which may be called languages, there are innumerable minor or local dialects; doubtless several hundred have existed within historic times although most of them have not been and never will be exactly defined and characterized. Every gradation exists from purely individual differences of speech to differences so great that only close study reveals any affinity.

Within this great complex the Kamarakoto dialect can be placed with some precision. Its linguistic affinities are fairly well defined by its geographic position although not fully so. Kamarakoto is geographically about as close to Maquiritare as to Makuchi, but its affinities are much closer to the latter than to the former. This may be adequately summed up by saying that Kamarakoto's affinities are mainly with dialects spoken to the east and southeast and that in a general way the affinities become more distant in that direction with greater geographic separation.[90]

Among well known dialects, Kamarakoto is obviously most nearly related to Taurepán as is conclusively shown by the preceding vocabulary and grammatical sketch. The relationship is so close that Kamarakotos and Taurepánes can converse with relative ease,[91] although it is by no means an identity. The Kamarakoto accent is recognizably different and even words of common origin are often pronounced differently in Taurepán and Kamarakoto. Sufficient examples have been given. Some of the general phonetic tendencies are as follows:

*197 ● 194

The Kamarakotos tend to pronounce more clearly and more forceably, their fricatives often are closer and their stops more plosive. Kamarakoto open b is often w in Taurepán, Kamarakoto ts Taurepán s, etc.

Taurepán seems, nevertheless, to have more internal non-plosive stops, _, than Kamarakoto. This also may be part of the somewhat slurred Taurepán pronunciation; for instance, in at least some cases the obscure internal in Taurepán is equivalent to a clear plosive in Kamarakoto.

Kamarakoto tends to have diphthongs, especially when terminal, where Taurepán often has simple vowels, perhaps also a reduction caused by the less clear Taurepán enunciation.

As nearly as one word can, the Kamarakoto tien-ak mūi = Taurepán yenegam. shows these tendencies.

Very close transcription would show that most words are pronounced differently in Kamarakoto and in Taurepán even when they can be written in the same way in broad transcription.

*197 192

There are furthermore numerous cases in which the Kamarakoto word is from the same root as the Taurepán but is a distinctly different derivative, e.g. Kamarakoto abakaparu = Taurepán wakau, and numerous other examples in the

90, 91 [see footnotes on p. 317, category 116 - Analysis]

101 5. They[2] were, and still are, called Guaicas in some accounts and of course have nothing to do with the non-Carib Guaicas or Waikas at the sources of the Orinoco.

114 6. Koch-Grünberg's "Arekuna" vocabulary, of unspecified origin, is
101 not Kamarakoto, as might be expected from his belief that the Kamarakotos were, but the Taurepanes were not, Arekunas.

114 7. I do not mean by this to detract from the very great credit attaching to their work. It is certain that all recent scientific achievements in the region are due directly to Angel's leading the way to it. Some controversy about other details and antecedents has arisen but this is not pertinent to the present subject and I do not propose to discuss it beyond the statements already made, which are hardly subject to question.

177 8. But many such objects do have native names, which are transferred
192 if the imported article merely replaces a native one, e.g. "bead," "knife," etc.

113 9. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXVI, No. 6, 1916.

104 10. Remembering that all words should be pronounced with a terminal accent, not written here, and that w should be pronounced as a semivowel and not like v.

● 194 11. As a matter of fact all the Kamarakoto vowels intergrade more or less with their neighbors in the chart, i with e, ü with ə, a with ɔ̄ and o, etc., but the transitions marked by lines in the chart are the most common and noticeable.

12. In British, but not in Standard American, English a similar stressed sound may be produced by degeneration of a following r, e.g., in the British pronunciation of "sir," but this vowel is usually longer than its Kamarakoto analogue.

13. oi is recorded as separate, but it, too, tends to less extent to be drawn forward and to approximate ɔ̄i.

[104] 14. In Spanish orthography ua, is preferable to wa, and ia is acceptable for ya, but in this case it has seemed to me less confusing to follow more international usage.

[2] [i.e. the Acawai – Andyrt]

194 197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bi-syllabic. Among them o.ūna was also recorded but ō.ina and ōina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worūwori and wōrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[128] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word tsigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai — upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ' is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

●194 character and its status as a separate phoneme seems to me to be conclusively established by the fact that when word- and phrase-building bring it into a phonetic position where d, t, k, and g can occur, which often happens, it never becomes one of those sounds but retains its own character or disappears altogether.

23. In many languages an analogous effect is produced by a glottal stop which may be heard even in English words like "no" when pronounced very quickly and decisively. The effect is the same but the means are different.

24. Most conveniently so written, but unlike the combination of a plosive t + s, which does not occur in Kamarakoto.

25. I suspect that some travelers, familiar with ch and not with affricative ts, have mistaken the latter for the former, but to one conscious of the distinction they are usually readily separable.

26. In the Kamarakoto word, contrary to rule, the penultimate vowel is short so that the relative vowel quantities are: 1, a — short; 2, a — slightly longer; 3, i — short; 4, a — short. This is similar to the abnormal long a: in the Taurepán word. The normal shortness (or inconspicuousness) of the i — vowels sometimes produces such anomalies in Kamarakoto and allied languages (but a long i, i:, does occur).

27. This sound is absent in American English and is not invariable in British English. Americans always and British often use fricative r even in words like "very." To the American ear the flapped r sounds like a dull d.

28. To such an extent that it would hardly occur to a German to represent this Indian sound by r and, for instance, Koch-Grünberg almost invariably writes it l. E.g. he writes "Taulipang" for the tribal name now standardized in Spanish as "Taurepán." The actual pronunciation is between these two.

29. The same thing is true of flapped "r" in a number of Spanish colloquial dialects. For instance Venezuelan peones commonly say "reflán" for "refrán." This makes r for the Kamarakoto phoneme a still better symbol for Spanish readers.

30. But, as already mentioned, this sound, never occurring except before a vowel, could be considered as merely an element in a whole series of ascending diphthongs, wa, wo, etc. These sounds are written as diphthongs in Spanish, na, no, etc., and Spanish transcriptions of Indian words are usually so

194 written. To use n in this way here would, however, be difficult or inaccurate since it would require a different diacritical mark to distinguish the sound from n and u: and would be bad transcription because the phoneme is different from that of u. The common use in Spanish transcriptions of gu- for initial w- is still worse, since no stop analogous to that of g is really present. Moreover gw- does occur in Kamarakoto and is quite distinct from w-.

194 171 31. I do not see how this can be a case of assimilation. It is barely possible that Carib phonetics have influenced Venezuelan Spanish in this direction, but a similar ll sound can be heard among Spanish speakers (e.g. in the Argentine) whose ancestors never saw a Carib. The same is true of the special resemblance between Kamarakoto and colloquial Spanish b and r. On the other hand, it is still more incredible that Spanish should have affected Kamarakoto phonetics significantly. A generation ago no Kamarakoto knew any Spanish and only two or three of them know much now.

However this may be, Venezuelans have an understandable tendency to transcribe this Indian sound as ll, a transcription almost perfect to their ears but very misleading to almost anyone else. The sound has practically nothing in common with the Castilian ll = l mouillé.

194 32. This is merely a variant of po.inga in Kamarakoto, and comparison with other dialects shows fairly conclusively that the y is intrusive and not vestigial.

33. Not pronounced yensi. Even in Taurepán, in which s is less often affricative, this word has a definite stop.

34. This is an exceptional word, the only example I have of a completely unvelarized n before w. There is a distinct surd pause between n and w, as I indicate by . , which could also be considered as a very short surd only semisonant vowel. Sometimes this is audible as breathing and the word sounds Kanhwa. There is no aspirate phoneme in the language and this is the nearest to an independent aspirate that I heard.

35. An apparent exception is a word recorded as trapichi, but in the first place this is not a Kamarakoto word except by adoption (it is the Spanish trapiche), and the second place there is really a short neutral vowel between the t and the r — disregarding the etymology of the word it could just as well be written tərapichi (or tərabichi — the p is somewhat voiced, as often between two resonant vowels), noting that the ə is exceptionally short.

●194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mɔlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingarikó and unlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

1 [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date.

[114] Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these indi-
[825] viduals. No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hombostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

/15 cont./

114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological preoccupations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

522 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm
195 against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?

What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-pueti? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

/16 cont./

522 one took an arrow from the Indians for his tail and a fruit for
●195 a head," or now at a monkey which is running off, startled, "brother, just when I'm coming to visit, you go away," etc....

114 35. Many other manifestations of gaiety are beyond the scope of study in the short space of these little chapters. But I do not wish to end without calling attention to the poorly disguised sectarianism with which Dr. Simpson and his wife Ana Roe have tried to disparage religious ideas, by saying that they are bad for the Indians and the cause of an "anxiety" nothing less than "neurotic."

This statement, so gratuitous and tendentious, is on a par with another of the same author, in which he says that clothing creates modesty and that it is not shame that seeks clothing, and those other grammatical statements in which he says that there is no "clear distinction between nouns and adjectives" and "it is impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction as special parts of speech."

It is a pity that the doctor has put into a ragged sack the warning that he himself puts in his prologue: "In matters dealing with the much more difficult problems of social culture, my observations are by necessity less complete. The best work in this specialty requires years of residence, an absolute command of the local dialect, and the fullest confidence of the Indians. We had only a few weeks available...."

So that, inasmuch as he has on his own confessed his ignorance, I do not believe it necessary to insist upon a refutation of such an assertion.

*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

●195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, a:, a:i, etc., are often heard, also the less universal aka:, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so [153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard.[89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maichaʾ	ɛpətipə	putapun	maichaʾ	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛton	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛtseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)

a gourd bottle. He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving

wai-kɛ	morɛ -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's

him (Maichak) a gourd bottle. Then he showed him how

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retərata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[797] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

/84 cont./

the question at the head of these lines and which was asked us by no less than a university student.

It is too clear; we are so poisoned by Darwinian transformism, and the primitives have been so denigrated, that only by effort are they thought of as being endowed with reason, moral knowledge, and the faculty of language. Thus, for example, we read in the sociology text of an American university: "The vocabulary of the uncultured man is not made up of more than 300 words...: The remote origins of society is the place we must go to in order to seek out the times when man is still an animal lacking words or an incipient language."

183. On the other hand, should it come to hand, and to further lower mankind and further lower the barrier which separates us from mere animals, after having almost totally denied a language to sundry tribes, they exalt the language of the howlers or araguatos /"monkeys," "mimics"/, saying that "they talk for hours on end in the midst of a general silence, followed by a great hubbub, which ceases as soon as the orator again takes the floor." (Topinard.) We wish him good ears for such eloquent words! It is already known that T. writes from hearsay (and remote at that) and that he did not have to endure as we have the howlings of such eloquent orators but a few meters away from our hammock!

In vain do we missionaries repeat that the Indians have a well-organized language, suitable for the expression not only of matters of material life, but also those of intellectual life; time and time again do they come to us with the same questions and the same prejudices, a thousand times refuted.

197 127 184. To those who ask us how we missionaries manage to reach an understanding with the Indians, I reply that love and labor conquer all and accomplish anything. As Mons. Le Roy tells us in these words: "When a missionary goes to establish himself in an unexplored country, among a tribe which he does now know, one of the first cares is to learn the language. He may perhaps find some native interpreter; but even in such a

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Camarakoto
Taurepan

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DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

197 Carib languages and dialects have been spoken from Cuba and Central America to southern Brazil and from almost the extreme eastern end of South America to the foot of the Andes. They were not spoken in the Andes, except for the Motilones in the Perijá mountains, or west or south of Brazil. The outlying dialects are now mostly extinct or survive in isolated communities in regions predominantly of some other speech. These therefore have little interest from the present point of view. The main region where Carib languages are still the predominant or the only local idioms includes Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco (Venezuelan Guiana or, more properly, Guayana), most of British, Dutch, and French Guianas (especially their southwestern parts), and much of the contiguous parts of Brazil north of the Amazon. This constitutes what is probably the largest single mass of any one stock of Indians still retaining their own speech, organization, and customs that survives anywhere in the world.

Although the Caribs of this region all speak recognizably related tongues, just as the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italians, and Rumanians all speak Romance languages, these are differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto, spoken around Auyán-tepúi, a great mountain northwest of and somewhat similar to Roroimá,[1] and Taurepán, spoken near to and generally westward of Roroimá, are dialects of the Arekuna language (much as British and American are, properly, two dialects of the English language although the descent is not analogous). The particular interest of Arekuna is that it is, at least in some respects, archaic and that it is spoken almost in the middle of the great central 136 mass of Carib distribution. Zoölogically, also, the Arekuna area is of great interest,

[1] Or "Roraima." "Roroimá" more nearly represents the Indian pronunciation and therefore seems to me more nearly correct.

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136 occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

197 128 It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepán, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kaliña, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kaliña, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guaraní designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amazon and south to the Río de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

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Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike that of any European language and also
197 varies greatly from one dialect to another, so that any exact representation of the pronunciation is impossible without lengthy discussion and the use of many specially cast typographic symbols. Only a rough approximation, sufficiently close generally to produce a pronunciation recognizable by the Indians, is here attempted. The following remarks are based chiefly on Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but extension to other dialects will not produce unrecognizable distortion. In citing names from other authors I have transferred them into my system of transcription, as nearly as may be, instead of attempting to explain the different system used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* will be recognized if pronounced as in Spanish or Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental values.

There is a whole system of intermediate (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be correctly represented with our ordinary letters. For typographic simplicity I have represented the most essential of them by *ä*, *ë*, *ö*, and *ü*. *ä* is to be pronounced approximately like short *e* in English, i.e., about as in "met." This is quite different from the sound represented by *e* and is sharply distinguished by the Indians themselves. In many cases however, authors have not distinguished them in transcribing Indian words and in names cited from other authors the sounds given as *e* doubtless include some that are really *ä*. *ë* is near the so-called neutral vowel of English, about like the last *e* in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced in rapid speech, not with an affectedly clear pronunciation) and almost exactly like the French sound in "de" or "le." It is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like *ö*, and the best authorities (such as de Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually distinguish it, but here again some writers, especially those whose native language (particularly Spanish) includes no similar sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

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[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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Taurepan

194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 transfer between the name of a favorite
825 game animal and that of animals in gen-
197 eral. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

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CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupirisi*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepen

CHIROPTERA

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tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripai'*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*aliki* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas?*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:rë*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "perezza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

[p 5-B]

192 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and
197 gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third
825 kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremā*. Taurepán *waremā*. Makuchi (Williams) *tāma:nowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremā* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA[2]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

192 *tyla*") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually
● 197 defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or
825 both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremá* (with a root *wars* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *mu:ru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimë*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

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Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

[p. 7-A]

192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamara-
197 kotos, certainly use the same word only
825 for the spiny rats.

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mõmbẽ*. Taurepán *mõmbẽ*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulũya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pẽ* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mõmbẽ* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mõmbẽ*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mõmbẽ* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mõmbẽ*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulũya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pẽ* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsä*. Taurepán *kaikusä*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimōraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

[p. 8-B]

192 records of native nomenclature of the
197 otters are otherwise very confusing. See
825 *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of

[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the

[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in

[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

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[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p. 9-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 9-B]

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

SIRENIA

early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatē*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusaɔ̃ri*, *usaɔ̃ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usaɔ̃ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukē*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

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192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "cháchara," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

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192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga, poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga, piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[p. 10-B]

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/For information on the similarities and differences between the vocabularies of the Kamarakoto, Taulipang (Taurepan), Arecuna and other Carib-speaking groups, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 36-52, 54-71, 86-90, 92-97, and 100-105./

121 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade,
128 herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in italics (aside from obvious taxo-
[97] nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given according to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib" is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalíñas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

LANGUAGE

•197 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is [192] relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words ap- [177] ply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,[8] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia- 192 lect., the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, waila (= waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sa:yi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

Phonetics

Introduction.

194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto

8 [see footnote on p.306, category 116 — Analyst]

Vocabulary

192 Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.[39] The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192 Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those
197 of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both
128 of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192 The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and
197 occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all
114 other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly
[104] close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

39 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pg. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pg. "like an animal."

565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona tankin. "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.

566. Method, means of use — (if)etsern.

567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanston. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha' as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoi' — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karosiai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha'.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Arito.

Grammar

*193 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroiʼ or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
● 197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call amatu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wörowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	ɔtapa	ɔtəpa
	pangaiʼ	pəngaʼ
	matutu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawaʼ	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p.326, category 11b – Analyst]

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	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
	(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakaruma).
	pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pákara (basketwork purse).
Baskets.		
	waricha	waikarapə, variety chimaran.
	warakapi	(Not observed).
	(Not observed)	shimu' (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
	tsimui'	tsarambə
	soko'	soko'
	wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
	amatu	damatu
Miscellaneous.		
	tangõi'	tangõi', tenkei[160]
	akai' }	akai'
	kostaf' }	
	mõi-ɣ	mõi-ɣ
	muroi'	muroi'

*285 531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalised and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e.g. in a matutu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 — Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223]
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

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197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bisyllabic. Among them o.ũna was also recorded but õ.ina and õina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worũwori and wõrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[128] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word tsigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai — upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ʼ is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mele (= mure) as Ingarikó and unle (= -ne) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

* [i.e. ine? — Analyst]

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

● 197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawõra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigonazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katsupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
● 197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mǫda, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

● 197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[197] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

●197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 197 202 [535] Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho). The

534 171 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von [128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute [124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo- [237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. [535] It is used in some dances, notably the tuküi' (not the parichara), and, unlike [533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

● 202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

*192 805 [211] [823] 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi˥ or bekwi˥ (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakō, wakōrə. "Handsome man" — wakōr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikōyin, ikōina.

484. Cold — komi˥.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 7/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

7/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōlaːli") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 239 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʼ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingʼ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

2: Armellada--ix M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

/XI/

DEDICATION

114 These psychological-ethnographic commentaries, arising from questions that were asked me about the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana and which I could only answer through my assiduous observation of their customs and thoughts during my long stay among them and through the freedom they gave me to penetrate into the sanctuary of their souls, are dedicated paternally to the Pemón Indians themselves.

123 Not only did they answer my questions simply and let themselves be observed without suspicion, since I lived among
212 them "quasi unus ex illis"; there were those who, taught by us, answered by writing in their own language to avoid errors and so that the narration might flow naturally and spontaneously; so that in many cases I am a mere translator.

121 Although grouped with some logical order, these commentaries do not constitute a complete ethnographic study by any means; psychological observations predominate and I frequently bring into the mainstream /of my work/ proverbs of perennial philosophy and the tried statements of eminent thinkers to add flavor to my poor incubrations.

Let them, thus, go into the hands of those who love the natives as precursors and beginnings of other, vaster studies, which shall be presented to the public view under the initials E. V. I. (Estudios Venezolanos Indígenas /Venezuelan Native Studies/), should we be granted the time and means, for we live at the frontier and in the front line of the missions.

Machiques, May 1, 1946.

/XII/ /Blank page/

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
000 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
132 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation. They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[22] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel, hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[177] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic example of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized," "Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to, rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an observer can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth publishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certainly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however, that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in general, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk, have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort. It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1, 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

●222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaɔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toɔ-esaɔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeulu,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

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110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumaːsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length, [424] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[442] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [423] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im- 000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
[252] into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

*197 824 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

● [224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumiʔ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛʔ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛʔ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

[193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiʔ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛʔ, gwai-yɛʔ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛʔ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛʔ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛʔ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaʔ-yɛʔ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛʔ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

● 224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).*

[109] [see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
* [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 11b - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
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[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

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224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
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[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
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[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

411
284

Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 guns, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 177 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every
[867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise
bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys
[824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15)
is usually made of araguaney wood (urapade), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting
[224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical-
[243] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with
[237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[824] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumatsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length,
[82] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is
[23] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison
278 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the
411 amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that
[171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

● 224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

[685] [221] [224]

754 [297] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the ohõyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent toʔ-esaʔ) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [289] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [289] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

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224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[273] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[282] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

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110 [see fast note on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

157 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/53 cont./

787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space ha[illegible]o doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[829] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered taran.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [242] [423] [721] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p.320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

● 226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tximoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "bar- [824] basco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 136]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruí) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
[285] wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[252] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 137]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 19 – Barbasco Fishing.

Carrying the prepared fish-poison (ing' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

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Fig. 20 — Barbasco Fishing.
Men beating the barbasco to liberate the poison in the water.

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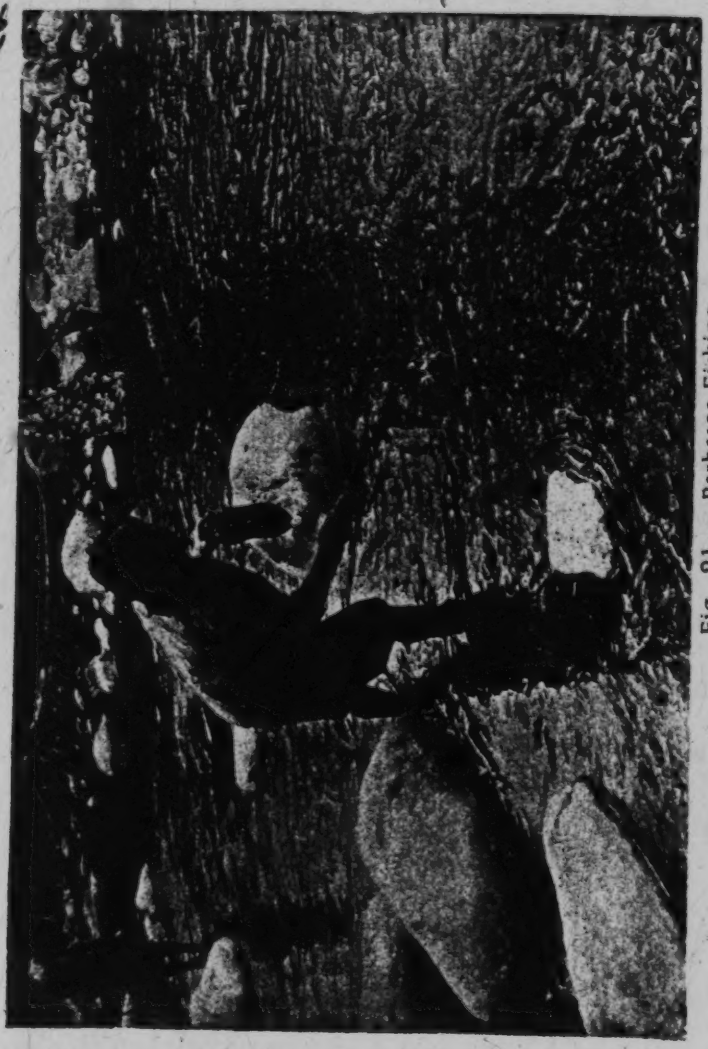

Fig. 21 — Barbasco Fishing.
Woman gathering disabled fish with a net (iru').

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29/
4/5

Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
● 226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[721] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta-ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)male (= mure) as Ingarikó and umle (= -me) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

● 226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

[1] [i.e. ine? — Analyst]

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
228 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

● 226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the inɛ' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto inɛ) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[119] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto <u>kaikara</u> is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-tamo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
411

86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pa-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, sapalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakari.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura'. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).
*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
● 227 104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ'.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru'. Taurepan, kari'. but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

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The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

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b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakoc for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulū-kulū. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kōlō-kōlō. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulū-kulū. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kūlū-kūlū). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

[177]

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to the dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and
acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and
the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said
that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are
sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which
they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name
for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently,
although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably
since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among
the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied
Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[114] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, al-
most any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for
warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere
to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these,
but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now
made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
[262] in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
[423] jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
[72] arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
[685] at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and
poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The princi-
pal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing
arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not
now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In
fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with ar-
rows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and
more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

●227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
[172] by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
[439] penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a na-
tive name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden
hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is ineʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the [476] Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 11b - Analysis]
[Text continues on p. 136]

Fig. 18 — Kamarakoto Fish Nets.
A. iru[3]. B. pendo (tied to end of pole for use).

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb [293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the [227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]
[text continues on p. 174]

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	œapa	œəpa
	pangai'	pəngai'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 11b – Analyst]

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipõlaːli") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

● 227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʼ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingʾ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 ●227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use ceapa for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hombostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 181 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

[415] [252] [262] [231]

181 155 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan. wa-pa:re.

[48] 226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

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j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nau-nau.

[172] [231] 231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171] 233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau samhola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kaliña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

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304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" = Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʔ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 [231]	kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
	kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439]	oro, woro	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
	patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapəra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
umamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulũ-kulũ	file
kõroitoko	chicken

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1]

[1 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[711] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 11b - Analysis]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 11b - Analysis]

●231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [114] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] [423] [724] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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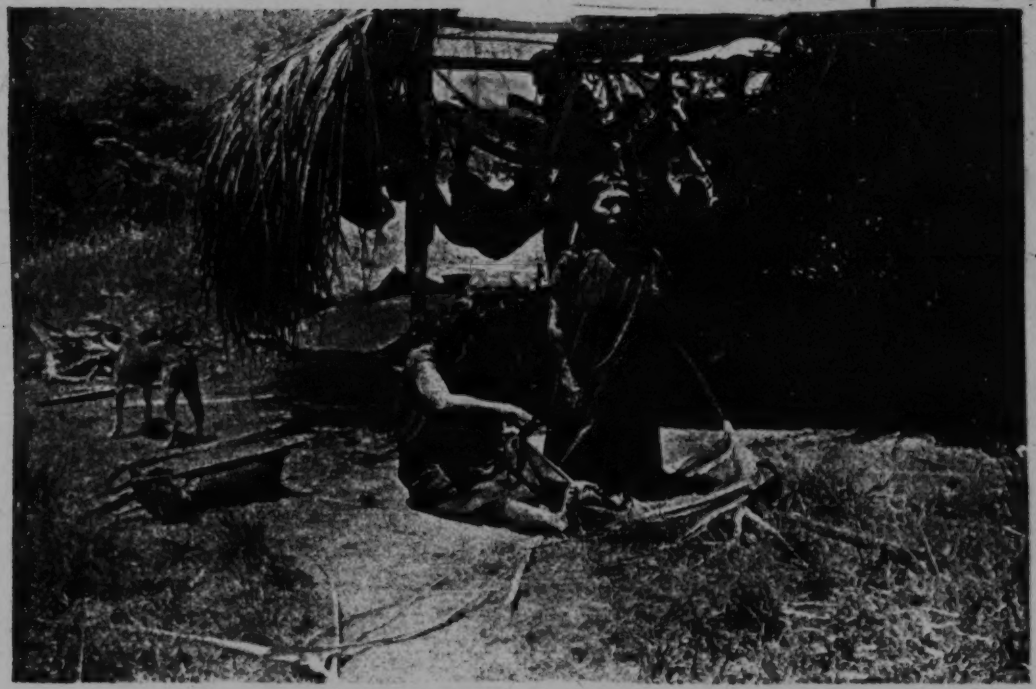

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
167b

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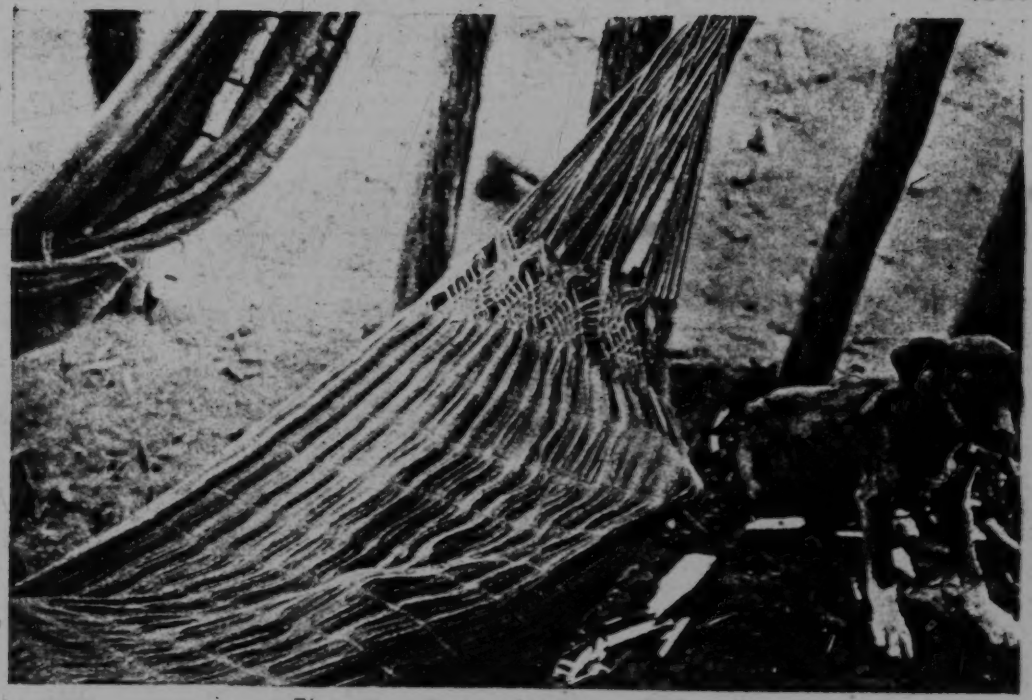

Fig. 40 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

●231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʼ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingʼ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg [114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).

[109 See footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
[see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 11b - Analyst]

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
409 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

*192 *197 291 167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (=pərai).

*192 291 177 168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291 173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[30] 175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292] 176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854] 177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293] 178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314 e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386 179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197] 180. *karōi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremę, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

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110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every
[867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys
[824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting
[224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical-
[243] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with
[237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[829] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blow-
gun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a
blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are
a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare
country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Re-
lated tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they
also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns
with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at
least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user.
A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can
easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great
length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro
and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are
made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section,
2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is
rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts
are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown,
pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably,
casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison
is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of
poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mõiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form,
from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɔ, uncoated and without a top,
is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw
of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiɔ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

301 177 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichiʔ is [237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the prega:nsa and the yaichiʔ are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasu:ru-prega:nsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 184 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. [304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.

301 304 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.

301 The most prized type of pendant, panadainoʔ, and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32 A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away [157] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

*285 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that [128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. [237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
283 by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
237 shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	œapa	œəpa
	pangai'	pəngai'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p.326, category 11b - Analyst]

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [538] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
● [237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

534 197 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[127] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tuküi' (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

● 237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ing) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

/32 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the
tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this
fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of
caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

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awa:kepalu. "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai. (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakau, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsan-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku. (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatçʔ.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timiʔ.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kōsɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kōsɛ. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlūcha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapelon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp. 315-16, category 11b - Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — tsigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaimę.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.
241 403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

[172]
[192]

404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.
405. Corn (maize) — anai?.
406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakai?
407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena
408. Large, round, red variety — paradan
409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana
410. Ovate, red variety — churu
411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupai?

*197 824 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumiʼ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

824 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛʼ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛʼ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

[193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiʼ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛʼ, gwai-yɛʼ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛʼ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛʼ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛʼ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaʼ-yɛʼ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛʼ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

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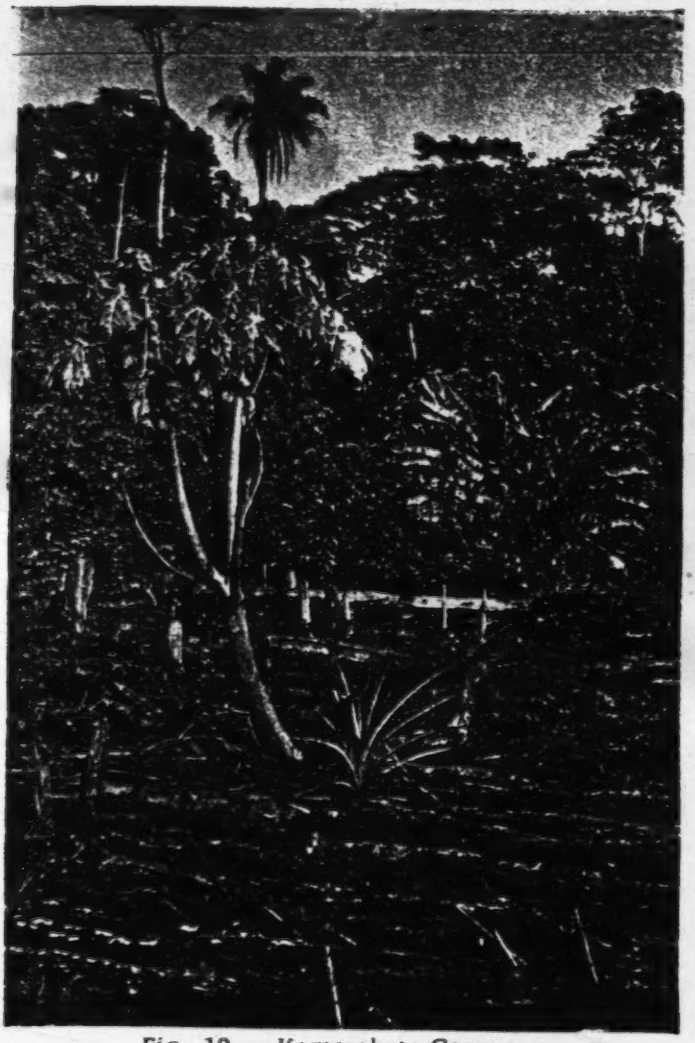

Fig. 13 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
One of the Uruyén conucos. The method of clearing by felling trees and burning is shown, as well as the haphazard planting.

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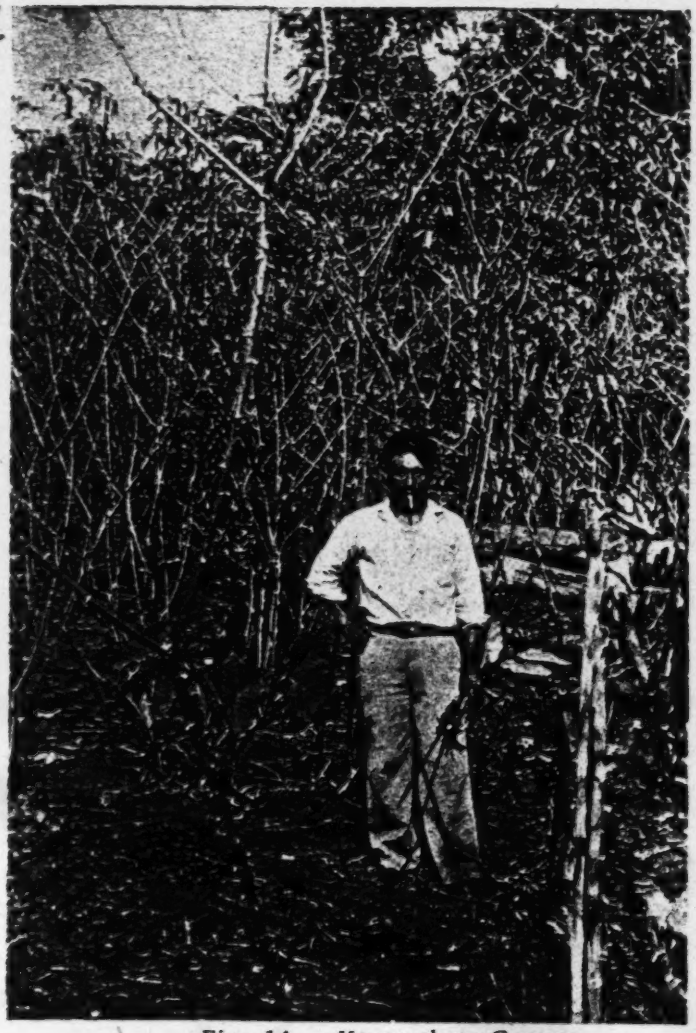

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

241 relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

241 Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

241 Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

241 Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

231 In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
235 mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1] [2]

[1] [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "cáimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

● 241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

● [241] 194. Casave plant. kõsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

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Food

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107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

241 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

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108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

286 *III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

● 248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yare, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yare. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

*192
386
824
171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192
*197
386

181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-tu. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "annatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
283

Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[192]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu". Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[172] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially
461 related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

● 251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store
263 up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
000 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

P /26 cont./

261 Those who have observed the poor means of sustenance of
262 the Indians after long days' journeys, sometimes carrying heavy loads on their backs, that is to say, a frugal piece of cassava and a seasoning of ají in powder or broth, can tell me if any-
P where can be found such abstinent men.

261 But, to look at the other side of the coin, you would have to see the quantity of drink that they are capable of consuming or the food that they dare to ingest when good luck in fishing or hunting furnishes them with good daily allowances.

G 56. Concerning this matter I have no scruples about copy-
114 ing what the authors of the Geographia Universal /Universal
261 Geography/ (Barcelona, 1917, ed. Montaner) say about the
251 Guiana Indians, quoting J. Rodway: "Usually, the Indians'
433 provisions are limited; their farming is limited by the fact that the /27/ woman has to do the work. A bad season, a flood, for example, reduces him to almost nothing, and then hunger becomes master of the tribe....Even when there is a good harvest, provisions are sometimes wasted in deplorable orgies and merrymaking. This is the great blot on the character of the Indian."

57. But let us remember, in exoneration of the Indians, that this bad custom of yielding to gluttony of those who are normally hungry or who are hungrily penniless was already attributed by Cervantes to poor students when he wrote of them: "and that gorging with so much gusto when fortune regaled them with some banquet." And our folk proverbs contain these two quite significant sayings: "Let Martha die and may she die stuffed" and "The poor man's proverb: better to burst than
P have any left over."

251 Let us remember also that they are incited to this gluttony
261 in part by the condition of tropical fruits, which do not keep.
[262] Of the fruits cultivated by the Indians almost the only one that
[252] can be kept indefinitely is cassava, pan de yuca, in the form of a cake, or better, in the form of mañoca or toasted flour. Expressions like "to make hay while the sun shines" and the

/27 cont./

251 like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261 very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mañoco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruí) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
165 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 137]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõiʸ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõiʸ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʸ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
● [251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

257 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

● [251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture,

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian 181 is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the [415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for [252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for [262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and [231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, 155 dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

P /56 cont./

261 Those who have observed the poor means of sustenance of
262 the Indians after long days' journeys, sometimes carrying heavy loads on their backs, that is to say, a frugal piece of cassava and a seasoning of ají in powder or broth, can tell me if any-
P where can be found such abstinent men.

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/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

*192
*197
415

The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[412] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition.
285 The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on
[128] basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa	146. akaiʾ
139. pangaiʾ	147. koataiʾ
140. tangõiʾ	148. wapa
141. matuːtu	149. ɛno-saramba
142. o, olori	150. sokoʾ
143. waricha	151. kumara-katsaʾ
144. warakapi	152. wakawaʾ
145. amaːtu	153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroiʾ, No. 104, tsimuiʾ, No. 99, and mõi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192
*197
285

Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word warœkmpa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b - Analyst]

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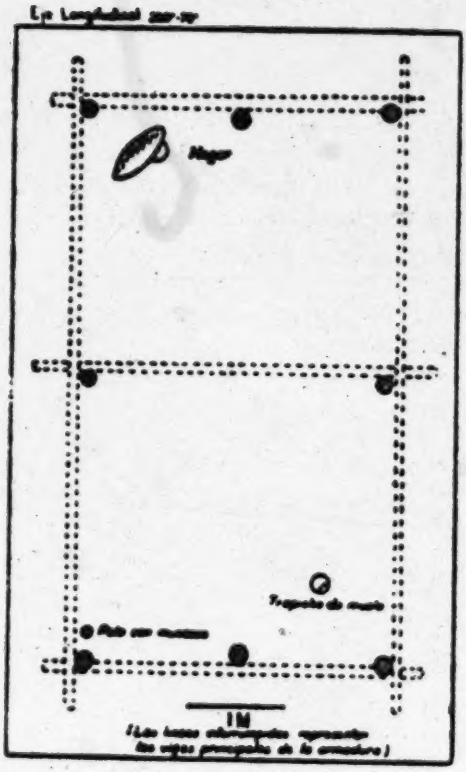

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[354]
[Fig. 7]
[252]

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
7 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (irui) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
[525] wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 137]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

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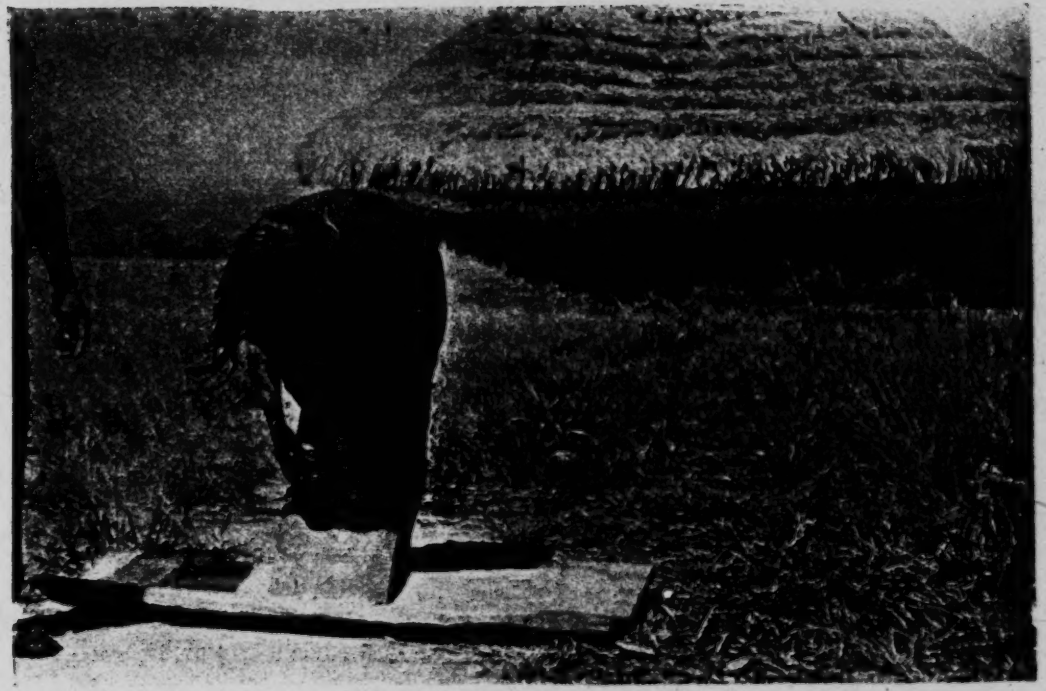

Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samaːri, into a trough (moru).

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Fig. 25 — Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõi' is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[182] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangai' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
242 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

242 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

243 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash 171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[172] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. [177] The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analysis]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawan-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

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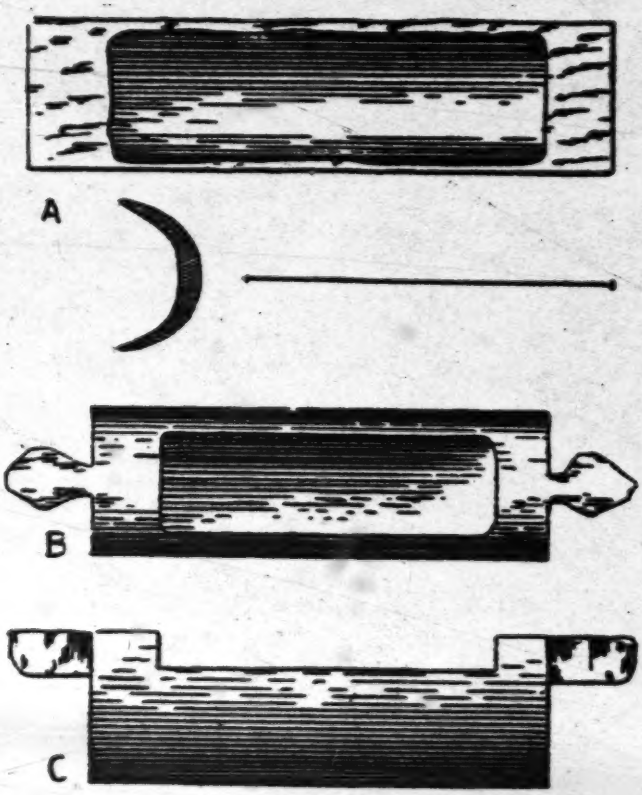

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, mom, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this re-
438 gion since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable
462

*285 wadapi as in the best matuɨtu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The amaɨtu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or of its cover) is made like that of a sokoʔ or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the sokoʔ but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

[171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 252 171 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangõiʔ (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 482 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akaiʔ (Fig. 65 B) if the bottom is of openwork and koataiʔ (Figs. 65A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analyst]

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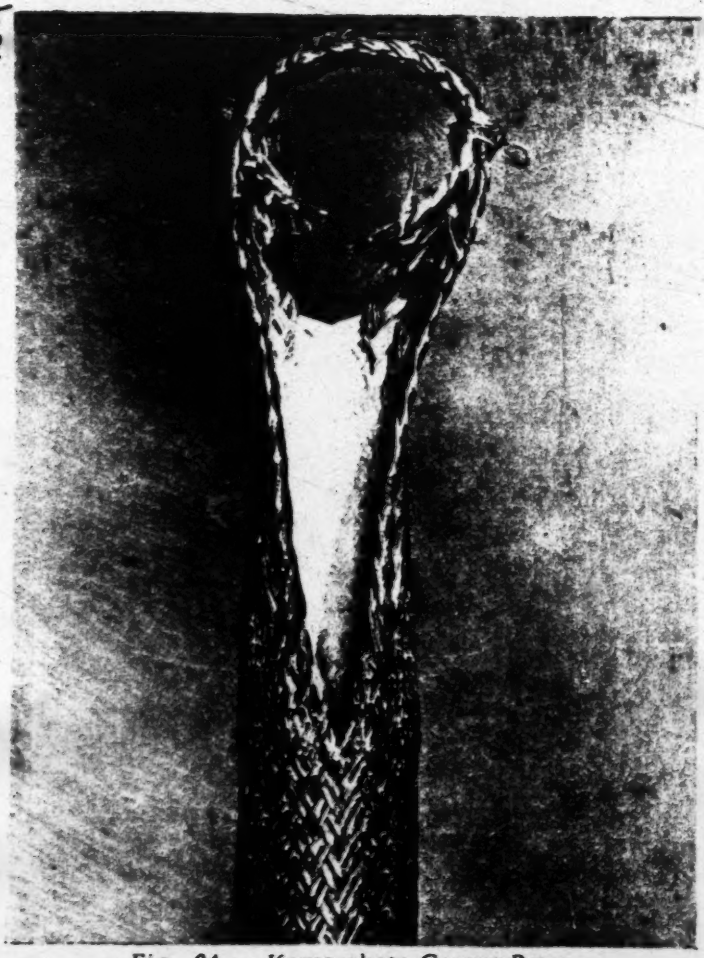

Fig. 64 — Kamarakoto Casave Press.
The upper end of a tangöi', showing typical Arekuna form of neck and mouth, neck of one-over-two twill, without shoulder girdle, and body of two-over-three twill.

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

●252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown — strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

[286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use ocapa for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially
461 related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store
263 up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
080 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

2:Armellada--33a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16
Bari SS13

/25 cont./

that more cases do not occur, since outside of the /26/ mission territories, almost the only remedy which the Indians have is to have recourse to Catalonian justice, that is to say, justice by their own hand.

54. Having thus untangled the question asked us about the peacefulness or fierceness of the Indians, we can come to some general conclusions:

1) The Indians are timid, suspicious, and even retiring.
2) Sometimes they are or become fierce and even make reprisals.

Chapter VII

Are the Indians Temperate or Gluttonous?

55. Temperate through necessity, gluttonous if they have the chance. 56. The great blot on the Indian's character. 57. Attenuating circumstances for this defect. 58. Intemperance in drinking. 59. From the belly it comes forth.... 60. Falsely religious inebriation. 61. Government measures against alcohol. 62. Pagan idea of drunkenness. 63. A digression about the ancient Indians of Caracas.

55. The question that somebody asks us is framed in the following terms: "Is it true, as some say, that the Indians are a piece of stomach, an animal that simply feeds itself and procreates, or are they, on the contrary, as others say, temperate and abstinent as ascetics?"

I love the Indians but I must love the truth more. And the truth in this case obliges me to say that, in general, the Indian is sober and temperate through necessity, but, given the occasion, he easily falls into intemperance and gluttony.

P /26 cont./

261 262 Those who have observed the poor means of sustenance of the Indians after long days' journeys, sometimes carrying heavy loads on their backs, that is to say, a frugal piece of cassava and a seasoning of ají in powder or broth, can tell me if anywhere can be found such abstinent men.

P 261 But, to look at the other side of the coin, you would have to see the quantity of drink that they are capable of consuming or the food that they dare to ingest when good luck in fishing or hunting furnishes them with good daily allowances.

G 114 56. Concerning this matter I have no scruples about copying what the authors of the Geographia Universal /Universal 261 Geography/ (Barcelona, 1917, ed. Montaner) say about the 251 Guiana Indians, quoting J. Rodway: "Usually, the Indians' 433 provisions are limited; their farming is limited by the fact that the /27/ woman has to do the work. A bad season, a flood, for example, reduces him to almost nothing, and then hunger becomes master of the tribe....Even when there is a good harvest, provisions are sometimes wasted in deplorable orgies and merrymaking. This is the great blot on the character of the Indian."

57. But let us remember, in exoneration of the Indians, that this bad custom of yielding to gluttony of those who are normally hungry or who are hungrily penniless was already attributed by Cervantes to poor students when he wrote of them: "and that gorging with so much gusto when fortune regaled them with some banquet." And our folk proverbs contain these two quite significant sayings: "Let Martha die and may she die stuffed" and "The poor man's proverb: better to burst than P have any left over."

251 Let us remember also that they are incited to this gluttony 261 in part by the condition of tropical fruits, which do not keep. [262] Of the fruits cultivated by the Indians almost the only one that [252] can be kept indefinitely is cassava, pan de yuca, in the form of a cake, or better, in the form of mañoca or toasted flour. Expressions like "to make hay while the sun shines" and the

/27 cont./

251 like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261 very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mañoco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[12] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 181 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

[415] [252] [262] [231]

181 155 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

P /26 cont./

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/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that 262 515 mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

*192 *197 372 related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

*192 262 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 415 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

*[197] 414 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 272 126. Juice — yenku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yenku; corn-juice, anai-yenku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

*192 273 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeñka

*192 *197 415 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. ïna, o. ïna, ïna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) höline. Most other languages agree with Yanarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalina (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tökönoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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114

b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

*197
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● 262

(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analysis]

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari', "female," and warato, "male," to kōroitoko.

*197 825 ● 262

(b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kūrikūri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

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330. *"Chupacacao" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."

331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʼ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."

332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʼ) — kurinata.

333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, "Podager nacunda, the Nacunda nighthawk."

*197
825 c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okõi. Taurepán, õkõi.

335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.

336. Boa — aura.

337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʼ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.

339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).

340. kamaritse.

341. kamaitaparu.

342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.

343. Sabana tortoise — karume.

344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʼ.

346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.

347. "Mato" — waim tsa.

348. "Mato de agua" — sɛrgbai.

349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.

350. Common house-lizard — okopiʼ.

351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — akaːre. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yakaːre. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.

[192]

352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kuraːtu. Taurepán, kuratu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʼma.

354. Toad — põlɛːa (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written põlɛa). Taurepán, põreu-tukuʼ.

78 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

825 e. Fishes.
262

355. Fish (in general) — moro'.

The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara. — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. uru:yi. — Interpreted as "rayado," a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako. — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa. — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil. Arapaima sp.

360. kəpauri. — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipirai'.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

*197 f. Invertebrates.
825

363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiya'.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. *Ant — atsimikə. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mikə, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mikə. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. *Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaiba', kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaiba', kaiba'-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. *Fly — berbɛ'. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. *Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. *Mosquito — matsa'. Taurepán, masa'.

370. *Termite — muna'. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. *Dragonfly — pirmo, pirəmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pi:lumo'.

372. *Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau, (Koch-Grünberg)

824 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛ̨ʾ (for ura:pa-yɛ̨ʾ, "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛ̨ʾ.

428. Canjilon — pori:tadɛ̨ʾ (for pori:ta-yɛ̨ʾ).

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoiʾ (-yɛ̨ʾ).

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛ̨ʾ.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛ̨ʾ (for purwei-yɛ̨ʾ cf. purwe-yɛ̨ʾ, above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛ̨ʾ, but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛ̨ʾ (i.e. "flute-wood").

*[197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛ̨ʾ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛ̨ʾ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaɛdɛ̨, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛ̨ʾ (for tsimaran-yɛ̨ʾ).

437. Cedro[80] — kopei-dyɛ̨ʾ (for kopei-yɛ̨ʾ).

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛ̨ʾ (for yuma-yɛ̨ʾ).

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛ̨ʾ, waidawaurai-yɛ̨ʾ.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛ̨ʾ.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paunɛdɛ̨ʾ (for paune-yɛ̨ʾ).

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

*[197] 444. Grass — wanaʾ. Taurepán, wanaʾ.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛʾ. The wood is used for the fore-shaft of arrows.

824 262 Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits:-

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ̨.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

80 [see footnote on p. 316, category 11b – Analysis]

824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

*192
*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wũi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*197 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
823
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa' (wei = "sun"). See next word.
*197
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — kogmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomɛ́ya'.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba? and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the to?-esa?, Reyes, [illegible] in unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted [illegible]ve[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

244 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop.
311
134 In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or
242 pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

● [262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and
177 probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1]

[1] [see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
[1] [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 11b - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were
[411] also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and
acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and
the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said
that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are
sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which
they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name
for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently,
although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably
since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among
the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied
Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[144] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, al-
most any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for
warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere
to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these,
but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now
made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
[262] in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
[423] jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
[72] arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
[185] at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and
poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The princi-
pal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing
arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not
now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In
fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with ar-
rows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and
more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
[172] by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
[439] penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a na-
tive name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden
hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruʔ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
[185] wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 137]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsɨ, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
[114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōi' is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangōi' and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangai' (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
● 262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

257 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
● [262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kōsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
080 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōiʼ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
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121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[77] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
[263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
[171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[172] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes
[44] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,
122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 – Analysis]

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 262 515 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
156] other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

323

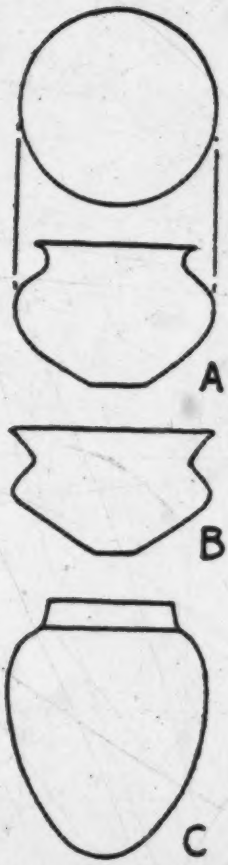

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
408 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
412 gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoi, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."223
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 ● 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
● 266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
286 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruⁿ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[277] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
185 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[262] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 137]

226 824 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
114 innumerable doubtful points.

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*192 *197 372 related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

*192 262 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 415 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

*[197] 114 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 ●272 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

*192 273 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeüka

*192 *197 415 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. üna, o. üna, üna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) höline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[177] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any combread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
270 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
263 The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
[171] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

[174] Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an intro-
[144] duced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analysis]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

● 272
273
407

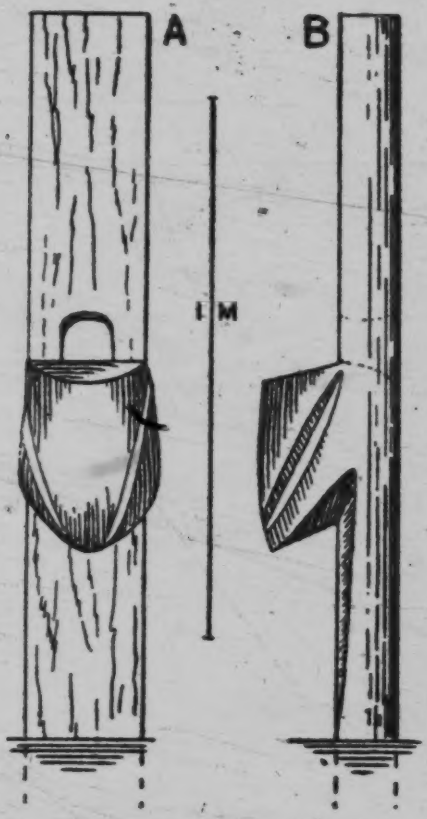

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A. front view. B. side view.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. "This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

/27 cont./

251/ like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261/ very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuân; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mafloco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauee, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied 535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/30 cont./

273 Although I have written that the Indians do not move their
535 feet to dance without the stimulation of kachirí, this does not mean that drink is the cause much less the end of every dance among them. Nowhere in the world should the condition or the stimulation be confused with the cause.

Furthermore, although I stated that the dances tend to degenerate, as among ourselves, into disputes and less decorous acts, neither did I intend to say that everyone in the dances is reduced to committing reprehensible acts, nor that drunkenness is always extreme.

535 Among the most primitive Indians, as in more cultured societies, the dance is, above all, a manifestation of happiness, just as drink is its physiological cause. Vinum laetificet cor hominis.

Full belly, happy heart, says the proverb. The first thing the Indians want in their dances is diversion (in the etymological sense) and happiness; to free themselves from the daily struggle and the prosaicness of daily living, restricted as they are in a small circle of activities and social relationships.

65. Furthermore dancing in great choruses, with music, disguises, mimetism, drinks, etc., necessarily gives rise to that orgiastic exaltation, fever of phantasmagoric inspiration and like a liberation of the soul through tiredness and exhaustion of the body, although this might appear a paradox. There is no doubt that in this sense Menéndez Pidal wrote those verses: /31/

> "Blessed the nights -- clear ones of summer
> in which souls fly so free
> while bodies remain so languid."

And this is also why dances may have in the origins of all peoples a religious or magical sense. Let us remember the dances of David before the Ark, those of our seises /"sixes"/ before the Most Holy, on the one hand; and on the other let us

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 262 515 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the soleman moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
827 so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and tó create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
● 273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

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*197
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related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.
372 114. Ash — benina.
115. Charcoal — kadarma-tipwa.
116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo'.
*192 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):
262 117. kumasa
118. putosa
119. pusa
120. kambwo
121. erindasa
122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.
*192 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.
415 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira.
*[197] Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash
[114] used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.
125. Gourd bottle — wai.
*192 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-
272 yeuku; etc.
127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.
*192 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):
● 273 128. kachiri.
129. paiba
130. parakari
131. akeüyeüka
*192 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Taurepán, o. üna, o. üna,
*197 üna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-
415 Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

*192 ●273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukūiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — mūirepon.

240. ware.

241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i) maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still
[172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the
273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash
171 for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122]
263 The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco,
407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian,
171 especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

Nordenskiöld (1930) has shown that such cane presses are widespread in
[174] northern South America and he has argued rather conclusively that they represent a true Indian invention made in post-Columbian times to deal with an introduced plant. The alternative view that the press was introduced by the Negroes
[114] is largely disproven by the fact that no such apparatus exists in Africa, as Nordenskiöld points out, and also by its typically Indian distribution, use among Negroes only by those who have had every opportunity to learn it from Indians, especially Caribs, and use by many Indians who could hardly have received it from Negroes.

177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign
407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and
[401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, Category 116 - Analyst]

●273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

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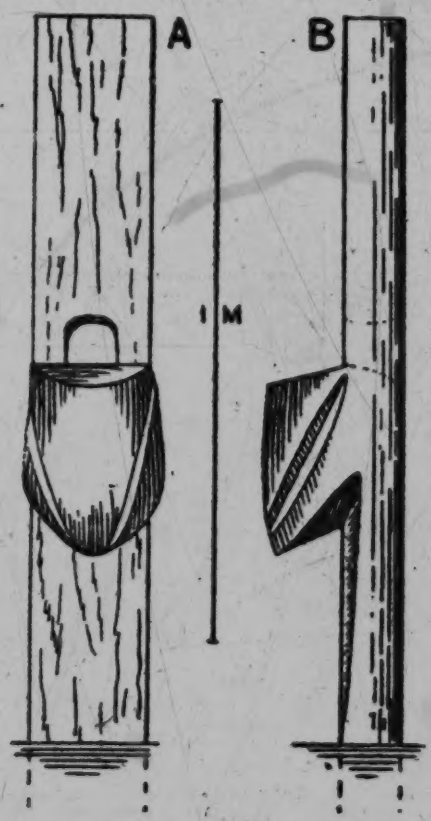

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A. front view. B. side view.

● 273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 7/A

Dances and Amusements

●273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

1/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analysis]

●273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro?, and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro? but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

● 273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
[578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
● 273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[242] the plant kosera, the root kōsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

● 273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
286 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
179 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
●276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

*192 200. Mirror — umamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

●[278] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 *197 412 439 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

206. *Knife (steel) — mari:a. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasu:para.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛn.

342 210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabo:so. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabo:so is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all [249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes [177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing [171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal [173] warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of 177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analysis]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion 771 generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic. 17

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking [785] only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The [276] latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b – Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

● 276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and [illegible]ges, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very [illegible]tensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

/38 cont./

164 85. Just like the foregoing is the utopia of those who imagine the Indians absolutely exempt from sickness and only infected by contact with our civilization. Nothing could be less correct. Unfortunately, the Indians know through sad experience an infinity of endemic diseases. In addition to the generic parán and emorón, being ill or feeling bad, they call by their own names the chills of malarial fever (e-komi-ma), measles (apikoroimá), smallpox (apotoimá), dysentery (kuasuk and uenarok), diarrhea with blood (muenimá), whooping cough and other coughs (arautaimá), tuberculosis (apueká), the common cold (atón), anchylostomiasis (motó, poriké, etc.), swelling of the arm (achín and yeuán muré), biliousness (e-vepiká), blindness (enumí), and even venereal diseases in general (samoroní). All these words are not foreign or brought in, which indicates with considerable likeliness that the diseases that they denote were not either.

Concerning these diseases, Father Las Casas himself, who was not in the least suspicious when stating something against the Indians, says that the natives of the Antilles confessed to him that those illnesses were /39/ already known among them before Christians came to their lands.

278 86. But, at least, it will be said, are not these Indians perfect herbists, with a knowledge of an infinite number of plants and their curative properties? This is, as well, a gratuitous and false supposition.

87. It is true that the Indians know an infinite number of plants; and there is no doubt that, given their talent for observation and their intimate contact with the other kingdoms of nature, they would have discovered many of the therapeutic properties of plants if medicine had been for them something separate from magic and sickness something apart from the maleficent influence of occult beings. But the opposite occurred: imagination sidetracked their observation and animism diverted them from physicism.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolivar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletin*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". 787 [192] For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see.

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarily and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[278] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
[325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

411

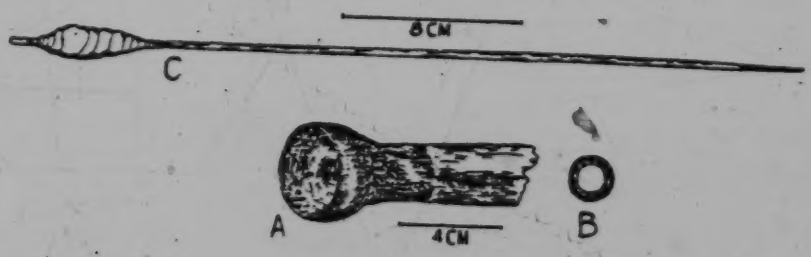

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
[237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415- möiyɨ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɨ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipirai, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumaːsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length,
[82] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is
[22] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun
● 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison
411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that
[171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
600 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingɛ' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingɛ) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ?, a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28

The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28
101 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[116] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

Materials.

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Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly — cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic — necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Prödin and [17] Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekumas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

● 28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

301 135. although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual 184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or 302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

●28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown 114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians 824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is 286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually 352 factory-made, is of cotton.

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /'breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[325] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[505] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[248] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[283] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[286]
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/
orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

*192
386
124
176
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg: = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192
*197
386

181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[124]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-ta. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Carinîaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "annatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[124]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302] 185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f. Thread, fiber, etc.

● 283 186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197] 188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analyst]

*192 *197 824 285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mana:le (= mana:re). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "casava sifter" (called pangaiʾ in Kamarakoto and pangaʾ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 ● 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʾ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʾ. Compare tsimuiʾ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʾ -epichaʾ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-ka:limi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — ɛtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʾ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʾ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — paka:ri.

*192 [283] [412]

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʾ. gatsaʾ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

53 [see footnote on p 312, category 116 - Analyst]

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [185] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (wapadɛ), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrically whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [283] [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of [283] heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18 A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the [476] Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 136]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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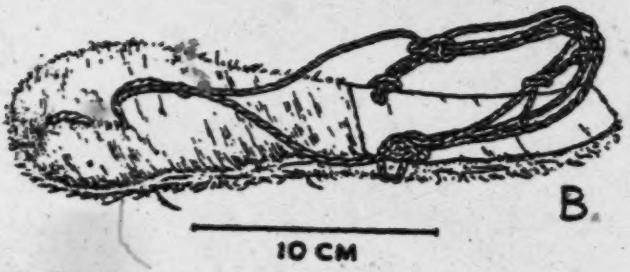

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 11b - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[229] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[245] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[484] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[531] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates,[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
174 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

Materials.

28
128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly — cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic — necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

286 III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly
824 used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoŋ, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique
114 are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an impor-
128 tant monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

289 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such
171 as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thum and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analysis]

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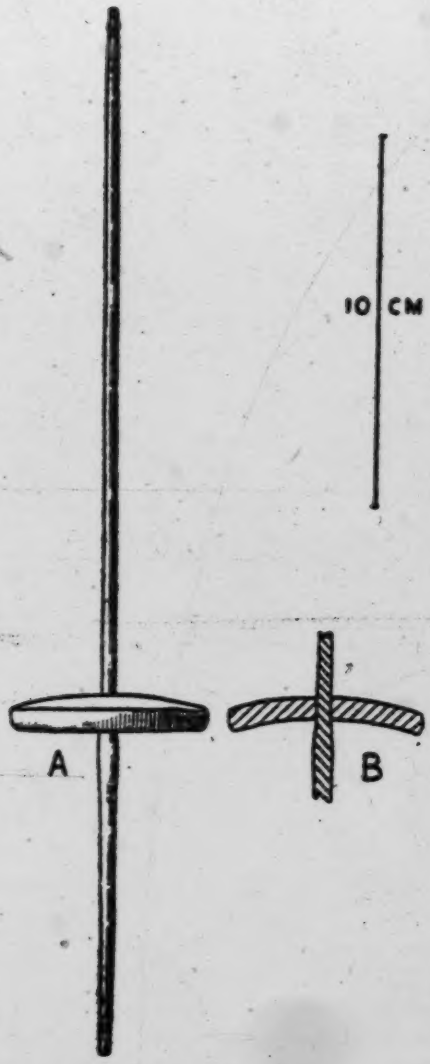

Fig. 35 — Kamarakoto Spindle.
A, side view of spindle. B, partial cross section showing fitting of whorl on spindle.

[824] The whorl is discoidal, undecorated, and usually is a thick but light piece of calabash with the convex side up. It is considerably nearer the lower than

●283 the upper end. The upper, working, end does not have a hook but a head, a
[70] slight double swelling formed by notching. This is a common type of spindle among the coast Caribs and the Motilones, and it is remarkably like many Bolivian spindles, but it is curiously unlike the Taurepán spindle which, according to Koch-Grünberg, has the whorl, which is usually decorated, near the middle and has a hook. It is still less like the Maquiritare type, which is much larger and is used horizontally and not dropped.

In use, the unspun cotton is held in the left hand, the spindle is started rotating by rolling the lower shaft (below the whorl) on the right thigh with the right hand, and it is then dropped, still whirling (Fig. 36). Tension is kept up by the left hand and by the weight of the spindle when dropped. This is the procedure also of the Taurepánes, despite their different spindle, and of most of the other tribes of this region but not, as has been noted, of the Maquiritares.

In all the Kamarakoto spun cotton that I have examined the spinning is to the left, i.e., when the thread is held horizontally the fibers (in the basic
[71] single strand) run from left-up to right-down. This is true also of the Taurepánes and Maquiritares and probably of Caribs generally, as far as the point has been determined, but the non-Carib Bakairís, who have given their name to this general type of spindle, spin to the right and so do many other tribes. Left-spinning is not exclusive to the Caribs but it is certainly one of their striking characteristics.

The single strand thread resulting from one spinning is, if well-made, very fine and rather weak and it is almost never used in this form. Usually two strands are attached and are twisted together on another spindle, making a two-ply twine. This spinning is always in the opposite direction, i.e. to the right, which keeps the first twist tight. Two two-ply strands are often twisted again, this time to the left, to make a composite four-ply twine, a double two-ply. A straight three-, four-, five-, and up to eight- (or even more) ply twine may also be made by one twist, to the right, from the basic strands and various combinations occur. A 21-ply heavy cord made from three 7-ply strands is not uncommon, and I have seen a piece of 93-ply cord, as strong as rope, made of three twists of thirt-one strands each, but I am not certain that this was Kamarakoto although so informed by the Indians. This heaviest twining is not done on a spindle but is rolled on the thigh with the palm of the hand.

All these native twines are remarkably fine and uniform and sometimes can hardly be distinguished from a machine-made cotton twine.

Moriche and curagua twines are not made with a spindle but are rolled on the right thigh with the right hand while the fibers are fed and tension adjusted with the left hand. Long strings finer and stronger than those of cotton may thus be made and like cotton twine they are usually of more than one ply, with about the same repertory as for cotton. With these fibers, however, and especially curagua, the number of individual fibers in the basic strand can be more exactly

[text continues on p. 163]

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

●283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[824] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[174] man's work.
[462]

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not
[177] unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[126] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture,

*286 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that [128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. [237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

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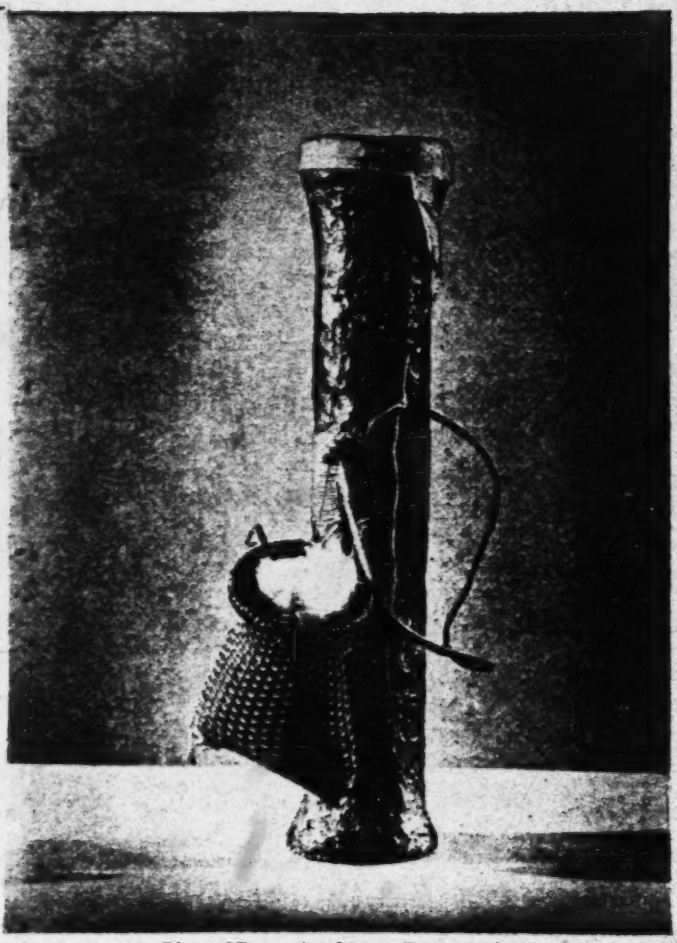

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (möi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōrowori
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	ɔ:apa	ɔ:əpa
	pangai'	pəngai'
	matu:tu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p.326, category 11b - Analyst]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
● 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 ●283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hombostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

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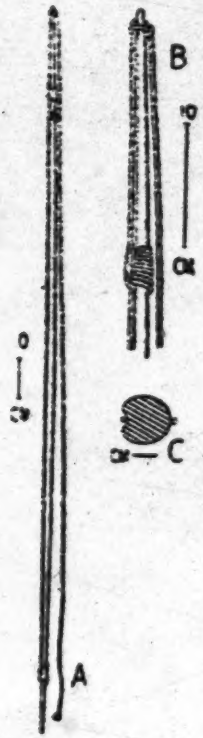

Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[82] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered tarau.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

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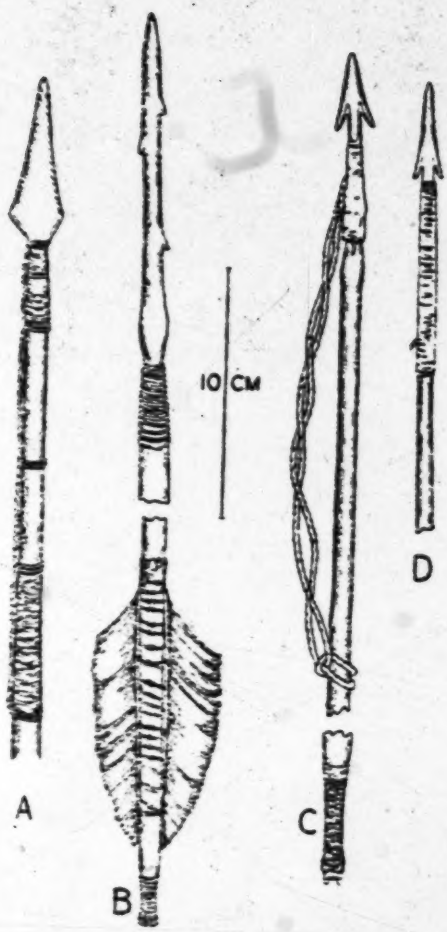

Fig. 16 — Kamarakoto Arrows.
A, distal end of a supalari, showing end of shaft and all of foreshaft and point.
B, tarau, with most of shaft omitted.
C, waibakasi, with most of shaft and proximal end of foreshaft omitted; the point and its looped cord are removable. D, panachika, point and distal end of foreshaft.

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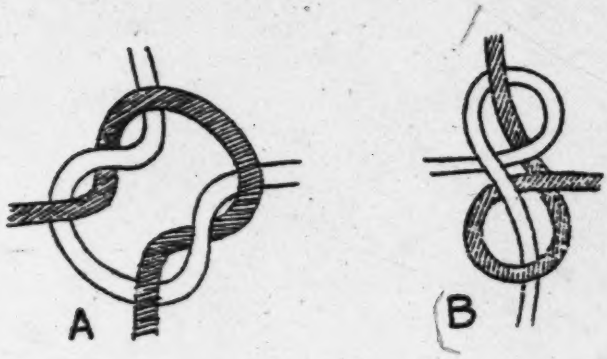

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread. they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

190b

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Fig. 57 — Kamarakoto Basketware.
A small matu:tu, top view.

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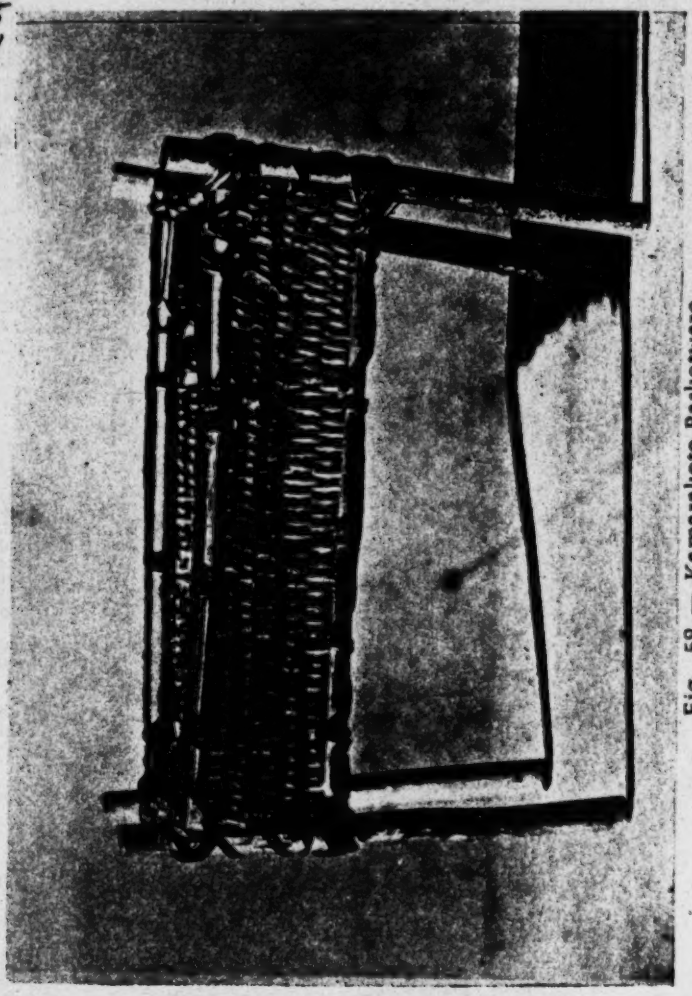

Fig. 58 — Kamarakoto Basketware.
A small matu:tu, same specimen as Fig. 57, side view.

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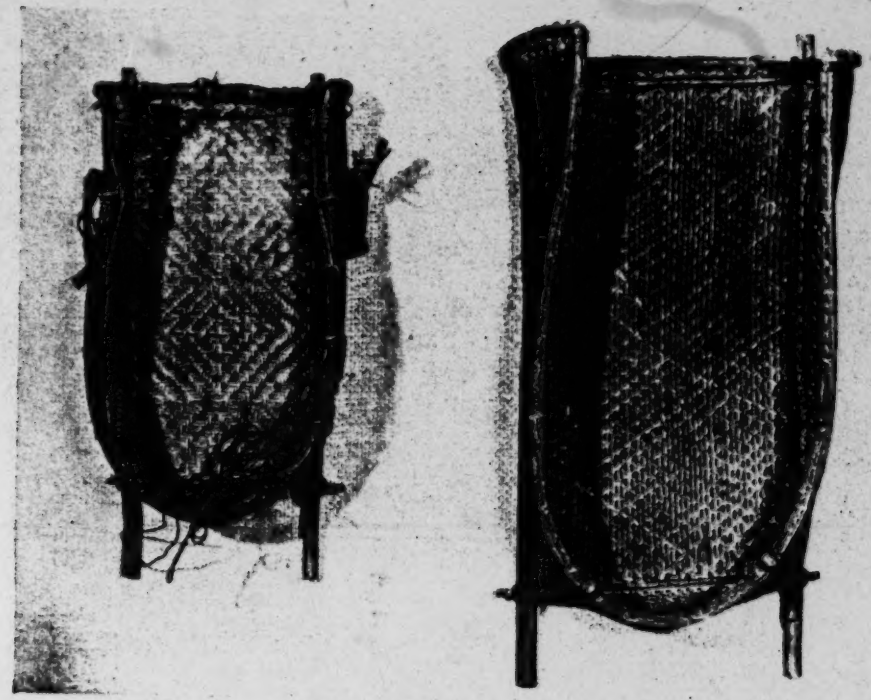

Fig. 65 — Kamarakoto Back-packs.
A, a koatai', with cotton load-lashing and bark carrying strap. B, an akai', without lashing or carrying strap. Both seen from behind (as they are carried in use).

*285
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Fig. 66 — Kamarakoto Back-pack.
The koatai', shown in Fig. 65 A, seen from the side.

They use the rattle for

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
● [289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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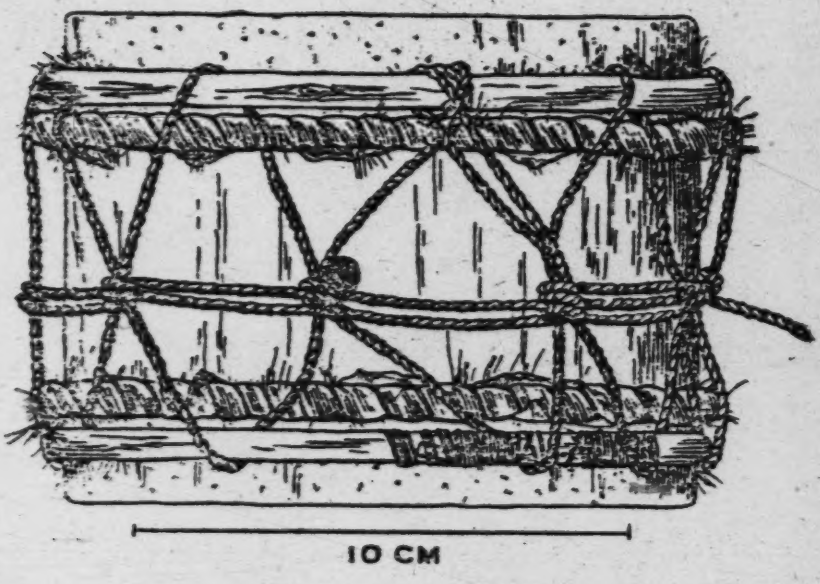

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

/40 cont./

which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went
538 on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

285

/For information on the intricacies of Kamarakoto basketry, (e.g., plaiting and weaving methods, designs, types of products and their uses, etc.), see category 116, pp. 176-200, 324-326./

*192
*197
415

The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[312] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition.
285 The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on
[128] basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa
139. pangaiʾ
140. tangōiʾ
141. matuːtu
142. o. olori
143. waricha
144. warakapi
145. amaːtu
146. akaiʾ
147. koataiʾ
148. wapa
149. ɛno-saramba
150. sokoʾ
151. kumara-katsaʾ
152. wakawaʾ
153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroiʾ, No. 104, tɨmuiʾ, No. 99, and mōi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192 Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but
*197 given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising
285 that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word warockmpa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b – Analyst]

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301

154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pəregaːnsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichiʔ.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsaʔ, i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupə, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsaʔ.
[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondoʔ, (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akemūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*792 *197 824 ●285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mana:le (= mana:re). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "casava sifter" (called pangaiʾ in Kamarakoto and pangaʾ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʾ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʾ. Compare tsimuiʾ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʾ -epichaʾ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-ka:limi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — ɛtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʾ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʾ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — paka:ri.

*192 [283] [412]

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʾ. gatsaʾ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few
[285] centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar p[illegible] commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, [illegible] three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
4/2 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, sama:ri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

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Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán; but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōiʔ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[142] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangōiʔ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʔ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular
[251] cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

257 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[142] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 4/2 [252] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-ye' and kopei-ye' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[285] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 [252] [53T] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

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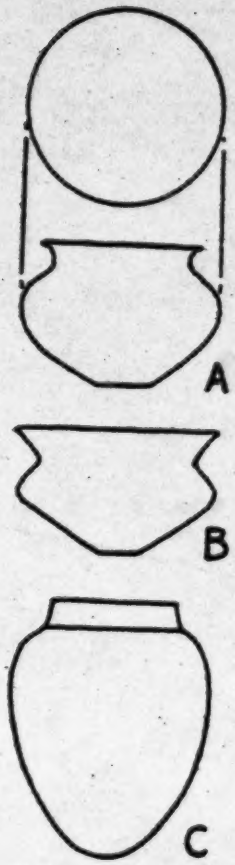

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

445 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
[442] gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoʔ, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
285 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

● 285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangōrʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o. olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[483] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190e, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

285 kunara-katsa) — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 48]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16/Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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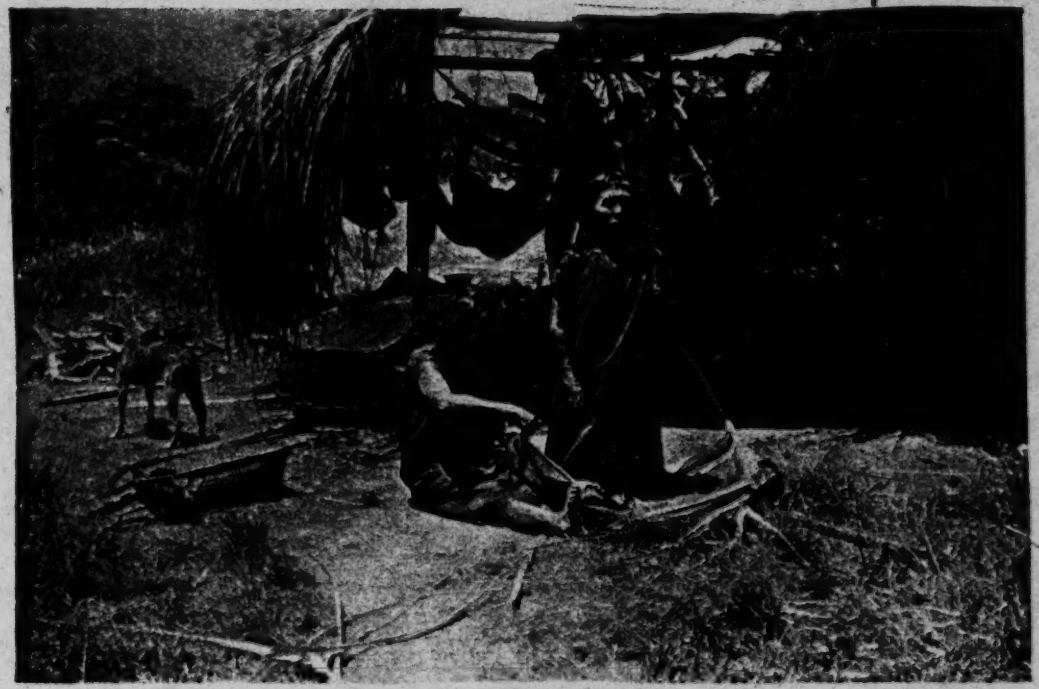

Fig. 31 — Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

Materials.

28
128 Textiles in general and those of American (especially North American) Indians in particular have been elaborately studied and classified. Their classification and treatment depend in the first place on the materials used, in the second place on the techniques of manufacture, and in the third place on the forms and uses of the finished objects. All three of these phases are treated in the present section.

Nearly all the textile materials known to man fall into the following classification, in which the types used by Kamarakotos are starred:

283 * I. Flexible fibers twisted or spun for use (mainly cloth materials).
- A. Animal.
  - a. The various animal wools. (Kamarakotos have none.)
  - b. The various silks. (Kamarakotos use none.)
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Woolly — cotton and analogous fibers, spun for use. (Kamarakotos use cotton; have kapok but do not spin it.)
  - *b. Fibrous, bast and analogous fibers twisted for use. (Kamarakotos use two of these, specified below.)
- [C. Synthetic — necessary to complete the classification but obviously with no bearing on primitive races.]

285 * II. Flexible (or relatively inflexible but elongate) materials used without twisting (mainly basketry materials).
- A. Animal — sinews, strips of hide, etc. (relatively unimportant and not used by Kamarakotos). Quills and a few other still less important materials might also be placed here.
- *B. Vegetable.
  - *a. Round.
    - 1. Bundles, of grass or any straight, flexible material. (Not used by Kamarakotos.)
    - *2. Stems, of reeds, vines, bamboos, willows, etc. (Kamarakotos make limited use of a vine.)
  - *b. Flat.
    - *1. Leaves, or segments of them, rushes, palms, etc. (Kamarakotos use palm leaves.)
    - *2. Split materials, split reeds, bark, and wood. (Kamarakotos make extensive use of split reeds, but do not use bark or wood, strictly speaking.)

286 "III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoɔ, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

289 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakaïrí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

● 285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the spmetimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

● [285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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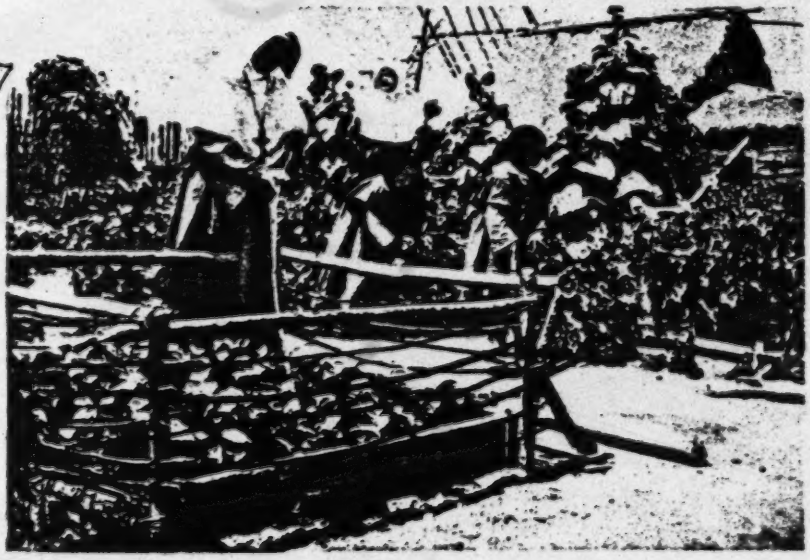

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[205] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[464] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called <u>purai</u> while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the <u>mosa</u> or <u>motsa</u>, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
[531] dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the <u>mosa</u>, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name <u>kamisa</u>, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okōi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 11b - Analyst]
[Text continues on p.154]

286 III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarę, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarę. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Prödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepáne in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[329] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
● 286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[17] man's work.
[162]

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They
[171] are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[121] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

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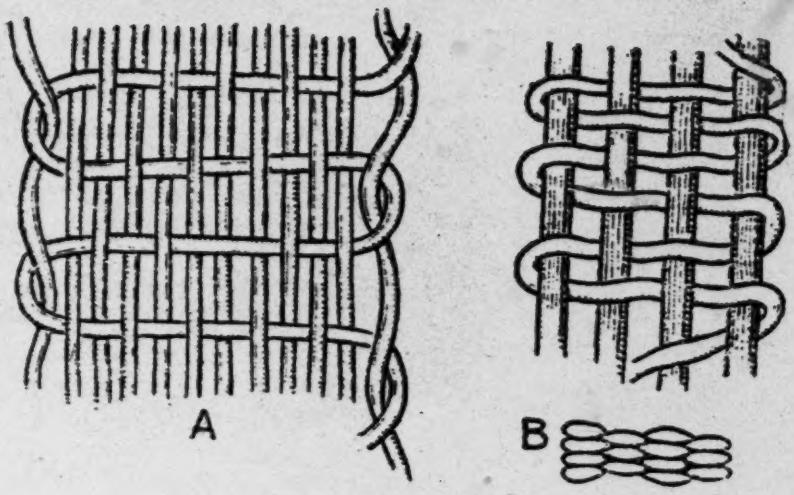

Fig. 37 — Kamarakoto Woven Thread Textiles.
A, strap weave with equally flexible warp and weft; when the fabric is closed the surface is formed by the warp. B, band or headdress weave with relatively inflexible warp; in the actual closed fabric the surface is formed by the weft, as shown below. These are diagrams to show the weave. In the actual object the threads are, of course, twisted and the fabric is closed and tight. The headband in Fig. 33E is woven like B of this figure and the carrying strap in Fig. 43A like A of this figure.

formed wholly by the weft and thus consists of a number of longitudinal ridges, almost always four, each composed of transverse strands. In the other variety, producing somewhat wider and decidedly flatter bands generally used as carrying straps, for instance on a pakara, warp and weft are of the same character, almost always simple two-ply threads. Here the weft is essentially straight in the finished fabric and the warp forms the surface, which thus has numerous transverse ridges composed of longitudinal strands.

The process used to make hammocks is fundamentally unlike true weaving, although it uses a crude loom, and the name loom-twining seems most appropriate for it. The loom is the simplest conceivable and is barely worthy of the name, consisting only of two upright posts set in the ground. The continuous warp strand is wrapped around this in an elongate spiral until the necessary width is reached, and the warp is thus horizontal and as originally stretched has one set of strands in front of and another behind the posts. The weft consists of

●286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crosties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crosties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekumas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

143 [see footnote on p.324, category 116 - Analyst]

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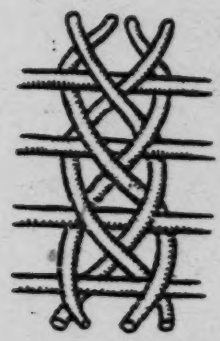

Fig. 38 — Kamarakoto Hammock Crosstie. Diagram showing how the four-strand crosstie holds the longitudinal warp strands of the hammock. In the actual hammock the warp strands, here shown as single for clarity, are always double.

286 171 Nordenskiöld calls this technique Tumupasa, from a group of Tacana-speaking Indians northeast of Lake Titicaca, who use it, and he shows that it has a very curious distribution: in the Guiana region here considered and in the far southwestern part of the Amazon Basin (Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 26). It is barely conceivable that so complex a technique could have arisen independently in these two areas, but no satisfactory explanation has been given for its occurrence in two regions so separate geographically, culturally and racially.

286 In this technique there is no distinction of warp and weft. All the strands are placed on the loom in the same direction and all are treated in the same way, intertwining them with each other, so that the process is pure plaiting and not weaving even though a loom is used: This loom consists of two crossed sticks, like a large X, with a transverse stick tied across each end (Fig. 41). A new loom is improvised when needed and no care is taken in their manufacture except to see that the transverse bars are smooth so that the thread slips on them easily. The thread is tightly wound in a long spiral around these end pieces just as, on a much larger scale, the hammock warp is wound. When in use, one end of the loom is grasped with the toes and the other end rests on the knees or upper legs, leaving the hands free for plaiting (Fig. 42).

To make the simplest pattern, one-over-one, the first thread (on the worker's left side) is passed under the second, then drawn above it and looped over the fingers (first finger or first two or three) of the left hand. Then the

[text continues on p. 169]

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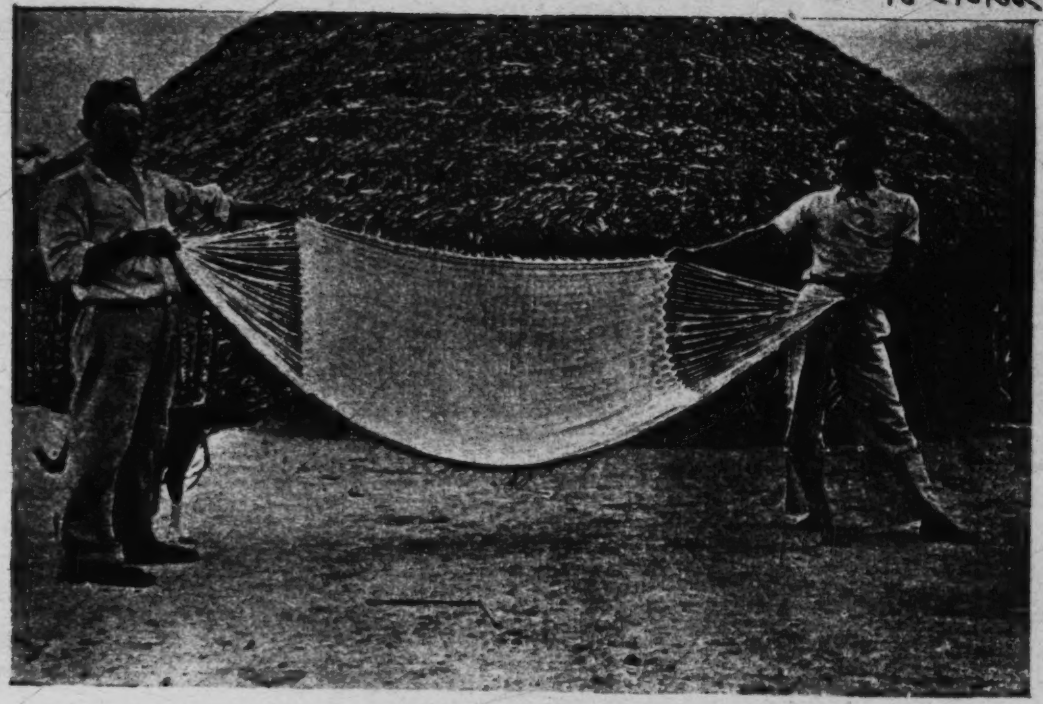

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Kamarakoto
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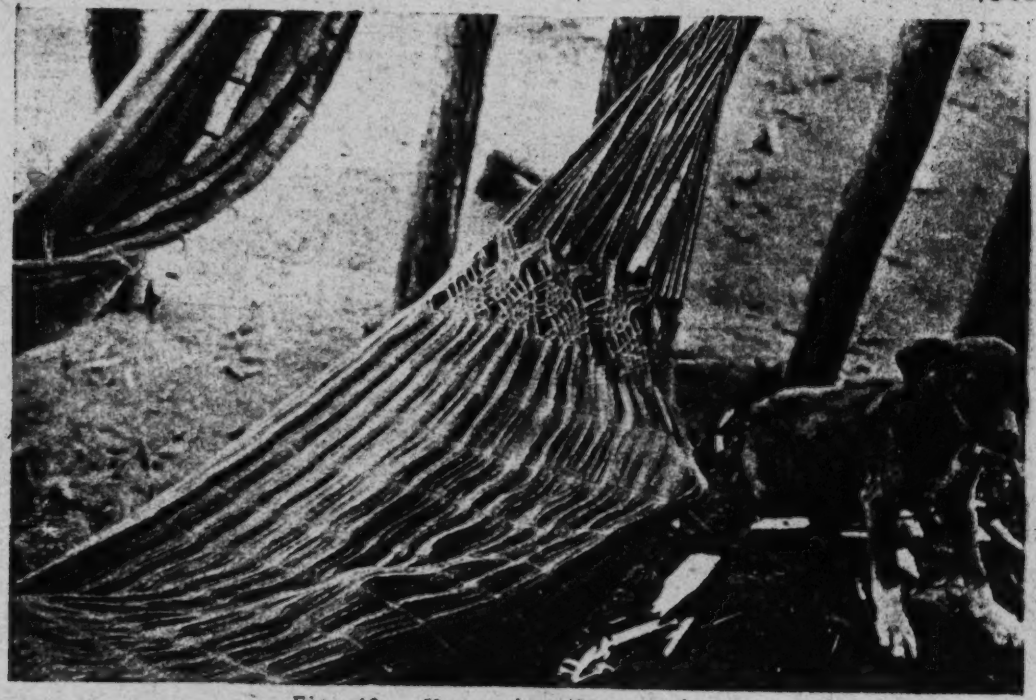

Fig. 40 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

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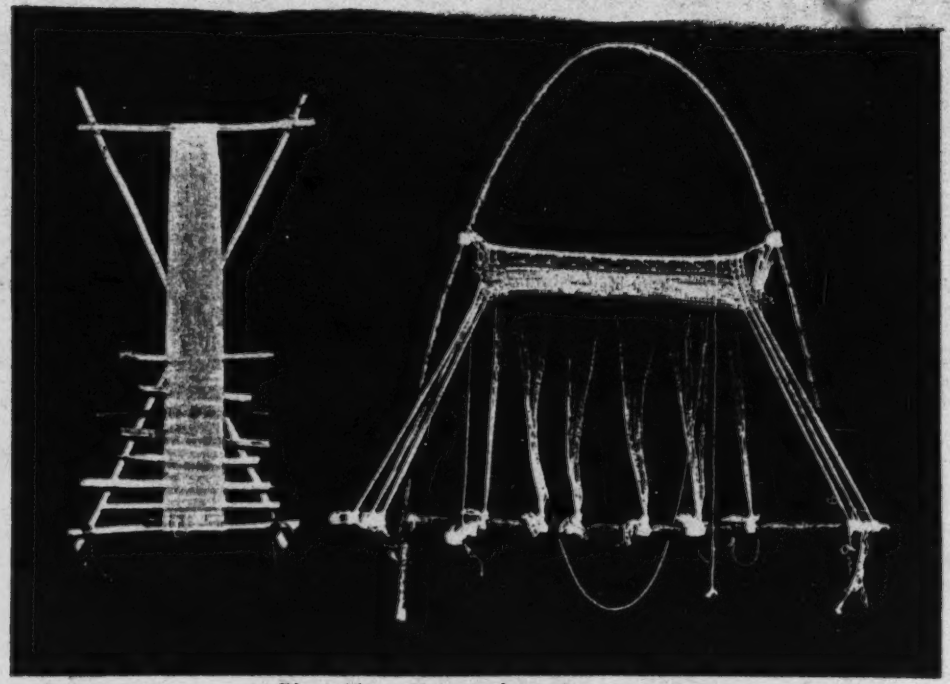

Fig. 41.– Kamarakoto Looms.
A, plaiting loom; the plaiting is done with the fingers at the upper end where a section of finished fabric can be seen (this is much narrower than the slings usually made on such a loom). B, bead apron loom; the upper border and part of the adjacent body of the apron are completed.

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Fig. 42 – Kamarakoto Plaiting Loom.
The loom in Fig. 41 A is here shown in use.

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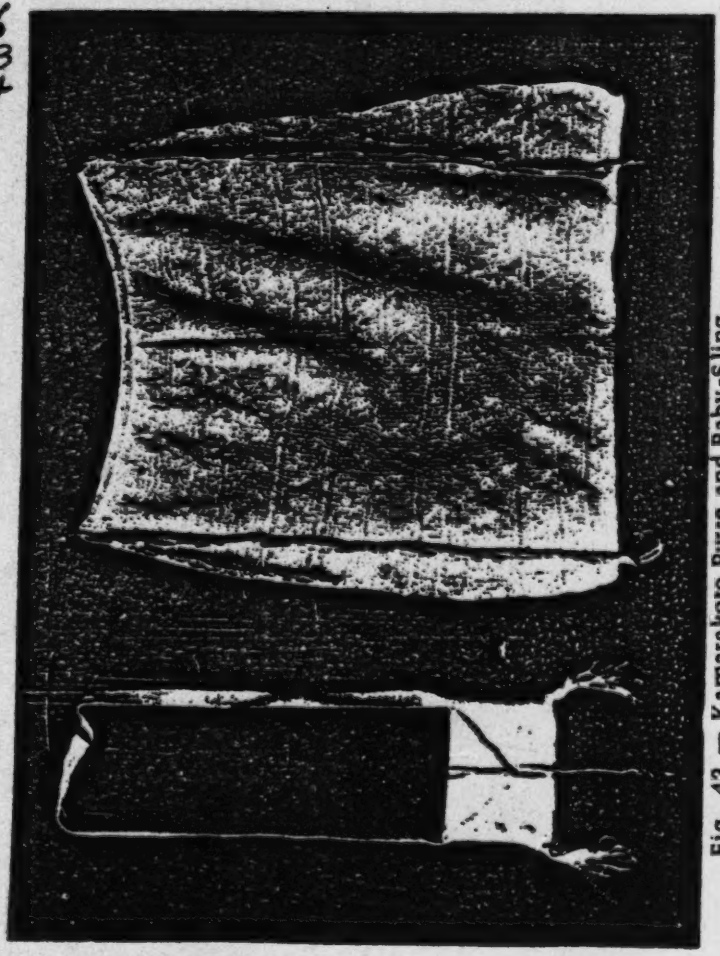

Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A, cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B, cotton baby-sling.

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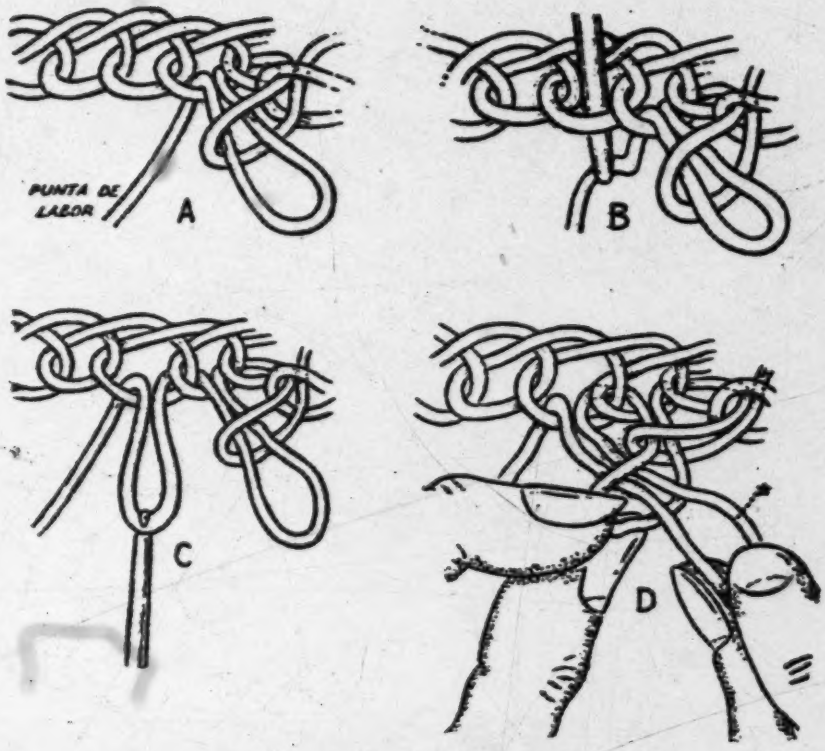

Fig. 44 – Kamarakoto One-needle Crocheting.
In the stage of work shown, the starting chain (top) has been made and the second row is being crocheted. A, work with free loop left from last operation. B, needle is inserted through chain (or last row) and catches working end of thread. C, new loop is pulled through with needle. D, new loop is slipped through former loop with fingers; by pulling on the thread at the point marked with a star, the work is now tightened and the condition seen in A again appears, one stitch farther to the left. The body of the pouch in Fig. 43A is made in this way, as are also some of the leg bands visible on the women in various photographs.

286 third thread is similarly twisted on the fourth, the fifth on the sixth, etc., until the right-hand side is reached. Obviously there must be an even number of strands for this pattern, and in fact the number used is always a multiple of four in order to allow of variations using two strands at once.

When the edge is reached, a smooth, round piece of wood is inserted in place of the fingers, pulled toward the near end of the frame to tighten the fabric, then the left fingers are inserted between the front and back strands on the near side of the stick. The front strands, starting now at the right edge, are successively slid off the finger while between each a back strand is picked up and placed on the fingers of the right hand, in such a way as to twist each back strand across and then above a front strand, just as was done the first time across but now working in the reverse direction. On reaching the other (now the left) side, another stick is inserted and the process is repeated, back and forth from one side to the other.

When the number of sticks becomes so great (commonly ten or twelve) that too much tension is produced, the farthest stick is pushed right around the end of the frame and up its other side until the twist in the strands that it pushes ahead of it reaches, at the near end, that put in and held by the fingers, and then the stick is removed. Then the second, third, etc., sticks are similarly slid around and removed, leaving only two or three in place, and the plaiting proceeds as before. Thus on the back, or under side, of the frame the sticks produce a fabric at the same time that the fingers do on the upper side which is equal in amount to that formed on top, on the near side of the fingers, and is an exact mirror image of the latter. In order to keep the working place conveniently near the body, the whole completed part of the fabric can, from time to time, be slid around to the lower side of the frame.

When the fingers have thus plaited what amounts to the full length of one side of the frame, the sticks have produced an equal amount and the whole thing is completely plaited in a continuous circular band. If, now, the last sticks were removed, the two reversed halves would run into each other and the plaiting would quickly unravel. It is necessary to insert a join or lock between the two. This may be done by replacing the last two, three or four sticks with transverse strings, or, more elegantly, by a crosstie similar to the plaited hammock crosstie described above. In either case the transverse locking strings are tied together at the edge of the band and their long ends are left dangling. Not uncommonly these ends are decorated with tassels, bead streamers, seeds, etc.

The simple one-over-one pattern described is seldom used, as a matter of fact. The commonest patterns are one-over-two and two-over-two. In the one-over-two pattern a single thread is twisted under or over the next two, etc., across the band. The two-over-two is exactly like the one-over-one except that pairs of threads are used each time instead of single threads. By

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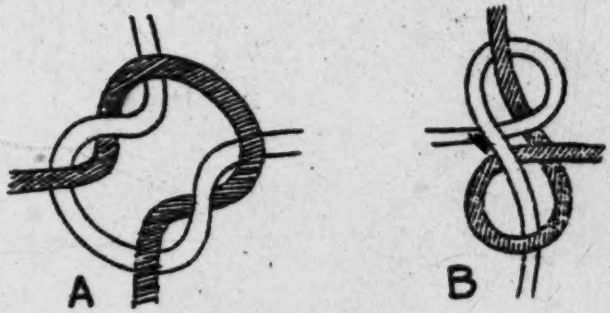

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crostie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

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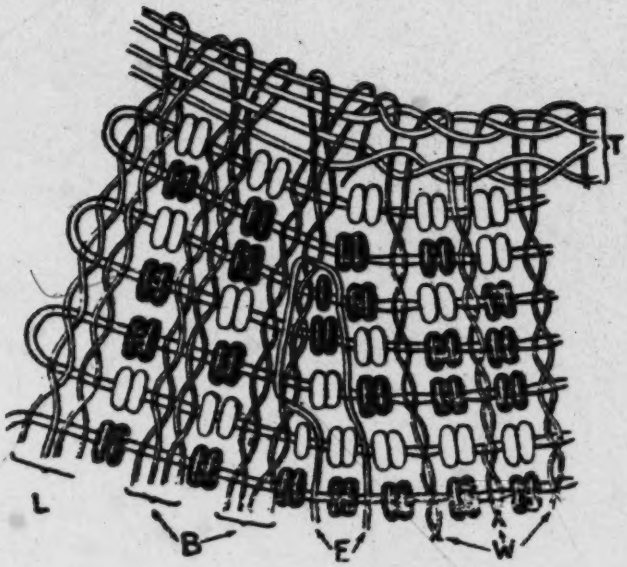

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

●286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb
[293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the
[227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]
[text continues on p. 174]

●286
291

Fig. 47 — Kamarakoto Bead Aprons.

Four typical bead aprons, motsa or mosa. The upper apron, for a small girl, is mainly white with red, white, and blue borders and a blue bead belt. The second is mainly blue with blue and white borders and red beads along top of fringe. The other two are plain blue with blue and white borders. In all four the cotton fringe is irregularly smeared pink or red.

Beadwork.

286 Beaded textiles form a distinct class because the beads are integral parts of the fabric and not merely applied in a textile that would be self-sustaining without them. The rigid hole of the bead joins threads or permits a change in their direction without the threads themselves necessarily interlocking in any way, as is necessary in all textiles without beads.

The most complicated and important beadwork is the construction of the moss or woman's apron. (See Fig. 46) This is woven on a loom made by bending a flexible stick into a wide inverted U and tying a straight stick across near the ends (Fig. 41 B). A bundle of four stout cotton strings is tied across this frame in its upper part, the ends left long and tied to the frame temporarily — they later become or are attached to the belt by which the apron is suspended. Warp strands, each a lightly twisted two-ply cotton thread, are tied into this in a manner analogous to the simpler four-strand hammock crosstie and exactly like the tie for festooned bead necklaces. (Fig. 48). A bundle of four warp strands on each side is tied at the end of the crossbar, outside the curved frame, to form the edges of the apron, and a second bundle of four, and sometimes a third or an additional bundle of two, is tied in the same place on each side medial to these border strands. As the weft is applied, it is worked into the edge strands so that they form a tie on the weft like the top crosstie on the warp and make a finished edge. Two beads on each weft strand are left between this and the next bundle of four warp strands and if there is a third bundle two beads are similarly left between it and the second bundle and these bundles are tied in like the edge bundle or, if there are only two strands in the third bundle, with a simple spiral twist like the simplest two-strand hammock tie (as described by Roth, for instance — the Kamarakotos themselves do not use a two-strand tie in hammocks).

The beads are strung on two strands of very fine two-ply cotton thread, the two strands being kept separate although strung together through each bead. A meter or so may be strung at one time. These strung beads form the weft. In the cases I have seen, the work is speeded up by working in two distinct weft strands at once, then doubling back with both. In descriptions of similar work among related tribes only one weft strand is mentioned.

The way of working the weft strands in the border bundles of warp strands has already been mentioned. In the main body of the apron the process is different. Here the warp strands not in use are lightly tied in several (five, six, or more) bundles on the crossbar to keep them from snarling. To work in the weft, the appropriate warp bundle is untied and the first warp strand of the bundle run between the two threads on which the beads are strung, then the next warp strand is run through, and so on, in each case leaving two beads between adjacent warp strands.

[text continues on p. 176]

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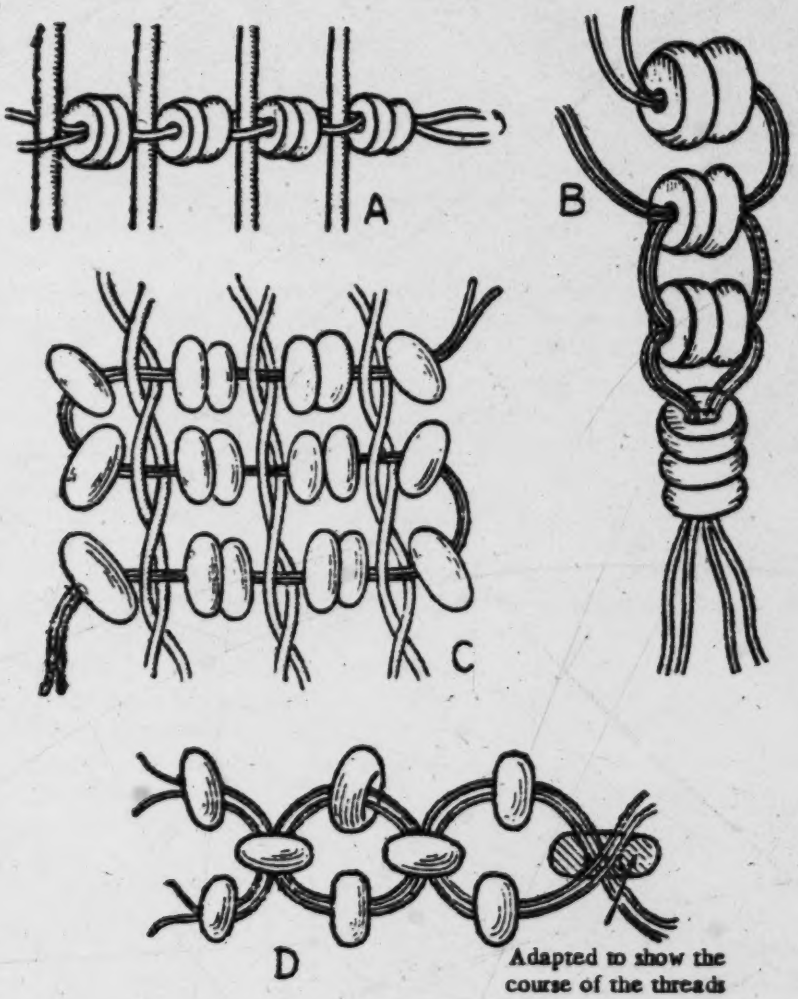

Fig. 49 — Kamarakoto Bead Technique.
A. the basic fabric (apron) technique, see Fig. 46. B. C. D. various necklace techniques. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is woven by the technique shown here in C.

● 286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture,

*285 128 171 they approach identity in a few cases, one is best considered as a development of plaiting with separate strands begun at an angle and the other as weaving with a relatively more flexible and less inactive warp than in true wicker.

*285 128 In order to accommodate this greatest class of South American basket textiles in the classification I have introduced another category under the rather clumsy but not entirely inept term "woven plaiting," leaving as "weaving," strictly speaking, wicker, twined, and wrapped work in which there is an absolute distinction between warp and weft, and the former is practically inflexible, or at least no special use is made of its flexibility within the weave (but only to shape the whole form of the object woven).

Since it includes almost all the basketry of the Indians under discussion, the subdivision of woven plaiting is of course carried to a much finer degree than that of the divisions that are less pertinent here.

*285 Among these Indians the distinction between woven plaiting and wicker weaving is difficult to maintain and is admittedly largely artificial, although it seems necessary to keep it in a classification of more than local use because as between different culture areas there is an absolute distinction here. It seems probable that what little wicker weaving the Kamarakotos do has simply arisen from their checked woven plaiting in part from the rare use of a relatively inflexible fiber and in part from certain unusual forms in which it is most convenient to hold one set of elements rigidly (whether or not they are inherently flexible) while the other set is woven across them. However, it arose, real wicker weaving is used by the Kamarakotos for flask-like baskets to hold kapok (for blowgun darts) and, more dubiously, on the shallow rims of square trays (matu:tu), but for practically no other purpose.

[171] [286] Lattice wicker and lattice twining are perhaps unknown and certainly rare in this whole culture area. I did not see or hear of any twined basketry among the Kamarakotos, although they use this technique freely in thread-textiles, another small bit of evidence that their basketry is to be considered as an offshoot of plaiting rather than of weaving.[150] Such work, of the simplest sort, is known in this culture area but it is rare and is most likely to be used for things like pot stands that are not baskets and can barely be considered as textile work even in the broadest sense.

[171] Wrapping is even rarer than twining. Plain and twilled wrapped weaving was not seen among the Kamarakotos and is rare or absent over the whole culture area, but a limited use is made of lattice wrapping — the Kamarakotos make fish traps in this way. Although it cannot technically be excluded from basketry, I suspect that this technique really has nothing to do with any of the other Kamarakoto basketry and is to be related rather to the techniques involved in house building, especially roofing, that is, simply to the procedure of tying rigid poles together.

150 [see footnote on p.325, category 116 – Analyst]

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

114 143. The daughters of Dr. Peña at Santa Elena showed me a rather poor
286 three-strand tie, which is unlike anything I have seen described from this region,
177 but which may not really be Taurepán since these girls are cultured, in a European sense, despite their extensive knowledge of the Taurepanes among whom they live and to whom their likewise cultured mother belongs.

114 144. But my wife informs me that it is basically unlike any "civilized"
286 technique, whether crocheting or knitting, and that the term is hardly applicable to it.

145. Roth says that bags are formed by sewing together the edges of the cylinder, but this is not true of the Kamarakotos, at least, and their procedure makes a seamless pocket that is much neater than would be produced by sewing.

*285 146. The usual stated distinction between checked (or checker) and twilled patterns is that the former is always one-over-one and the latter is one (or more)-over-two (or more). It seems to me that when two strands or more are woven into the checked pattern together, as if they were a simple two (or more)-ply strand, the result is not taxonomically distinct from the checked pattern. The essential difference is whether the pattern quadrangles, no matter how many strands form them, are simply alternating as in the checked pattern or whether they succeed each other in steps or some still more complicated way. I call only the latter sort of work twilled. Twilling cannot be one-over-one, but it can theoretically have any other over-and-under formula; checking is usually one-over-one but can theoretically have any over-and-under formula.

147. This rare and aberrant form, not seen among the Kamarakotos, should probably be considered only as a variant of the hexagonal lattice, in which one set of weft strands is lacking. Roth calls it pentagonal, which it is literally.

148. A variety of wrapping in which the weft strands interlock with each other as well as wrapping the warp elements, a style so distinctive that Roth is followed in distinguishing it from ordinary wrapping. Wrapping is transitional to coiling and the locked weave could even be classed as a sort of coil although its associations, and probably also its origin, are very different from those of true coiling. It is particularly close to "lace coil" (see next footnote), as Roth mentions (in different words).

[114] 149. Kissell (1916), who has given one of the best discussions of coiled basketry, includes a third type of coiling, lace coil. The lace coil, however, is really a thread-textile and not a basketry technique. It is used to make

*285 thread netting. The knotting in Kamarakoto nets can be considered as a variety of lace coil work, and Roth reports from the Uaupes River a completely typical example of lace coil in a fish net. In the examples studied by Kissell the lace coil serves some of the functions of basketry and is strongly associated with true basketry coiling, but in South America the same technique is used in a way unlike basketry and among Indians to whom coiled basketry is entirely unknown—strong arguments against classing it even secondarily as a basketry technique, at least in this context. It is true, as Roth points out, that his locked basketry weave is closely allied to the thread textile made by lace coiling (he does not use this name). It is barely possible that this uncommon type of basketry may have been derived from a thread textile technique, unlike almost all other basketry which arose from plain plaiting, but even were this proven it would hardly justify anyone in considering the lace coil thread-textile to be woven by a basketry technique, or as being in any way related to true coiled basketry.

● [286] 150. Note also the use of an advanced plaiting technique for thread-textiles.

151. Roth calls this the weft, but it is obviously the passive element and I follow good precedent in calling the passive element the warp, regardless of its direction.

101 171 152. Thus Wissler's summary of the southeastern culture area (1938) suggests probable West Indian and South American influence in methods of starchy root preparation, use of fish poisons, some details of house construction, use of blowguns, etc.

*285 114 227 153. Roth places here fish traps like those of the Kamarakotos, but they do not seem to me to be baskets in a strict sense.

*285 252 154. The Warraus and some other distant tribes use them (with a different edging) for sifting moriche ("ite") flour, but Kamarakotos do not make this flour and do not use <u>ocapa</u> for sifting.

*285 171 155. Roth describes a similar edging technique which he says is used by the Arawak and Warrau on sieves for trade, not for their own use. The Kamarakotos make it for their own use, and in fact I did not observe that they were acquainted with any simpler technique for this purpose.

156. It is not true that these, or as far as I know any South American Indians, weave baskets so tight that they are waterproof without a leaf lining or an outer coating of gum or wax. Such a result can hardly be achieved except

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

797

Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

2:Armellada--32a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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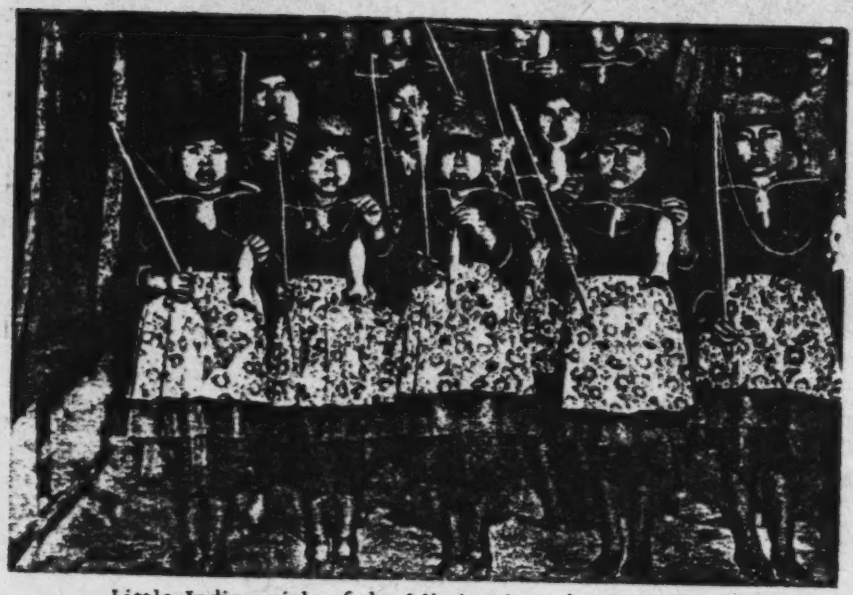
142

Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

797

The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

/40 cont./

which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements,

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went
789 on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the
538 case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

This is the so-called tauróu, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

060 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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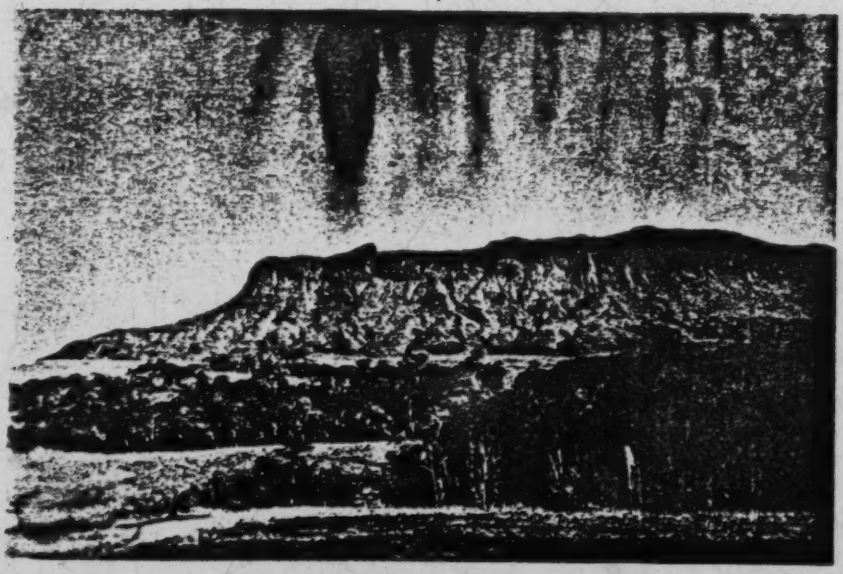

This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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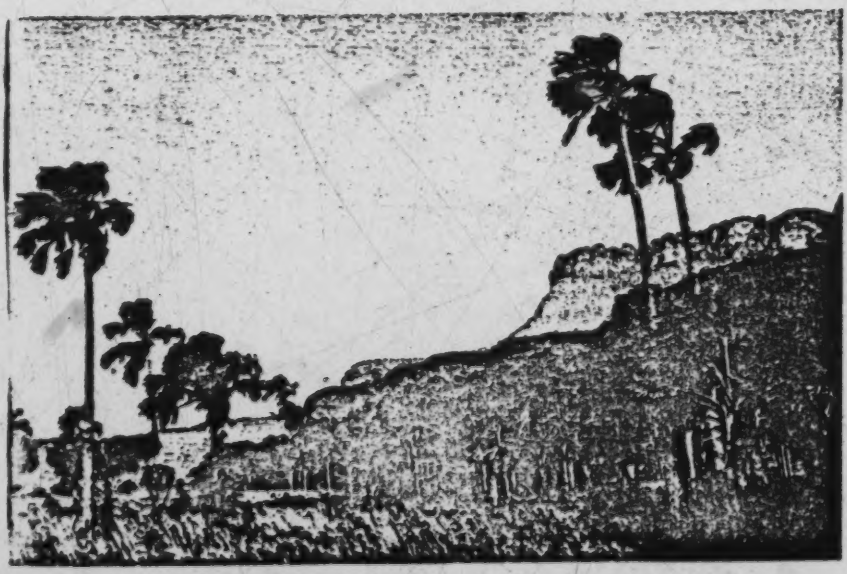

Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

/68 cont./

156 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "their faces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/. Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

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/69 cont./

148. The propagandists of nudism as a very natural and comfortable thing should have seen or tested somewhat the preference of all kinds of insects for the parts that modesty hides in order to be conscious of how erroneous their theories are.

In error a number of ethnographers and Freudian writers state that clothes have the function of aphrodisiacs (to veil for more attraction), based on the fact that the Indians use adornments even on their miserable guayucos. It is true that this phenomenon does occur indirectly; but with better discernment before them did Cicero say that clothing, used at first to satisfy necessity, later served for adornment and seduction; thus it is a natural law of man in his dwelling, food, language, and in all other things, to mix what is sweet and attractive with what is useful and necessary.

291 In any case, all theories aside, what is certain is that the Indians in their rustic clothing, more in their words by means of euphemisms, and even more in their acts, which they resolutely guard, are in general modest.

149. In the moral system, developing the comparison which we set forth at the beginning, there occurs the same thing as in the physiological system. There is a positive, accidental morality which is based on and confused with customs or practices; in this regard the famous saying of Pascal comes to mind: "True and good on this side of the Pyrenees; false and bad over on the other side." But there is another universal morality independent of the practices and the will of man, the same in all geographic latitudes hither and beyond the seas, invariable in the midst of the variability of times and of climes, which strikes us and his upon the soul like a categorical imperative, just as corporal light strikes us through the eyes. This is simply natural morality, which accompanies every man as instinct accompanies every animal. /70/

150. It is true that practice does not always arrive at the level of the moral concept or knowledge of duty, but this is a failing common to all men. The saying, "video meliora

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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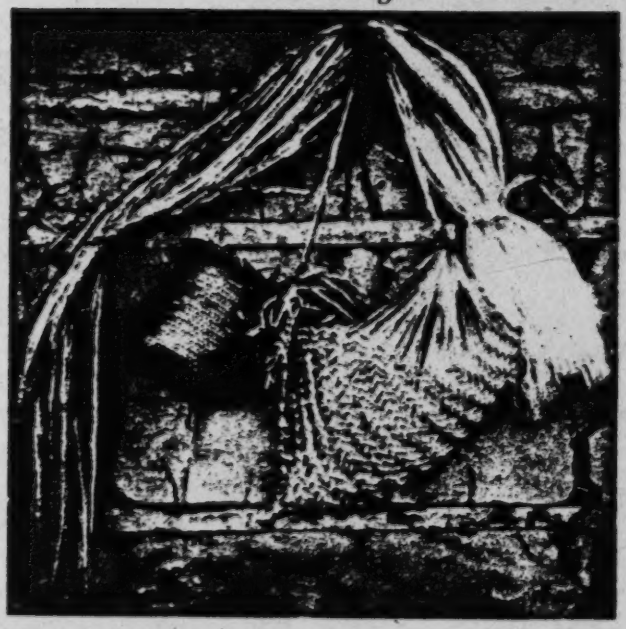

Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
●291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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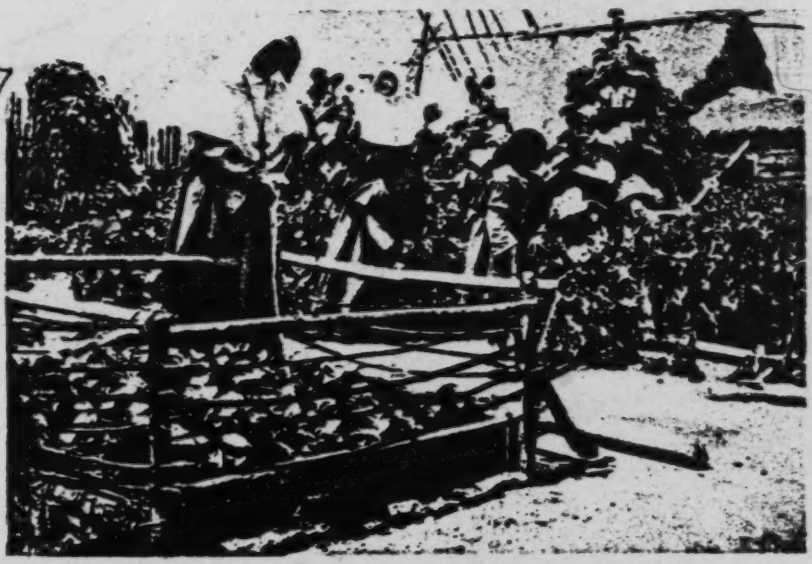

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

/99 cont./

291 Returning to the comparison with clothing, it can be seen quite clearly that it is not necessary to deprive the Indians of their beads and rustic adornments in order that they may adopt our ways of dressing, which are more useful against the inclemencies of the seasons and biting insects; nor is it necessary that by force we oblige them to dress and to wear footwear; their own need and their own desire stimulate them sufficiently 77/ toward it. Thus, neither more nor less happens to them with religion, since they scarcely have the rudiments of it, they are desirous of completing them with our explanations and teachings.

And to want us, as some would have it, not to give them any religious instruction whatsoever, is like wanting us not to give them clothing for their bodies, nor to explain physics to them, nor that we assist their agriculture, nor give them medicine. Could it perhaps be that life is not worth more than nourishment and the body more than clothing? /100/

Conclusion

Now, to end our ethnographic notes, here is an anecdote of something that happened to me on a certain occasion and at a certain place, the name of which is of no matter. Besieged and roasted by questions on the most varied matters regarding Indians, after I had run out of explanations, I chose to answer everything with the aforesaid "more or less like ourselves." Then one of my questioners, half in jest, struck me this blow: "Father, however much you may say, the most that we shall concede you is that Indians are the animal most similar to man."

I hope that my patient readers will have gotten a slightly higher idea of the Indians in the course of the chapters in which I have tried to study their soul and present it just as I have seen it during my years of living happily among them,

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bo is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
301

154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru peregaːmsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi'.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsirirnka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsa', i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupa, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasu:ru-seke-katsa'.
[304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo', (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 A [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamũi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pũgamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[30]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*197

180. *karõi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analysis]

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS13
Kamarakoto

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Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.
The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

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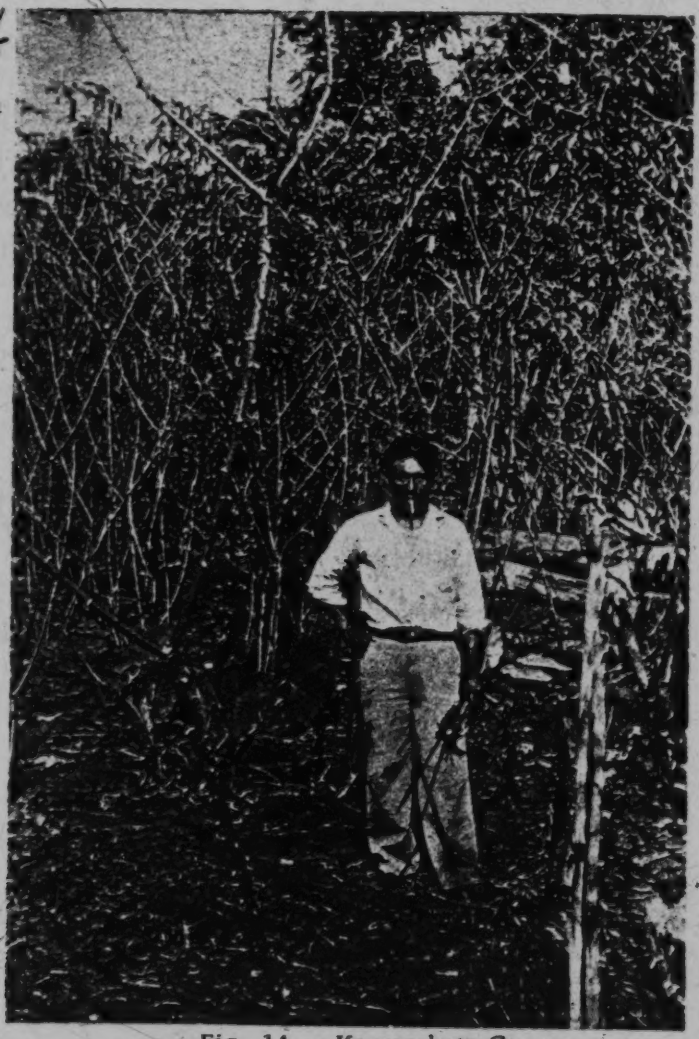

Fig. 14 — Kamarakoto Conuco.
Another part of the same conuco as in Fig. 13, here with a fairly pure stand of mature Manihot, the principal crop. The man (Antonio Montesdeoca, a Kamarakoto) is 1.55 meters in height.

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Fig. 20 – Barbasco Fishing.
Men beating the barbasco to liberate the poison in the water.

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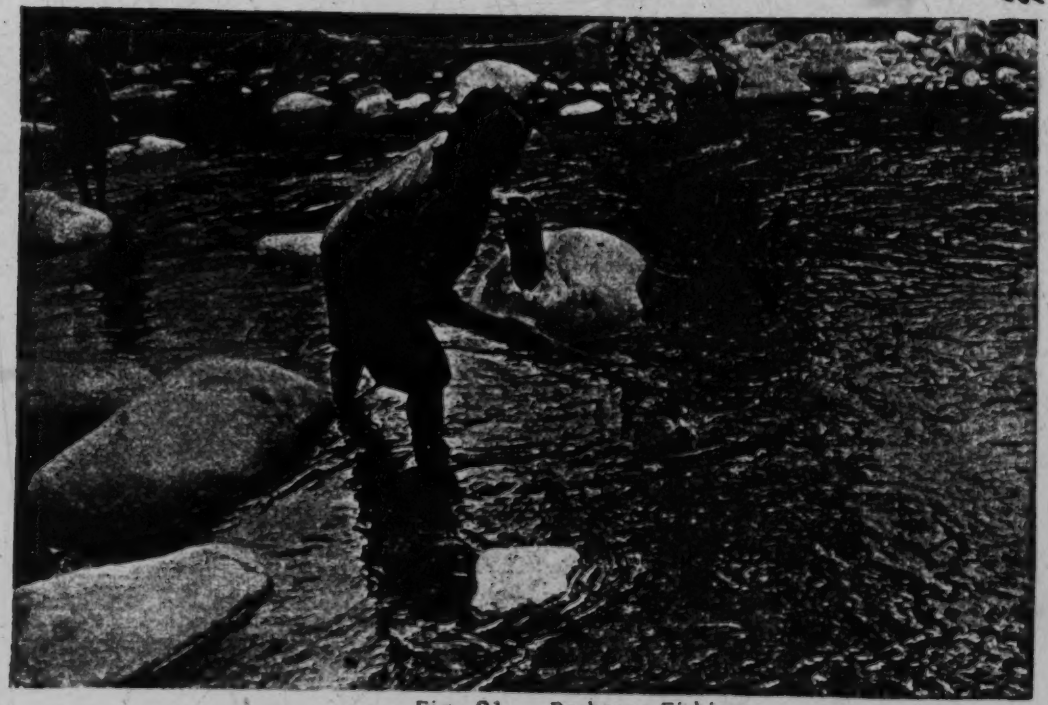

Fig. 21 — Barbasco Fishing.
Woman gathering disabled fish with a net (iru').

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

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Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press, tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

• 291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, [173] gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 48]

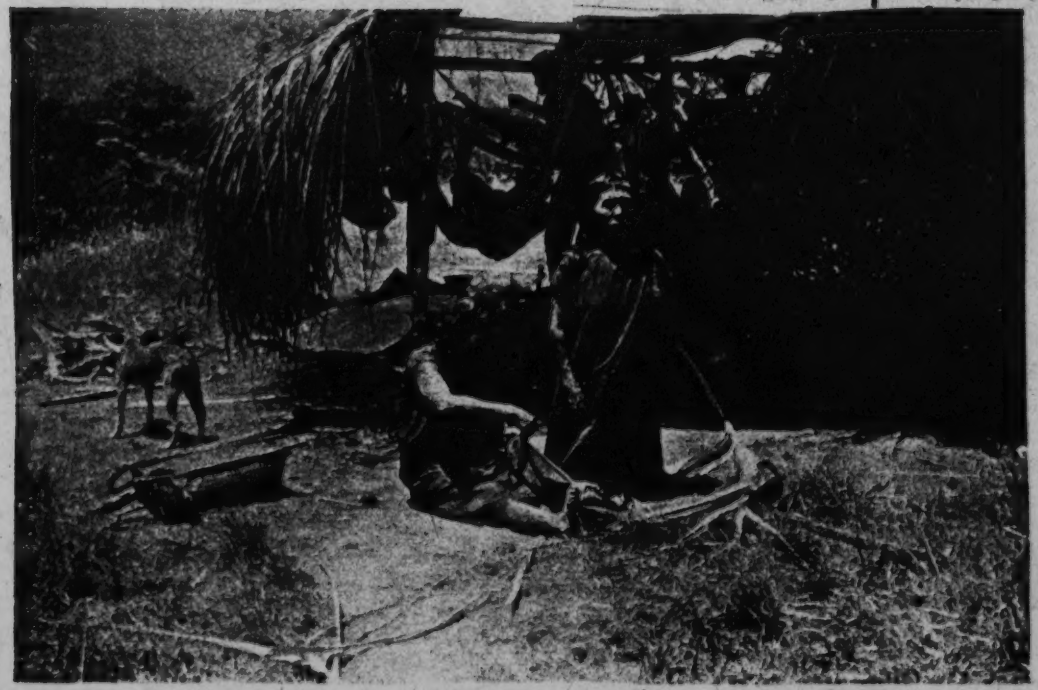

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-aka:müi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p 322, category 11b - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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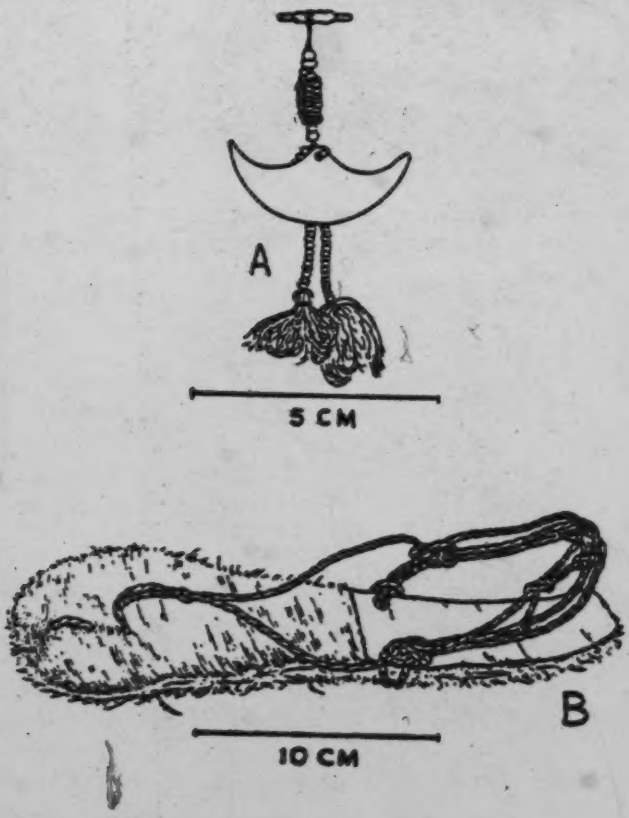

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 11b - Analysis]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[208] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
●291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[46] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[58] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

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114 opinion. Despite this array of authority, I venture to disagree to the extent of
291 believing that both the loincloth and the apron are aboriginal, although their distribution has undoubtedly been modified since the European invasion and perhaps in part because of it.

No one can or does doubt that many tropical Indians went completely naked, and some do to this day, but it is faulty generalization to conclude from early observations of this fact that the loincloth and apron are not aboriginal. Indeed many or most of the early authorities who state that the Indians are naked go on to say that they have loincloths or aprons or both. This is true of Barrere, on whom De Goeje principally relies, and an equally early authority (Gumilla, 1745) also notes the use of loincloths. Harcourt (in "Purchas his pilgrimes"), a still older authority, says, like Barrere, that the Indians are "all naked" and, also like Barrere, immediately adds that some of them do wear loincloths. The evidence of the earliest authorities is not really that clothing was unknown, but merely that some Indians dispensed with it, a fact that is not in any doubt for that or any subsequent time. References to the use of pubic coverings are as old as those to complete nakedness and often are the same references. In the first place these early observers often called an Indian naked even if he (or she) covered the pubic region, but was otherwise bare, and in the second place they emphasized the true nakedness of some individuals or tribes without meaning or saying that all the Indians were stark naked. The scanty but fairly definite historic evidence is thus opposed to the conclusion so often drawn from it: it strongly suggests that some Carib or other tropical Indians were wearing loincloths, at least, probably also aprons, when the Europeans first encountered them.

114 In any case, I am quite at a loss to see by what reasoning it could be sup-
291 posed likely that these coverings arose under European influence. The idea
177 verges on the ridiculous, because it is quite obvious that no European visitors wore anything of the sort. They may have urged the more widespread use of the native garment, faute de mieux, although there is little clear evidence even of this, but their efforts in general and as recorded by themselves were of course to make the Indians adopt European garments, dresses for the women and trousers for the men. In fact, to a European missionary or voyager the native apron as female raiment is scarcely more modest than complete nudity and it is contrary to common sense as well as to the records to suppose that they introduced this scanty garment.

174 Koch-Grünberg's etymological argument is also valueless. Contrary to
114 his statement (also made by Roth and others), there is a native Carib word for
291 loincloth: it is wayiku (and numerous variants) which does not, as commonly supposed, apply only to the female garment. In some tribes it means that; in others, it includes both male and female pubic coverings; in still others, including the Kamarakotos, it means only the male loincloth. It is reasonably certain that the word originally applied to both male and female garments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[179] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

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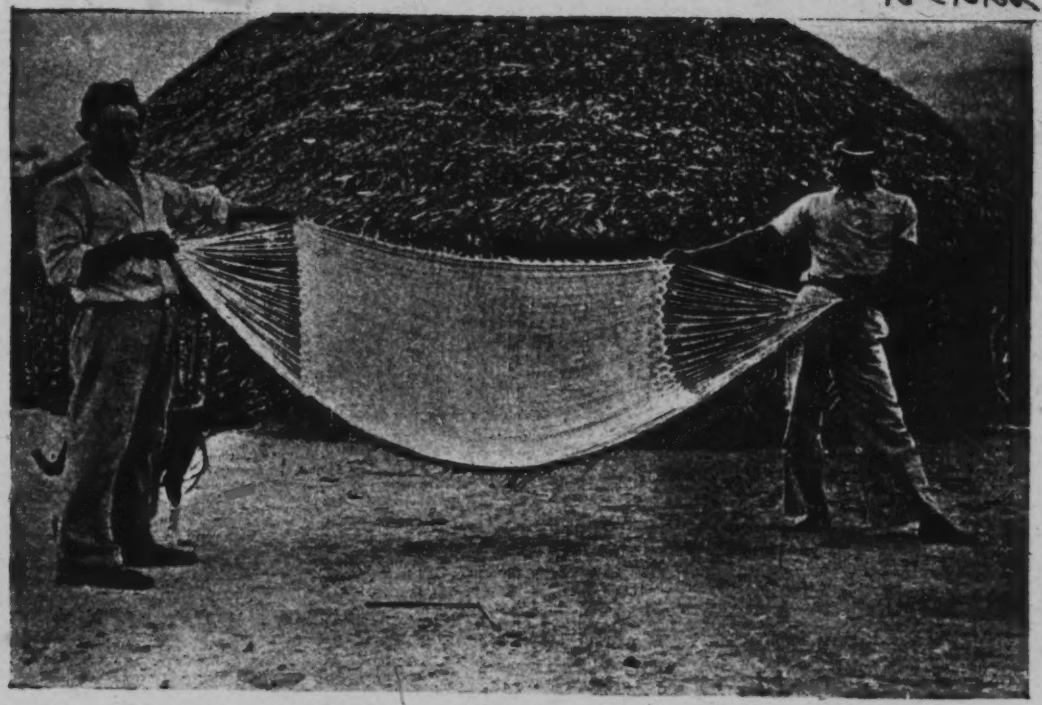

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 47 — Kamarakoto Bead Aprons.

Four typical bead aprons, motsa or mosa. The upper apron, for a small girl, is mainly white with red, white, and blue borders and a blue bead belt. The second is mainly blue with blue and white borders and red beads along top of fringe. The other two are plain blue with blue and white borders. In all four the cotton fringe is irregularly smeared pink or red.

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Fig. 55 – Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

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Fig. 74 — Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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Fig. 75 – Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for [436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare otapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balata and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In [178] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un- [172] [29] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.

The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.

[See P. 204, Category 116 — Analyst]

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[573] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

857 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[1 7] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
892 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
● 291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analysis]

177 life and in habits of thought and by things that induce or that follow such more
[291] thorough-going modifications. The aboriginal fringe apron was not essentially modified on the colonial level by the use of glass beads in its manufacture, but the introduction of dresses on the modern level betokens a profound change in the use of clothing and in the psychological attitude toward it and arising from it.

It is possible that the Kamarakotos were exposed to this modern level of innovation by the end of literally colonial times, but if so it did not permanently affect them and no trace of such old direct European influence is now clearly evident. Perhaps in the most exact sense and certainly as regards essential effect on them, Kamarakoto contacts directly with the outer world are about a generation old and have begun to have a profoundly modifying influence only in recent years, or one might almost say months. Five years ago the name "Kamarakoto" was known but the tribe, as a group of real human beings, about whom the cultivated world knew, could only be called undiscovered. In truth the Kamarakotos discovered the outer world, that is, civilized Venezuela, before the world discovered them. While learned men still did not know where or how the Kamarakotos lived, the Kamarakotos already knew quite well where the nearest Venezuelan towns were and what sort of life went on there.

177 On their own initiative they have brought back a great deal from these
185 explorations of their own, which still continue, and this is one of the peculiar and striking factors in their present cultural situation. One or two of the most influential men in the tribe, notably the cacique Alejo Calcaño, have lived for considerable periods in Venezuelan towns, learned Spanish, become conversant with at least the superficial aspects of Venezuelan civilization, and brought this knowledge back to the tribe. To extend and consolidate this influence the cacique himself sent his nephew Antonio Montesdeoca into the settlements to acquire similar knowledge and to return with it to the tribe. The attitude of these men is one of progressivism, as they understand it. They are not willfully destroying the Indian way of life, but their influence is almost constantly to make it conform more and more to the ordinary Venezuelan pattern. The effects are not very apparent as yet, but the nature of this influence from within augurs rapid change. The effects are probably nearly as rapid as would be those of direct contact by the tribe as a whole. At least they are less conducive to antagonism and degeneracy, for they tend to follow the course of adapting new things to the Indian life rather than of uprooting Indian culture faster than it can be replaced, a frequent effect of the usual means of direct action.

177 More direct influence is still more recent and is mainly represented by
[illegible] our own expedition and, to less extent, by that of last year. Even when, as was not primarily true in those cases, such expeditions have the purpose of studying the Indians as they are, they inevitably have the effect of considerably upsetting things as they are. They introduce all sorts of goods that would not reach them

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to '-esa' of Uruyén.

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Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.
Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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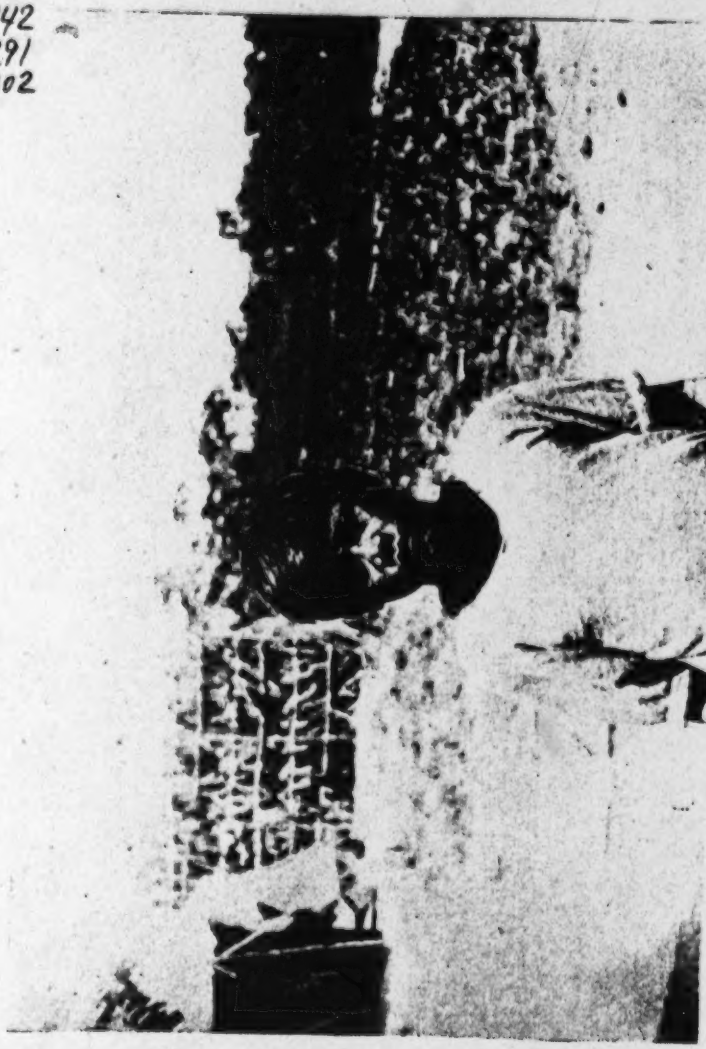

Fig. 87 — Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

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Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 89 – Kamarakoto Adult Women.

No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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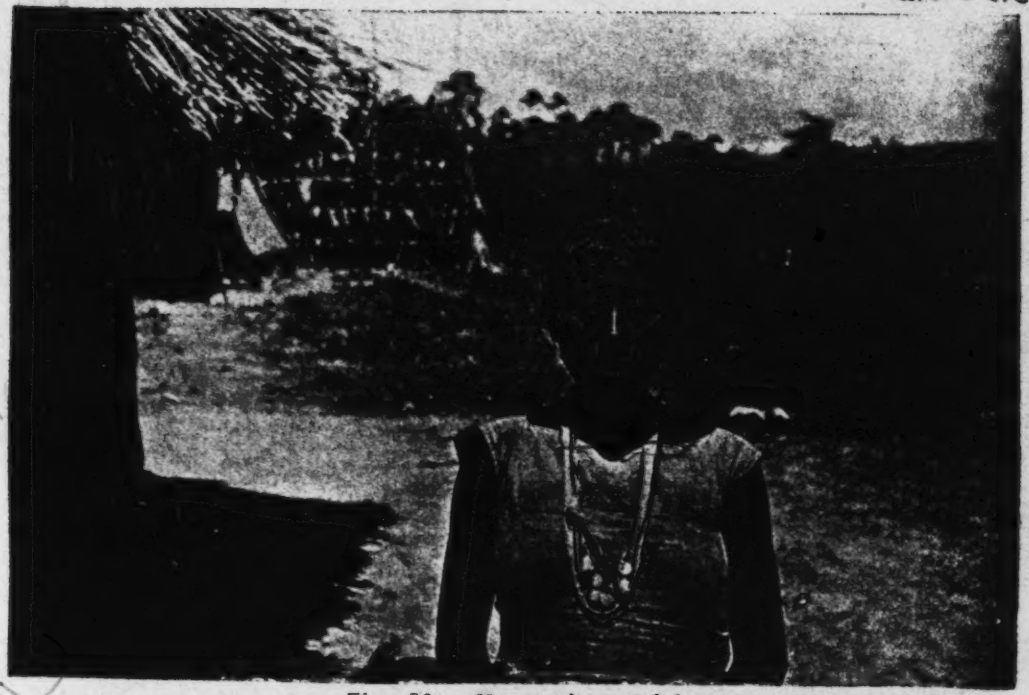

Fig. 90 – Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

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Fig. 92 — Kàmarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [51] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [347] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 93 — Feet of Kamarakoto Females.

No. 49 (left, only one foot showing) is adult and the mother of the other three, left to right Nos. 52 (youngest sister), 51, and 50 (oldest sister, but probably not over 8 years). Note increasing spreading of foot and divergence of great toe with greater age.

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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.
No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

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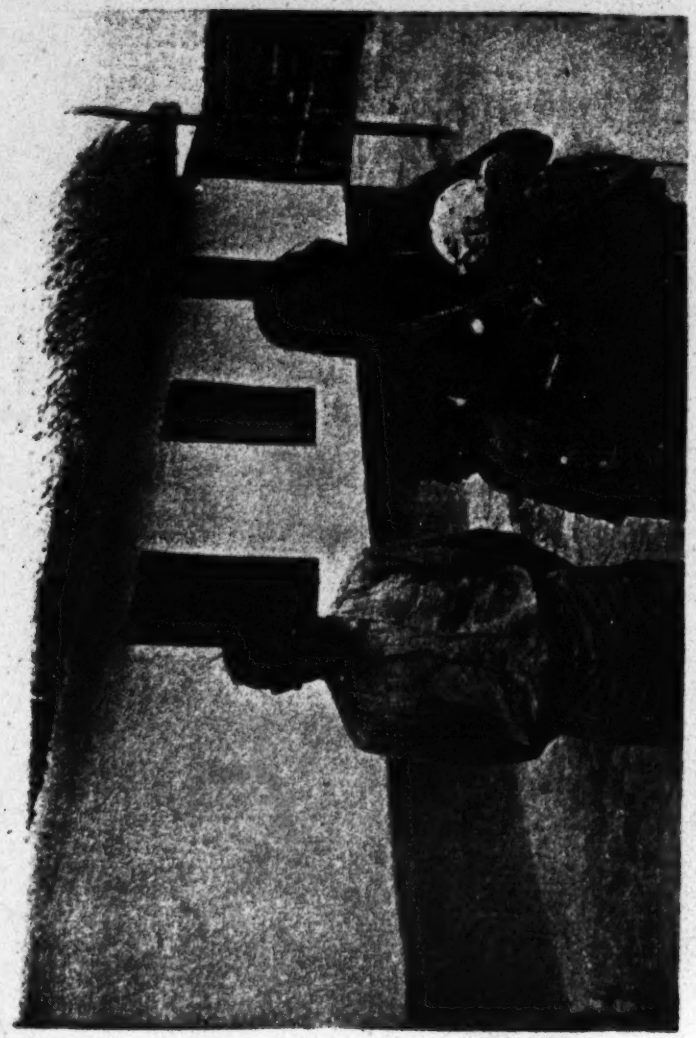

Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 97 – Taurepá[illegible]lt Male.
No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena an[illegible]s four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

/60 cont./

881 b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;
[302]

881 c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no
841 one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she
521 wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of
[593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pəraí).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[301]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

● [292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karöi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analysis]

*192
*197
291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) polai (=porai).

*192
291
177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — somberero
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[30]

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Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karöi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analysis]

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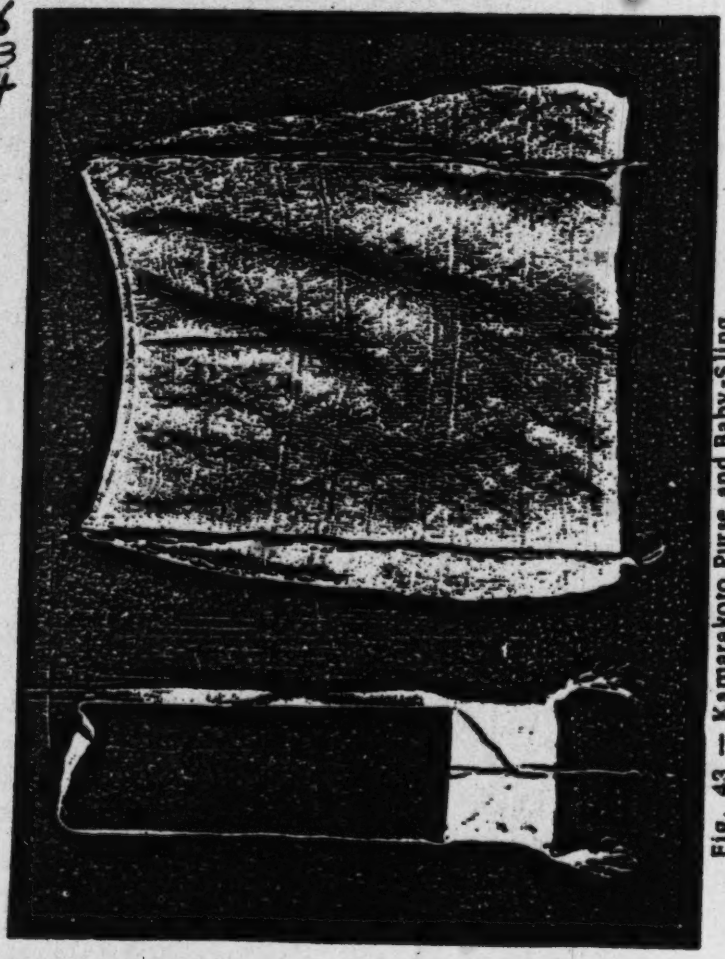

Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A, cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B, cotton baby-sling.

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb
● [293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the
[227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]
[text continues on p. 174]

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/Information on the use of beads as an integral part of a woven fabric will be found in category 286./

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Kamarakoto

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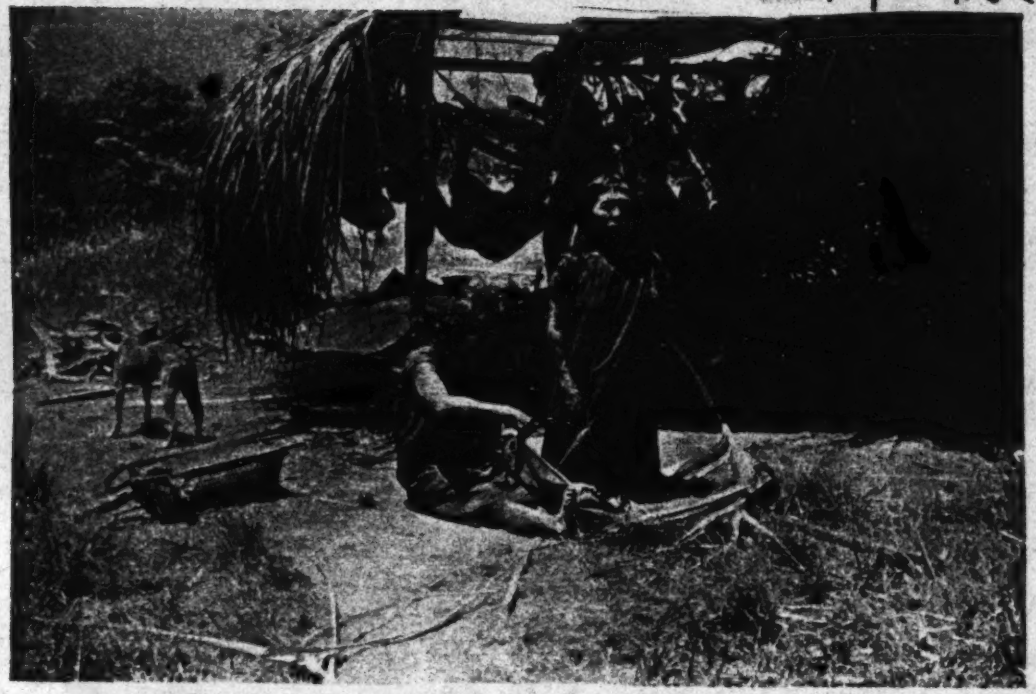

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-akaːmūi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129–131 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 11b – Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[129] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[268] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[484] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates,[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.
114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
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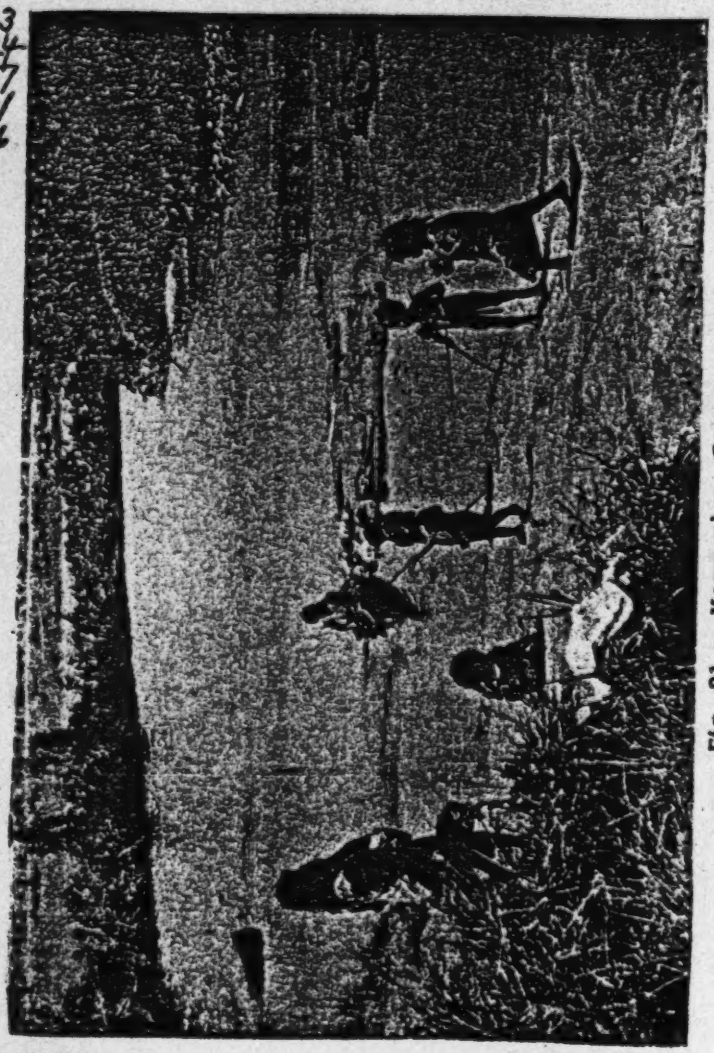

Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not) [853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is [301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean [171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
● 296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analysis]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
● 296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
~~288~~ pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
341 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

177 179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
439 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
[411] been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[412] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[301] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[291] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
287 cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
314 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
411 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
412 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bə is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
●301

154. (Glass) bead — kasuru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasuru pəregatsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichi'.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pülü.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsa', i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okü-yeupə, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasuru-seke-katsa'.
[304] 162. Tattooing — metatmen
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondo'. (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mbaipon. (u)pon.
291
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r.[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco.[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmüi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (=pərai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakume.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

● [30] 175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292] 176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854] 177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293] 178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karōi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

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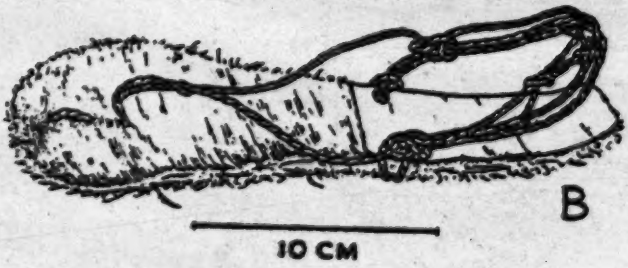

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 A [see footnote on p. 322, category 11b - Analysis]

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

● 301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 301 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:-nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[322] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupa ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p.154]

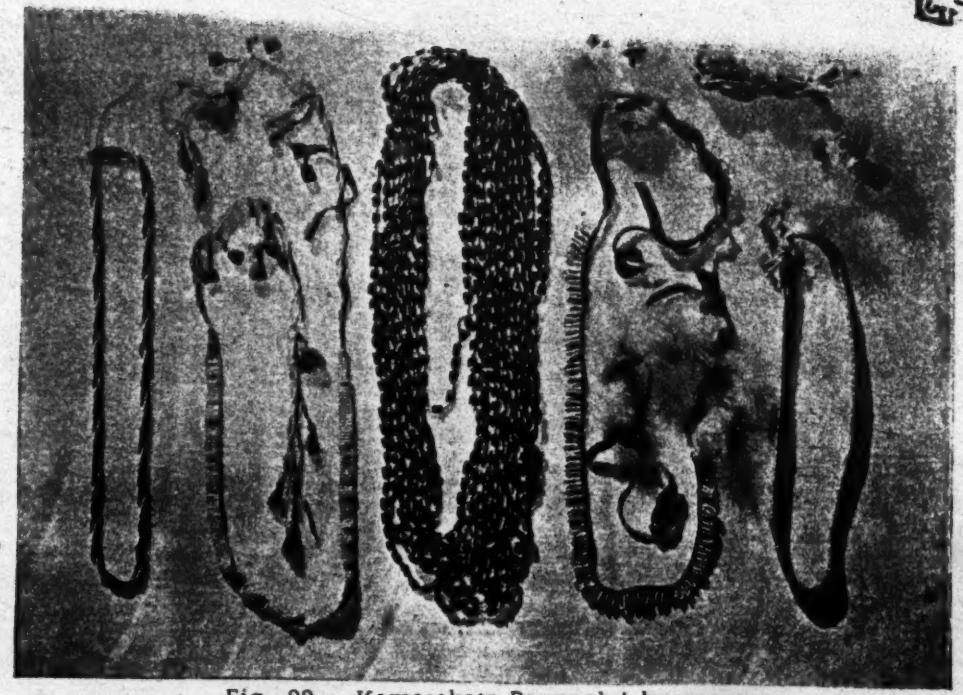

Fig. 33 — Kamarakoto Personal Adornment.

A, a man's belt of twisted strands of red, white, and blue beads. B, flat white bead-band necklace with streamers and tassels. C, multiple single-strand necklace of white beads and brown seeds. D, festooned white bead necklace with tassels and down-puffs. E, woven cotton woman's dance head-dress with back streamer with down-puffs.

301 177 sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichiᵊ is [237] usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregamsa and the yaichiᵊ are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kamru-pregamsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

301 184 Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. [304] This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence.

301 304 Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear.

301 The most prized type of pendant, panadainoᵊ, and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

304 We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away [157] from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

●301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [164] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, 388 but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black 824 paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

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Fig. 42 – Kamarakoto Plaiting Loom.
The loom in Fig. 41 A is here shown in use.

286 There are several variations, but the basic technique underlying all of them is as follows: To start, an ordinary chain, as in knitting, is made. The needle is inserted through a loop in the chain and a small loop of thread pulled through. A second similar loop is then pulled through the next loop of the chain and then this is pulled through the first loop (using the fingers now, not the needle) and the first loop is tightened on this by pulling on the proper place (Fig. 44). A third loop is then made and passed through the second, and so on. The next row is made by looping through the first, just as the first was looped through the initial chain.

[301] This technique is used in making armlets and leglets, crocheting continuously around the limb so that a tube is produced. This is made on the limb [293] and cannot be removed without destroying it. The most interesting and elegant use of the technique, however, is to make purses or carrying bags, pakara, which are carried by the men although, like all cotton work, made by the women. In this case the initial chain becomes the bottom of the bag and it is left straight so that the first row instead of beginning at the first end of the chain and making an open circle begins at the far end (last one made) and is carried around both sides of the chain, which thus forms a closed, straight end of the knitted cylinder, which in this case is flattened, not really cylindrical.[145] At the other, open, end of the cylinder a flat, triangular flap cover is produced by doubling back on each row, making each shorter than the last. This produces a ribbed pattern not unlike that of the old-fashioned ribbed stockings but with the ribs running across the working edge, not at right angles to it, and the effect is quite different from that of the smooth surface of the cylinder where the crocheting is always in the same direction. In order to support the cylinder while under construction (as the leg or arm does in crocheting bands on them) it is made around a smooth piece of wood of the size and shape of the inside of the purse.

A length of string, usually ending in a tassel, is left at the point of the flap and wrapped around the purse to close it, and a woven carrying band, to slip over the shoulder, is sewed to the sides of the purse.

The last type of common thread textile is netting, usually made by the [227] men from curagua thread. These nets, used only for fishing (which see), are made with very open square meshes. Several simple knots are used, of which the two in widest use are shown in Fig. 45. A peculiarity common to all of them is that a given thread leaves the knot at right angles to its entrance into it, so that it forms two contiguous sides of a square of the mesh and the mesh is built up by a series of zig-zags. The squares are oblique with respect to the rim of the net, which is thus fabricated on the bias and expands and contracts readily in a vertical direction.

145 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]
[text continues on p. 174]

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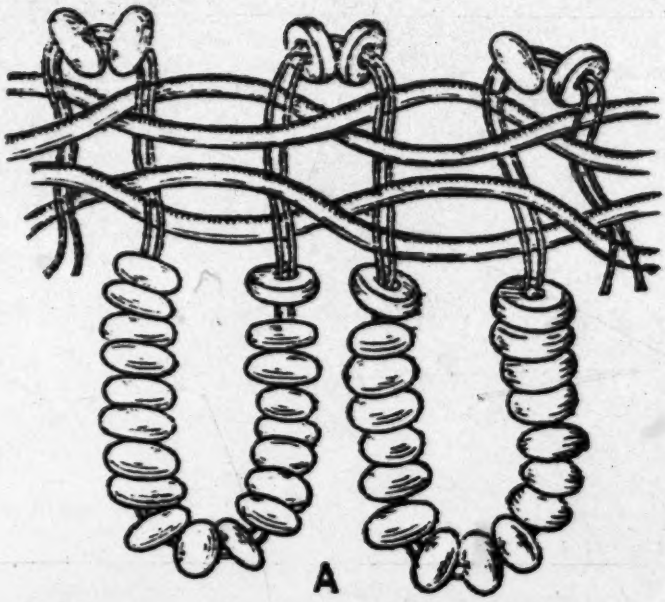

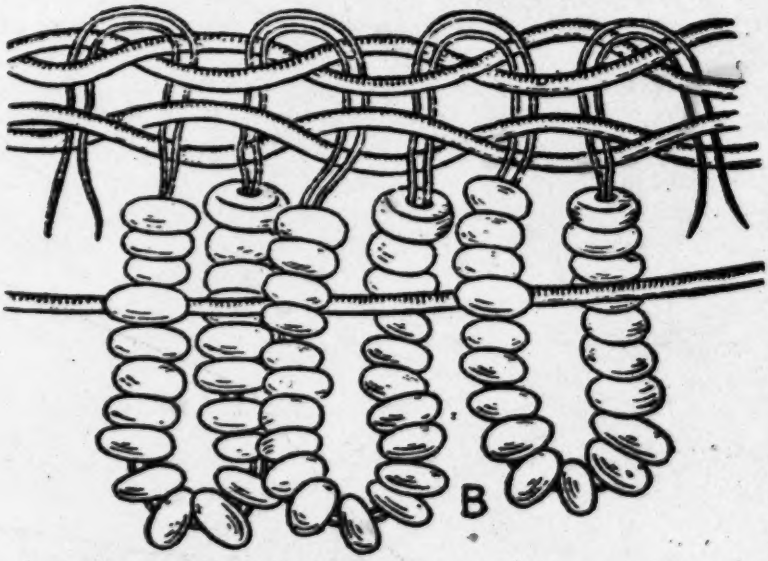

Fig. 48 — Kamarakoto Bead Necklace Technique.
A, B, two types of festooned necklaces. In the finished necklace the work is drawn tight and is shown here in a diagrammatic way for clarity. The necklace in Fig. 33 D is made by this technique.

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Fig. 77 – Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See P. 204, Category 116 -- Analysis]

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not) [853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is [301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean [171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

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Fig. 89 — Kamarakoto Adult Women.
No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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Fig. 90 – Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter, lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 92 – Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [514] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá.

Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans, Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
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171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
● 301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--22b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

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Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

/31 cont./

remember those dancers of the twelfth century, who appeared in Artois and Flanders, whom Proodt tells us about in his book, Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo /The Mysterious Phenomena of Psychism/, who "yielded themselves furiously to violent dances and exercises of dislocation, who asserted that they were favored with celestial visions. They would dance to the point of physical exhaustion, would fall like an inert mass, and seem to be lifeless." Why strange, then, that the Indians might not deceive themselves in the same fashion?

66. Dances are not organized to celebrate births, marriages, or deaths, since it is quite precluded by the extremely simple and private form of these, the restrictions imposed by the couvade with regard to the newborn and the asarakpué with regard to defunct relatives, all of these incompatible with the gluttony and imbibing in dances.

Neither are they organized as a preparation for great hunts or fishing; on the contrary, the men generally go out hunting or fishing six or eight days before them, while the women are preparing the fermented drinks.

67. The most ordinary reasons for dances are: construction of new dwellings, return from long journeys, and the simple desire of relatives to get together, since it is a fact that the Indians live very scattered, almost always only two or three families in each place. To this would have to be added the desire to make a show of wealth in food, almost the only thing which the Indians can at times show off, thus unknowingly fulfilling the caustic saying of our village people: "If he is so rich let him have dinner twice."

68. The most common autochthonous dances among these Indians are the tukui and the parichará; among the exotic ones, the origins of which we noted in our previous article, they perform in some regions the areruya chochimás.

In their dances the Indians customarily paint the face and the whole body with these three colors, principally: red from annatto, or achicote /sic/, white from clay or kaolin and

/31 cont./

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called ruê, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that 262 515 mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

● 302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

This is the so-called taurón, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
●302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

/58 cont./

765 As a result of this they must withdraw from dealing with
753 others; they must not join in to eat other people's food nor offer to others food prepared for them, since they would make them sick, causing them to have stomach-aches, intestinal decomposition, and similar things. I even recall having heard them often attribute to this diarrhea and intestinal worms in children, who are weaker and of more exquisite sensitivity to feel evil influences and vibrations, to say it in one way, sympathetic.

Keep in mind that this infection is not due only nor principally to physical contact with the dead person, but to sympathetic or physio-psychological contact; so that, even at a distance and far away from the dead relative, this will influence equally all his kindred.

[302] In addition to the observances noted above, mourners shave their heads completely and paint themselves with annatto or achiote, but the women are left with a little lock of hair on top.

When one moon or more has passed, those affected by the asarakpué wash themselves, together with all of their implements and clothing, using verbasco lye. And thus they can return to common, everyday life.

[783] It would be too much to say that at present the Pemón Indians observe this with all rigor; against the natural protest of the piaches and the old people, the younger generations are losing these beliefs and customs.

100 Both practices, those of the couvade and those of the asarakpué, are quite similar to the Mosaic legal prescriptions concerning the impurity of parturient women and concerning those who touch corpses; thus it can be seen that in past centuries, when ethnology was still in diapers, there was an attempt to discover by means of these a close link between the Indians and the Jews.

/60 cont./

881 b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;

[302] c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

881 784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 841 521 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of [593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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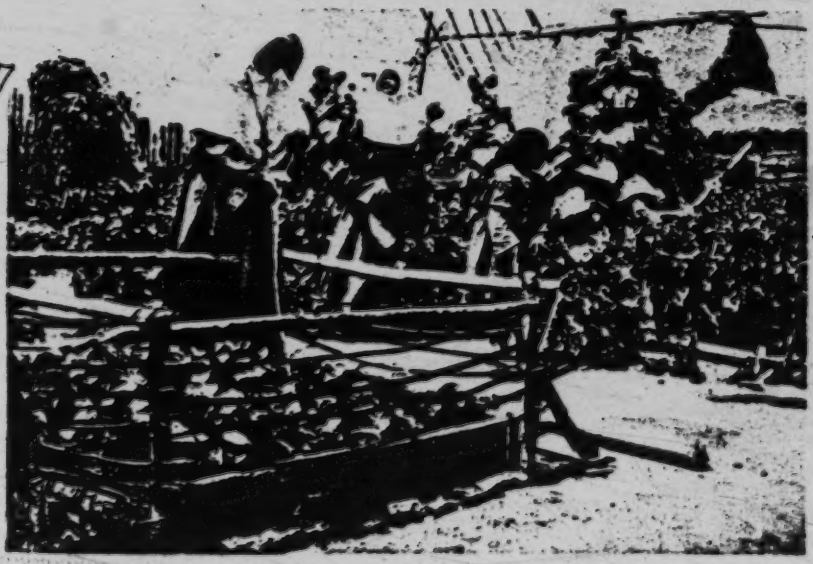

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamũi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pũgamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[301]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karõi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

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[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

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181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-to. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

● [302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
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f. Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[1] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

● 302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karõi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 – Analport]

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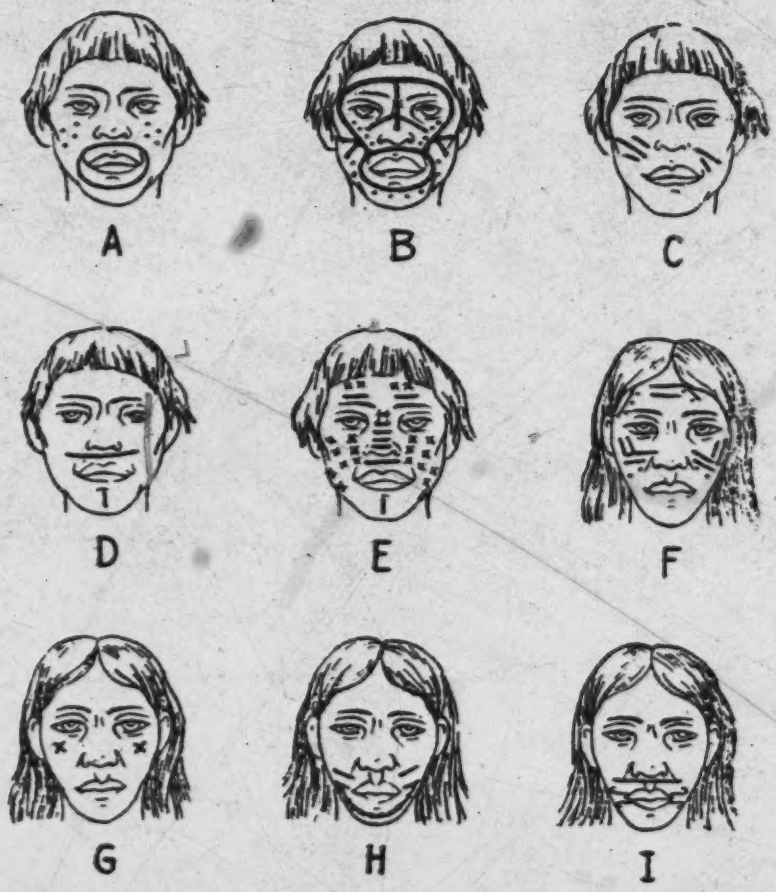

Fig. 34 — Arekuna Face Painting and Tattooing.
A - H, Kamarakotos. A, adolescent male, caruto painting. B, adolescent male, caruto painting. C, young boy, onoto painting. D, adult male, caruto painting. E, adult male, caruto painting, worn by drummer at dance. F, young female, whole face smeared with onoto and design applied over this with caruto. G, adult female, tattooing. H, adult female, tattooing. I, Taurepán, tattooed adult female with typical Taurepán hook pattern not seen among Kamarakotos.

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air.
Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mansa-yg?, a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[139] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.
302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[114] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [554] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various eremba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [273] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See P. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [384] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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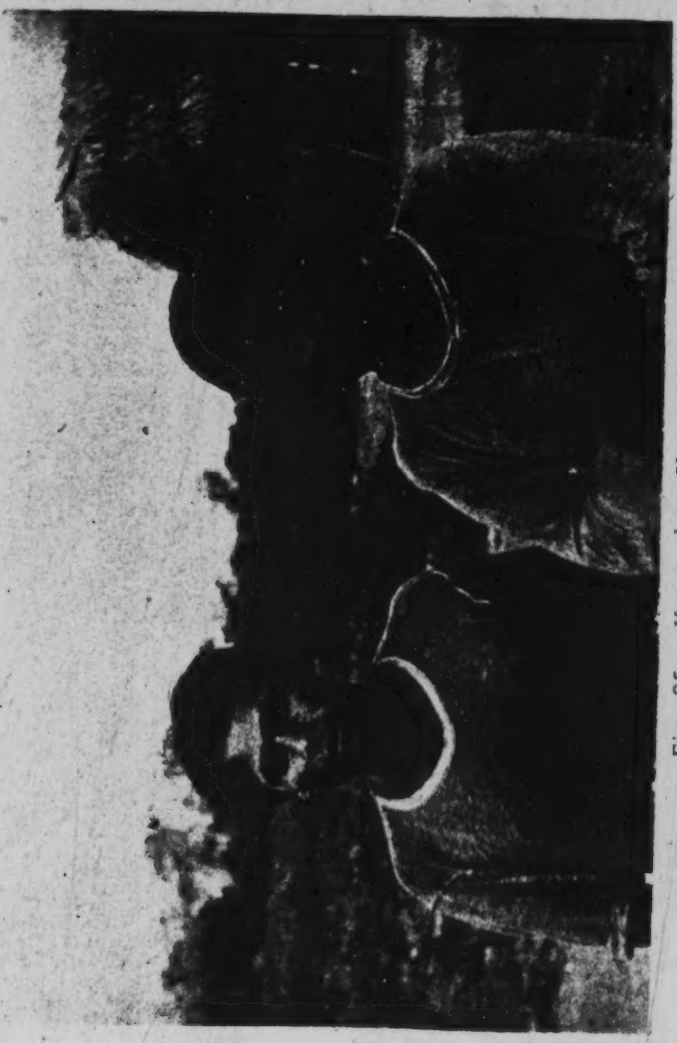

Fig. 85 – Kamarakoto Young Men.

Nos. 22 (left) and 21 (right). Young adults from Atapamota.

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Fig. 86 — Kamarakoto Young Man and Boy.

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Fig. 87 — Kamarakoto Boy.
No. 16, nephew and adopted son of No. 8 (Fig. 84).

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Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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Fig. 89 — Kamarakoto Adult Women.
No. 5 (left) and No. 4 (right), sisters, both married. Each has had two children but of the four only one son of No. 5 survives. They live in Abasakapan.

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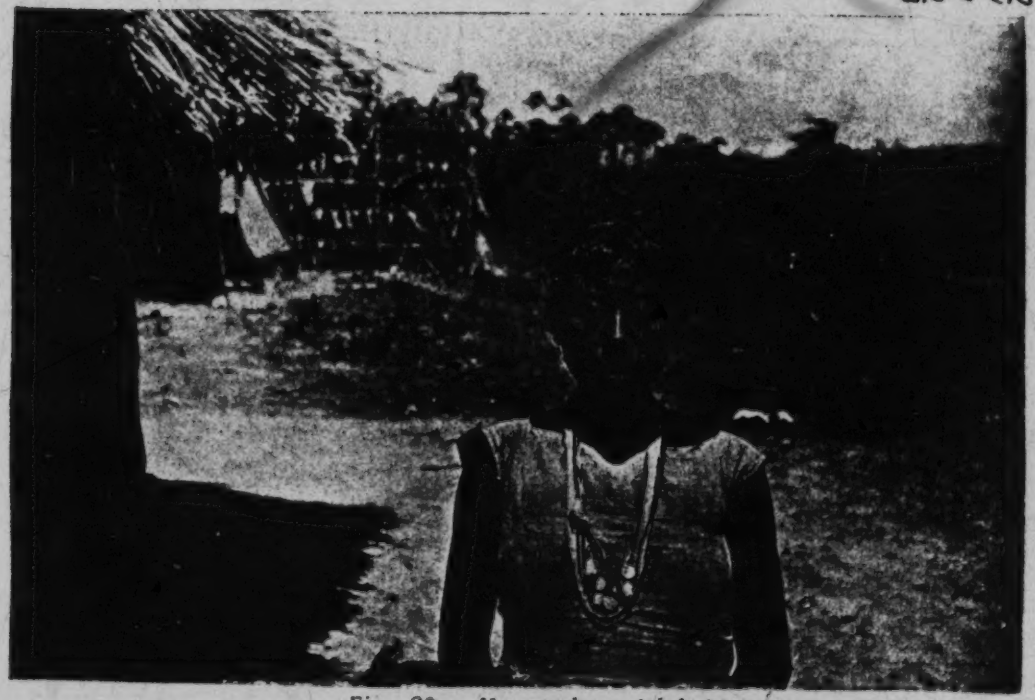

Fig. 90 — Kamarakoto Adult Woman.
No. 34, married, one living son and one dead daughter; lives at Tuaiba.

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31.

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Fig. 92 – Kamarakoto Young Girls.
No. 52 (left) and No. 51 (right), except for a month-old baby the youngest of six living and three dead children of the adult female No. 49.

[p. 284]

SOMATIC CHARACTERS

General Appearance

142 Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians
[114] agree that the Arekumas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the hand-
[162] someness of the other Arekumas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes.

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuna belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the
[302] chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 104 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 94 – Arekuna Adult Male.
No. 3, one of the Caroni Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakoto's but not belonging to the central group of that tribe.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual
184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or
302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown
114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians
824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized
283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is
286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually
352 factory-made, is of cotton.

881 /61 cont./
593 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised ratö, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

*192 informants. wai-ka-ra-bə is given by Williams for "basket" (in general) in
*197 Makuchi, but I suspect that it includes only certain types of baskets, like its
285 Taurepán cognate. At least in Kamarakoto and Taurepán there appears to be no one word for "basket" but only a large number of words for particular kinds of baskets — the sort of specificity and lack of abstraction so common in primitive languages.

*192 d. Clothing, personal ornamentation, and allied words.
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154. (Glass) bead — kasu:ru.
155. String of glass beads (simple) — kasu:ru pəregə:nsa.
156. String necklace with various objects tied on — yaichiʾ.
157. Seeds (bell-like) used on necklaces — tsiriruka.
158. A streamer with such seeds — te-pūlū.
159. Bead necklace patterns — waroro-yeupə-pɛ katsaʾ, i.e. "twisted (or woven) waroro (kind of fish) bones."
160. okōi-yeupə, i.e. "snake-bones."
— and other similar descriptive phrases.
161. Twisted bead belt (for men) — kasuru-seke-katsaʾ.
● [304] 162. Tattooing — meta:men
*192 163. *Clothing, costume, dress — pondoʾ, (i)pon. Taurepán (Koch-
291 Grünberg) (u)mbaipon, (u)pon.
*192 164. Loin-cloth (men) — wayiku. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kamizha-
*197 le. Makuchi (Williams) ka-mi-cha. Cumanagoto (Adam)
291 huaicu-r,[50] "woman's apron." Chaima (Adam)
177 guayuco,[50] "woman's apron." The Taurepán and Makuchi words are from the Spanish (or Portuguese) "camisa" — "shirt" — a curious transfer apparently explicable by the fact that "camisa" was first transferred by the Indians to trade-cloth, such as is used for shirts. Their loin-cloths are now made of such cloth and not of native fabrics. This is also true of the Kamarakotos, but they have retained a Carib word. In most, but not all, other Carib dialects this word applies to the female apron and not the male loin-cloth but in Kamarakoto it is used only for the latter. This Indian word, as "guayuco," is familiar in Venezuelan Spanish and is generally taken to mean the female apron.
*192 165. *Belt (men, generally only a cotton string used to hold up wayiku)
*197 — tien-akɛmūi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) y negam.
291 166. *Bead apron (women) — motsa. Taurepán, mosa. Makuchi (Williams) mosa.

50 A [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 - Analyst]

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

[822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okõi-yeupa ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 116 - Analyst]

[Text continues on p.154]

sharpener, the knob from the top of a teapot, and a small square of hard rubber or other plastic of unknown original use. The strictly aboriginal yaichi' is usually decorated with knitted cotton balls and tassels, tufts of down or colored feathers, and teeth, hooves and claws of animals. Small silver coins, reales and medios, are eagerly sought for this purpose and two women had somehow obtained holy medals, although they were entirely unaware of their significance.

Both the pregamsa and the yaichi' are undoubtedly aboriginal objects and the incorporation into them of foreign materials is a normal and inevitable phenomenon. The aboriginal kasuru-pregamsa was probably made of hard seeds.[135]

Women do not wear earrings[136] and few men of the central group do so, but many of the men nominally of this tribe but from more isolated places do. This may be further evidence of the so-called civilizing influence exerted on the central group by one or two sophisticated individuals of the tribe, but it is not surely so since ear-piercing is a matter of personal taste and by no means universal even among closely related Indians who have had no such influence. Even the men with pierced ears usually insert ornaments in them only on special occasions, such as dances. The piercing of the ears consists of a remarkably large horizontal slit in the upper part of the lobe, which must be a major and dangerous operation. One boy had lost the whole lobe on one side as a result of unsuccessful piercing, although the other side was successful. Pieces of cane are inserted in these slits, generally with a tuft of colored feathers at the anterior end, and pendants may be attached to them immediately behind the ear. The most prized type of pendant, panadaino', and one typical of the Arekunas although it cannot be of pre-Columbian origin, consists of a double strand of beads terminating in colored tassels and with a crescentic silver ornament, made from a coin by beating and filing, attached to the middle (Fig. 32A). Koch-Grünberg figures an almost exactly similar Taurepán earring (1923, Vol. III, Plate 5, Fig. 4). The ear plugs are usually held in place by tying a small twig in front of the ear lobe, but the two plugs are not joined by a string under the chin, as Farabee says they are among the Makuchis.

We did not see any men with pierced noses or lips, although these operations are still fairly common among related tribes, even where these have had more European influence than have the Kamarakotos. With the relative scarcity of pierced ears and of tattooing, the Kamarakotos show a definite trend away from mutilation of any sort, whenever this may have set in. Since it is true even of the oldest individuals, some of whom were born decidedly before any conscious imitation of European customs, it is by no means certain that any outside influence is involved in this, and it is more likely to be a reflection of the Kamarakotos mild, easily frightened, pain-hating character and their strong dislike of inflicting any annoyance on children.

135, 136 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro', and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa' (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301/178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

●304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each check. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302/386/824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

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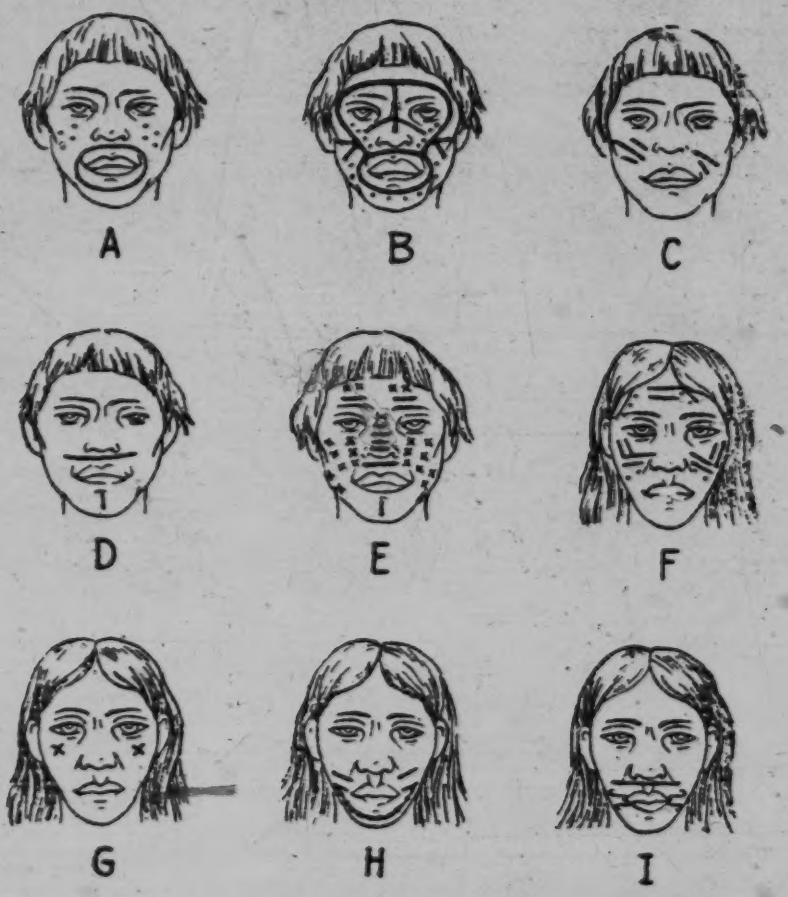

Fig. 34 — Arekuna Face Painting and Tattooing.
A - H, Kamarakotos. A, adolescent male, caruto painting. B, adolescent male, caruto painting. C, young boy, onoto painting. D, adult male, caruto painting. E, adult male, caruto painting, worn by drummer at dance. F, young female, whole face smeared with onoto and design applied over this with caruto. G, adult female, tattooing. H, adult female, tattooing. I, Taurepán, tattooed adult female with typical Taurepán hook pattern not seen among Kamarakotos.

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[273] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

● 304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. There were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual 184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or 302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown 114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians 824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is 286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually 352 factory-made, is of cotton.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.

Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

361 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uru:yi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is ● 311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
343
824

Type of building	Materials: Roof	Materials: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarɛ.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Dwelling. Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakɛn.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba? and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
242 grass-covered. At Uruyén the to?-esa?, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 116 - Analyst]

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.), Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
[578] ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
● 311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

372 is probably not purposely fired, but it sometimes becomes dry enough to burn
311 and catches from the sabanas. Thus there is a large, gaunt, burned forest high on Auyán-tepúi, where no Indian ever goes, and others were seen in similar situations between Kamarata and Luepa. This custom has had a detrimental effect on the beauty of the region, which is of little import to the Indians, and on the pasturage of the sabanas, which is of still less — both points of some potential interest for the prospect of the opening up of this region.[230]

230A [see footnote on pp. 333-34, category 116 - Analyst]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
● 341 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
289 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

*192 *199 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pərai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — sara:sa (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (ir)abukamũi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pũgamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[301] 175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292] 176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854] 177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293] 178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karõi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendɔ, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "bar- [824] basco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 11b - Analyst]

[Text continues on p. 136]

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to'-esa' as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to'-esa' as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[437] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to'-esa' for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[171] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or pultari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[171] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
[114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out, and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mōiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɨ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiɨ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320; category 116 - Analysis]

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[513] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[512] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 171 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 213]

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 4/2 [252] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[285] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

● 323 252 [53] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

445
252

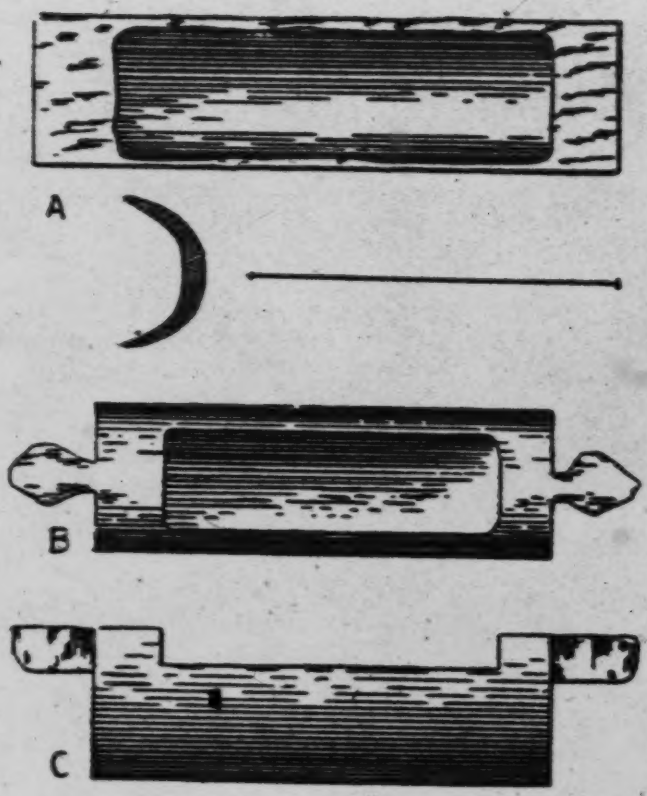

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, moru, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 438 462 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this region since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable

●323

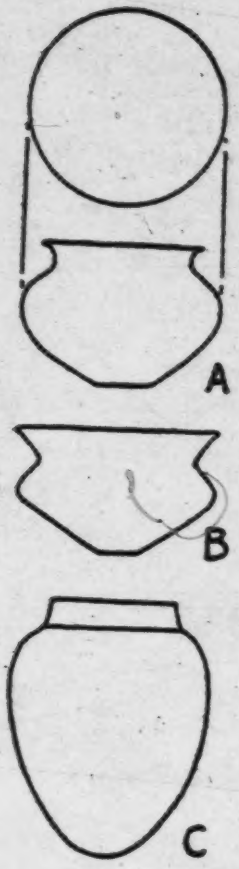

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 408 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 412 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoʔ, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used 265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the 264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

412 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

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323 [252] [53] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

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125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

411 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and
171 that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point
[208] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison
177 with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their
● [325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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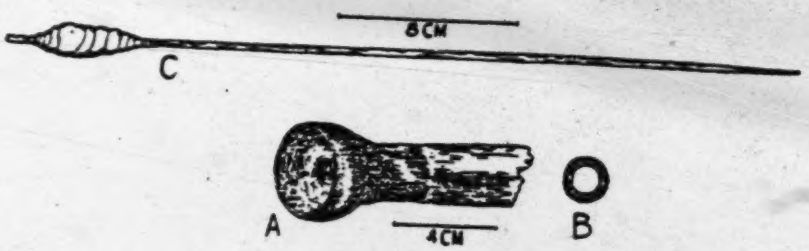

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeaken, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

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The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyé being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yaré, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yaré, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyaré, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yaré. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

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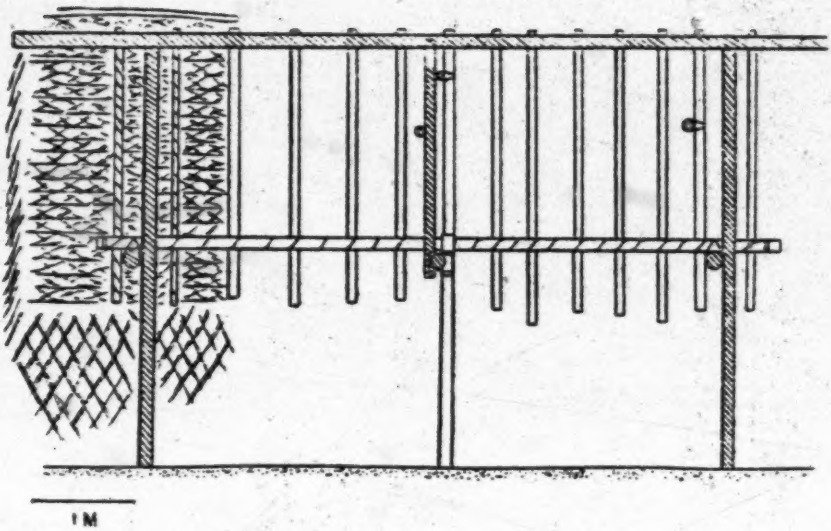

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

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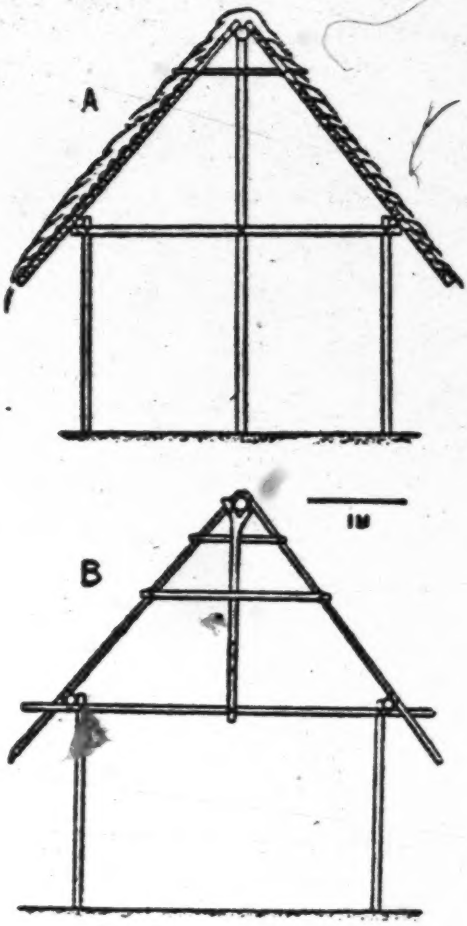

Fig. 4 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Figs. 2-3. A, diagram of northeast end. B, diagram of central member (thatch omitted), showing method of bracing ridge-pole from rafter, leaving center of floor open.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

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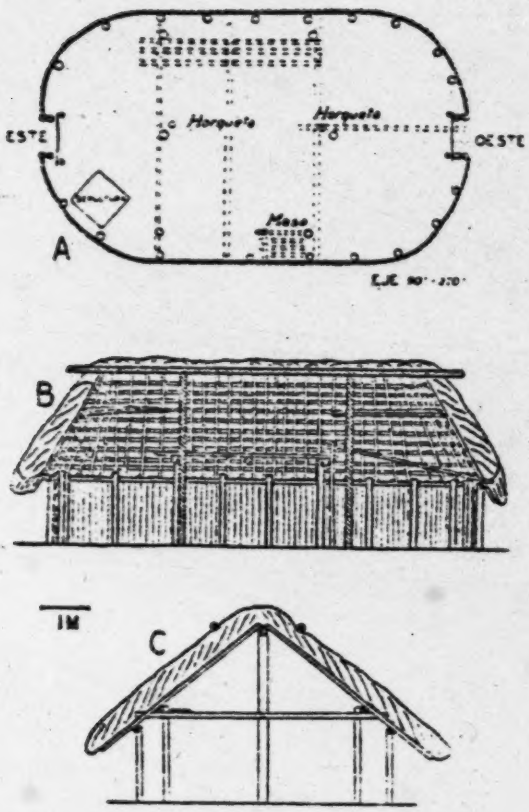

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

[766
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356 Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been.
726 These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

2:Armellada--11a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The author of this work goes into the malocas /houses/ and into the soul of the Indians.

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Settlement and town a building at Kavanayén, formed by the Capuchin missionaries.

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 181 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the [415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for [252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for [262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and [231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 155 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

2:Armellada--63a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native maloca under construction.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[278] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

*197 412 439 206. *Knife (steel) — mariza. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasuspara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 ●342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapei). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛ̃n.

342 210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛ̃n.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabosso. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabosso is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 *197 ● 342

214. *Circular house — waipa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukuyipan (with sibilant y). Makuchi (Roth, cited by Williams) tukuchpang. Akawai (and others, de Goeje) tukushipan. de Goeje suggests that tukushipan, etc., means "like a humming bird."

215. *Elongate house with semicircular ends[55] — parapan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pa:ˀlapan, "quadrangular house" (which would be called wata in Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, cited in Williams) parakapang, "elliptical house," but Appun gives paracapang as "quadrangular house" — probably it is used for both among these Indians. Williams suggests derivation from Makuchi paranka, "letter," "plank?," and de Goeje from paraka (etc.), "pheasant," both of which seem to me highly improbable.

*192 342

216. Wall — (i)medan.

217. Roof — (i)murun.

218. Door (the opening) — munata.

219. *Door (a mat or boards to close the opening) — tapera. This is probably from the Spanish "tabla," compare Makuchi (Williams) tapara, given as synonymous with the Spanish "tabla." In the Kamarakoto word the ə is shorter than is usual for the penultimate vowel, a mere glide to separate -pr- (= -bl-) which Kamarakotos cannot pronounce.

220. Thresh-hold — munata-den.

*192 *197

i. Transportation.

221. *Trail — eima, yeima. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ɛ́ma, ɛˀma. Makuchi (Williams) e-ma. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)yɛ́ma, (u)yɛˀma. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg hɛ:ma. Cumanagoto (Adam) echema — many of the more distantly related dialects have the word more or less in this form. It is not clear whether ech- is a prefix or ema reduced.

222. Bridge — muineü, tuna-muineü-pu, "bridge over water."

*192 *197 501

223. *Canoe — kan.wa, kanhwa. Taurepán, kan.wa, kanoa. Makuchi (Williams) ka-na-wa. This is the Carib word, occurring in practically every dialect (cf. Adam No. 65), which has been adopted into most European languages, English "canoe" Spanish "canoa," etc. Forms like the Makuchi, with three syllables, are most common. The loss of the middle syllable is definitely perceptible in Kamarakoto by the otherwise anomalous lack of velarization of the n

55 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

• 342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three.

[343]

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house.

[171] [114]

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchis, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchi houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes.

[17]

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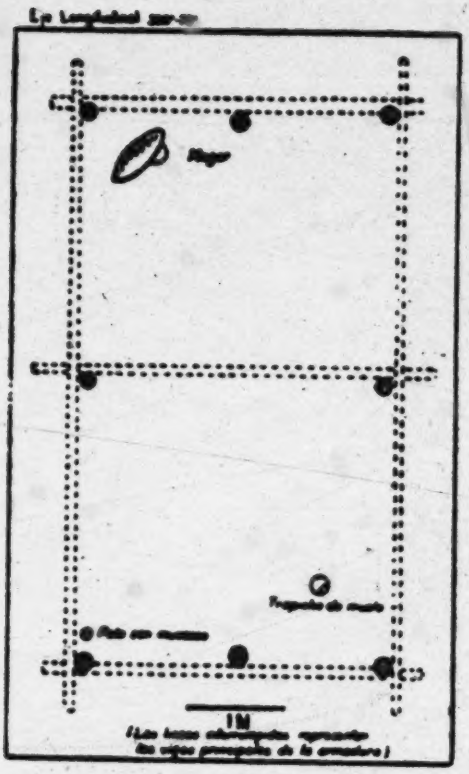

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[354]
[252]

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

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The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

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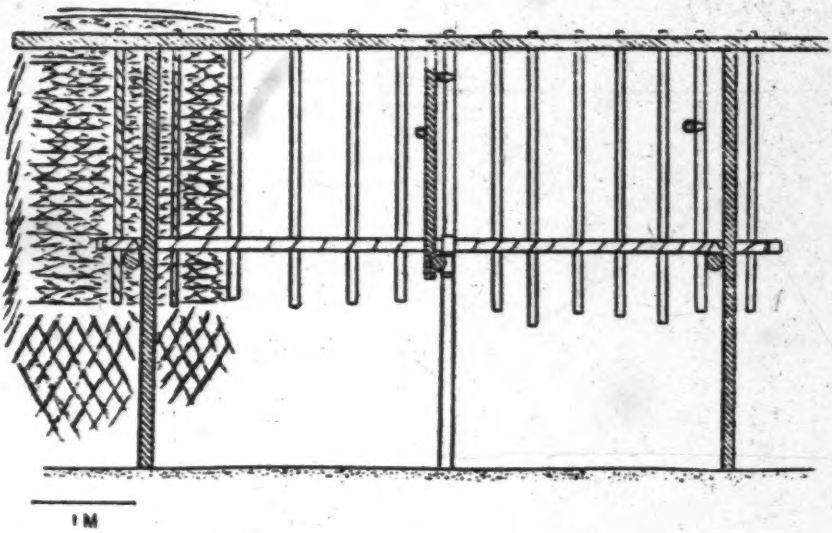

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171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few
[285] centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical in-
habited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

361 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is 311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to›-esa'). Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 11b - Analyst]

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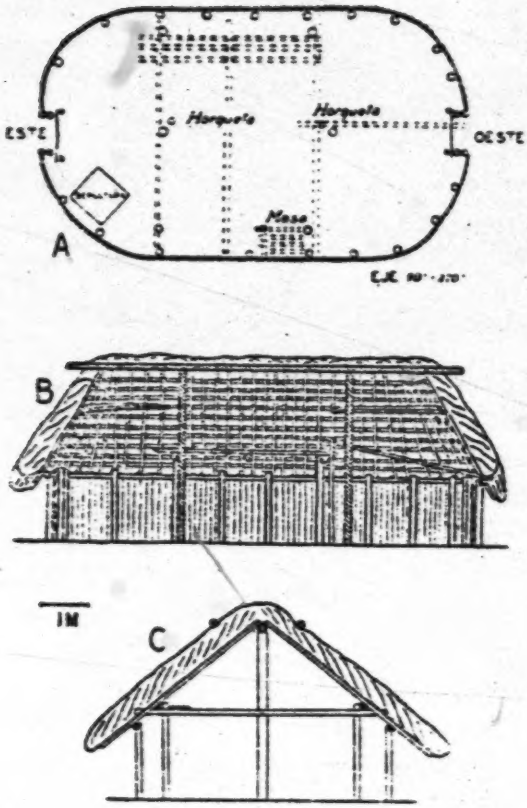

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

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128 Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been. These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

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Fig. 7 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

Same building as Fig. 6. Photograph of eastern end, showing main or front entrance. An edge of the roof of the work shelter of Figs. 2-5 can been seen to the left of the roof of this dwelling.

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Fig. 8 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

Same building as Figs. 6-7. Photograph of south side. (Slopes of Auyán-tepúi visible below clouds in background).

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 10 — Kamarakoto Calabozo.
The northeast end and southeast side of Building E at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 12). Although the thatch is in poor repair, the building is in use.

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Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.

Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samaːri, into a trough (moru).

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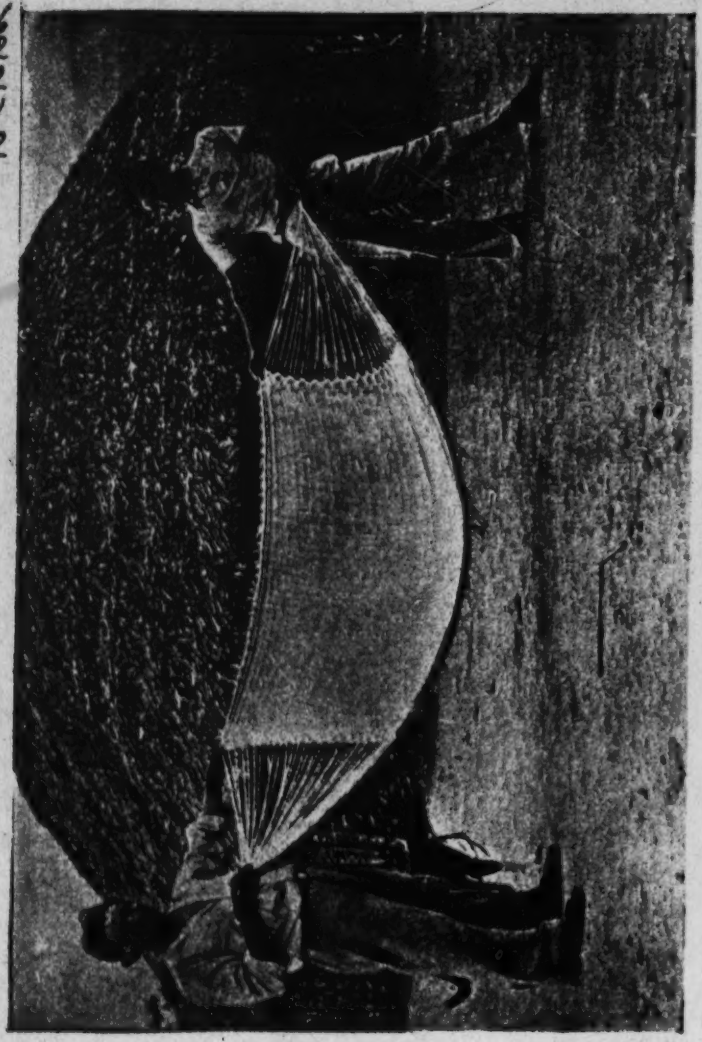

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 55 — Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá.

Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."

113 52. "Unter den Tropen," Jena, 1871 — not much used here because supeneded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.

197 193 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, = (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apono and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.

192 171 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutsupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.

● 342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.

103 104 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Venezuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.

103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.

103 104 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan, like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial v.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

● 342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurñata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

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perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontòn, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *sehe* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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[p. 114]

MATERIAL CULTURE

Dwellings

Types of Buildings.

342 Kamarakotos live in stoutly constructed houses which are semipermanent. They may be occupied until the man who built them dies, sometimes a matter of fifteen or twenty years, although the average time of occupation may be less. According to their purpose, three types can be distinguished: (1) The enclosed dwelling, (2) the wall-less shelter, or work-house, and (3) the air-tight "calabozo." A given family group may have only the first of these, may have the first and second, or may have all three. Most have the first and second, but few have all three. [343]

The simplest type of ordinary dwelling is circular, with a conical roof and one entrance (or rarely two). This, called waipa, is the most universal sort of Carib house and is believed to be the most primitive. Some students go so far as to suppose that it is the only truly Carib type and that elongate or rectangular houses show European influence, a statement that is doubtful to the extreme that it appears to me to be demonstrably false. The elongate house is, in fact, quite unlike any structure made by non-Indian people with whom these Indians have had contact and is a natural development of the circular house. Taking neighboring Carib tribes into consideration, every gradation between the two types can be seen. I cannot but agree with Roth that the elongate or elliptical house is a purely native complication of the circular house. [17] [114]

The elongate house is most common among the Kamarakotos and may be called their typical dwelling. Unlike the elongate houses of which plans are given by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes and by Farabee for the Makuchís, it is not typically elliptical but has straight, parallel sides and semicircular ends. There is a door at each end, as in Farabee's Makuchí houses, not one in the side as shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes. [17]

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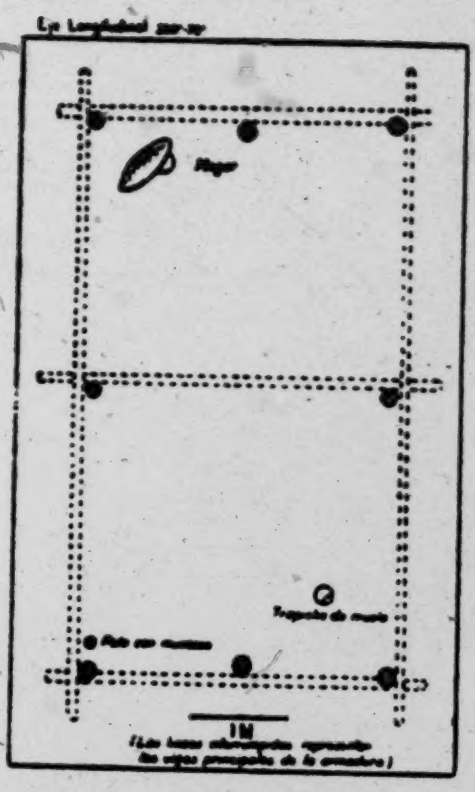

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

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342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakon, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyε being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarε, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarε, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarε, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarε. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

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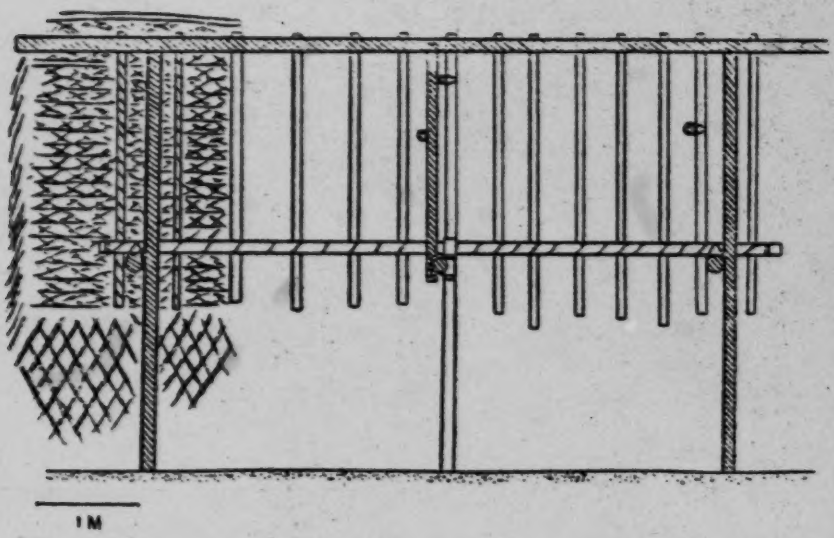

Fig. 3 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter.
Same building as Fig. 2, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. The thatch is indicated only at the left end of this.

342 of the Roroimá group, and the Ventuari group, at least, and I see no reason
171 to believe that it is non-Carib. Mud roofs are not used nor are mud bricks.
342 Mud ceilings are doubtless an innovation showing non-Carib influence. I did not observe the use of bark for walls, such as has been reported among some other tribes of this general region.

342 The basic plan of the circular house consists of a center pole and a ring
335 of short poles supporting the wall. A horizontal ring is supported by the wall poles and a cone of roof-poles radiates from the center pole to this ring. In larger circular houses a second smaller ring of vertical poles may be inserted between the wall and the center pole and upholds a higher ring supporting the middle of the roof-poles. Light sticks or heavy vines are run horizontally around the roof-poles and the thatching is fastened to this.

In the elongate house, each end is built like half of a circular house, each with its own upright center pole, except that the roof is made lower by running the radiating roof-poles not to the top of the upright but to the horizontal,

[text continues on p. 119]

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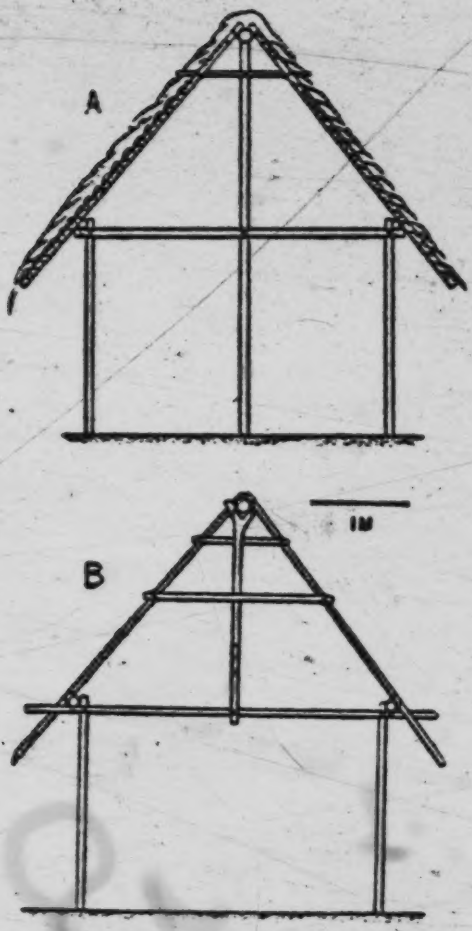

Fig. 4 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Same building as Figs. 2-3. A, diagram of northeast end. B, diagram of central member (thatch omitted), showing method of bracing ridge-pole from rafter, leaving center of floor open.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

361 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is 311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarę.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarę.	maripada-yarę.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakęn.	kunwada-yarę.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F. now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'). Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

● 343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kōsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
409

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

*792 *197 824 285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) manaːle (= manaːre). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "casava sifter" (called pangaʔ in Kamarakoto and pangaʔ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʔ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʔ. Compare tsimuiʔ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʔ -epichaʔ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 ● 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-kaːlimi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — etseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʔ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʔ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — pakaːri.

*192 [283] [412]

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʔ. gatsaʔ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

53 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b - Analyst]

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakep, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalaboso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyep' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarep, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarep, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarep, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarep. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangōlʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o. olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[417] €no-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] [352] Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekumas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

143 [see footnote on p.324, category 116 - Analyst]

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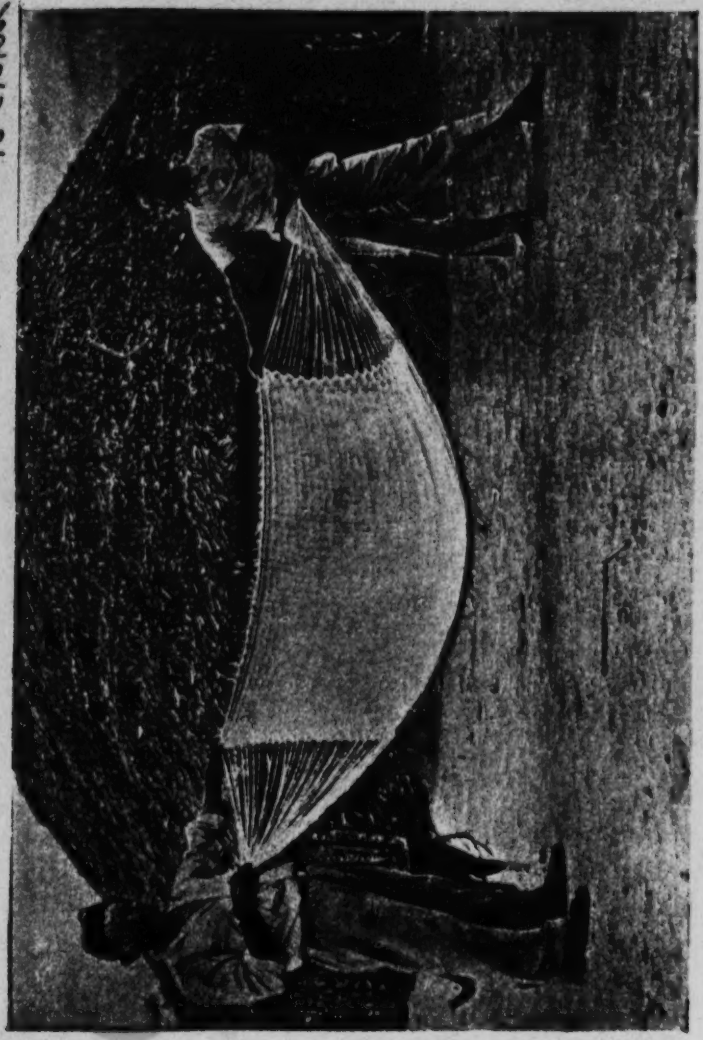

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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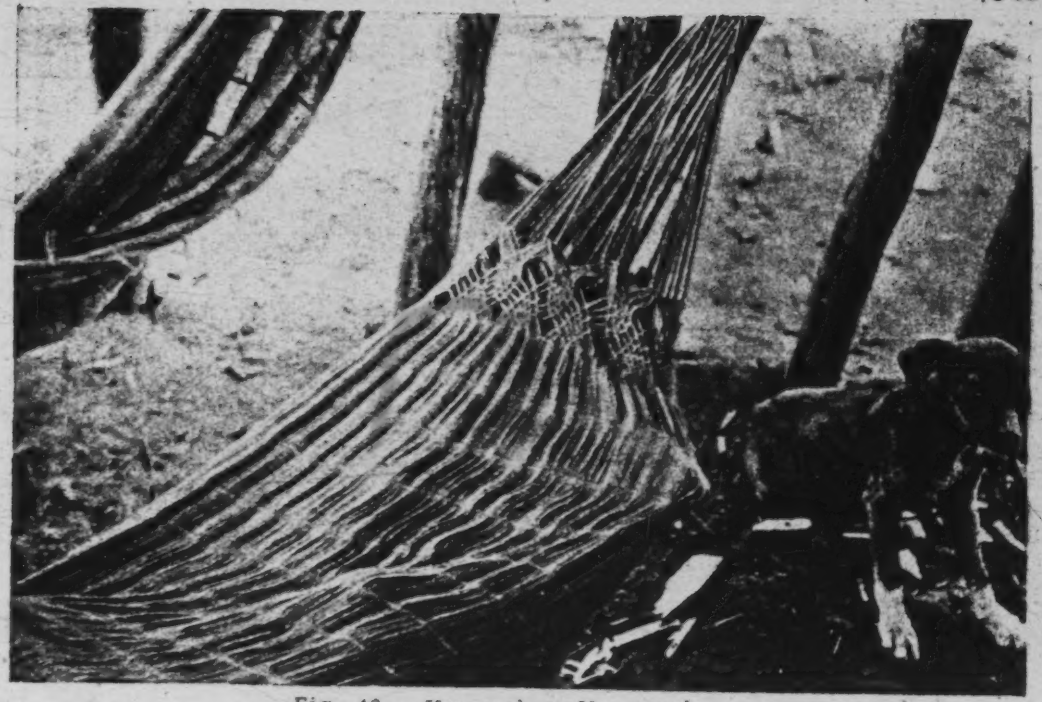

Fig. 40 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and muffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[324] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analy ed]

754 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the
824 forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.
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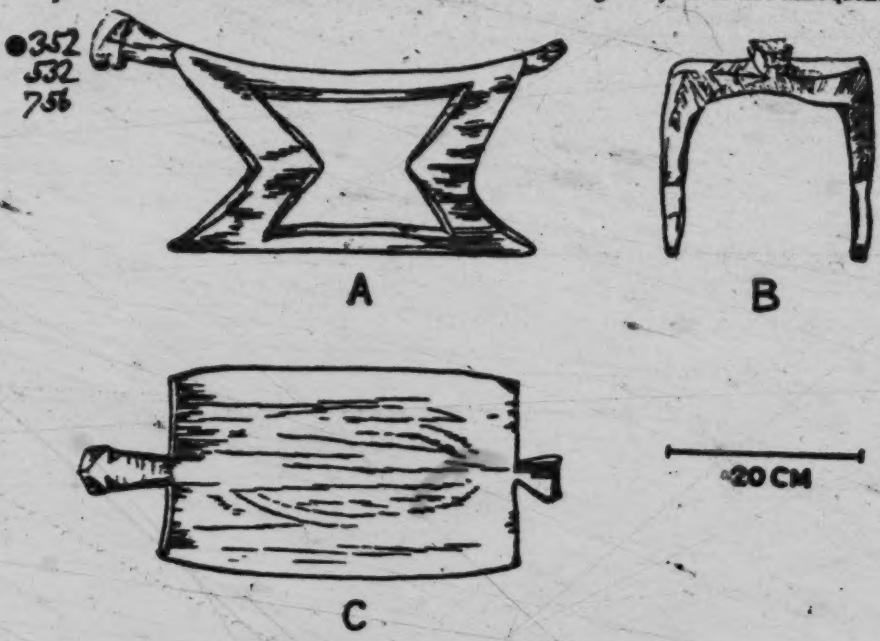

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the
797 alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos be-
1147 lieve and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the casave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
336 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

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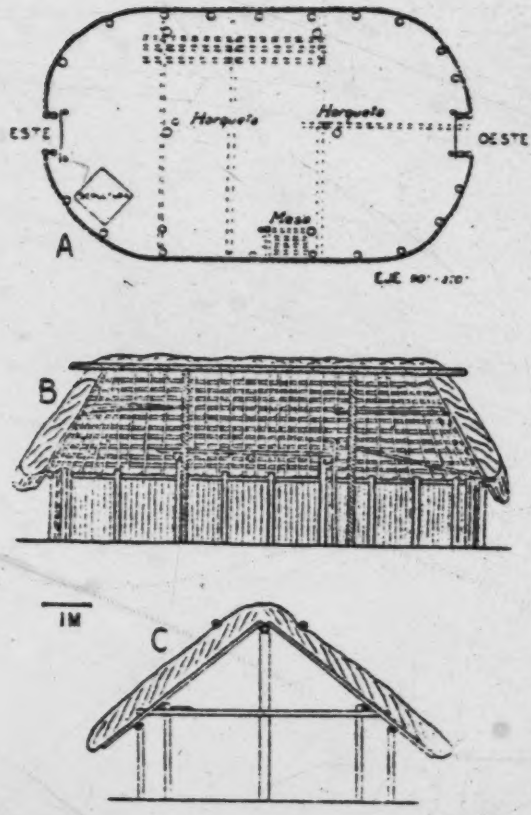

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

[766
769]

356 Abandoned houses are commonly simply left to disintegrate as these have been.
726 These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

- tangõiʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.
- pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56A.
- oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56B.
- matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.
- o.oloni — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56C.
- waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
- warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
- wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
- sokoʔ)
- amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[402] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

- wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[417] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190e, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

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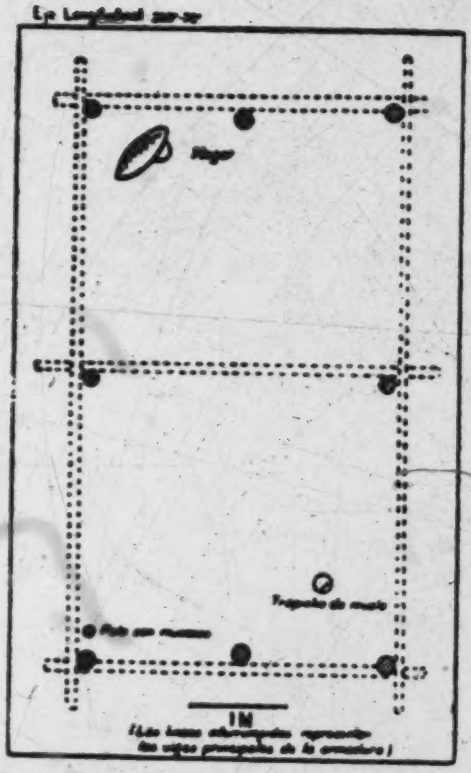

Fig. 2 — Kamar[redacted] Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[354]
[redacted]
[252]

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

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335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

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Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

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[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
● 354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsṭ, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

/36 cont./

356 [372] But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons, houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 177 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

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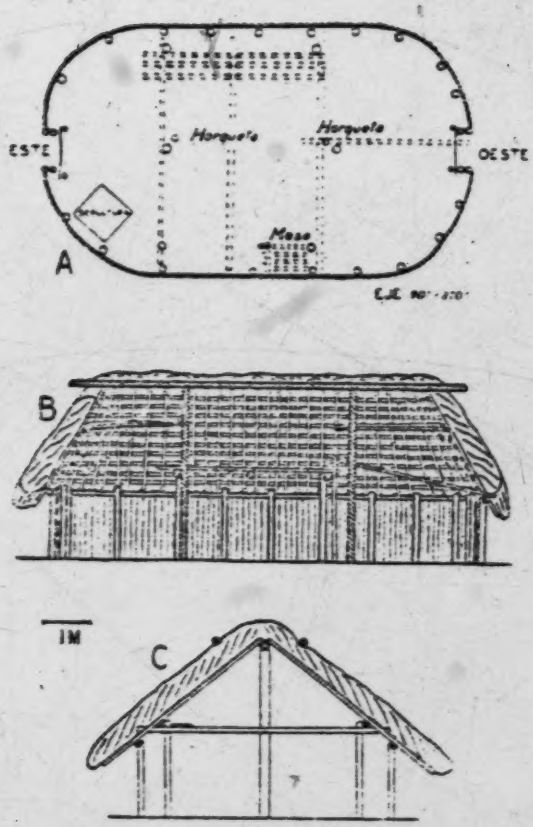

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[766]
[768]

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126 These particular buildings are still in almost perfect condition and were used for making plans of typical structures because of the convenience of measuring and sketching buildings not full of people and paraphernalia.

[text continues on p. 123]

131 /6 cont./
101 conclude that these Indians are by preference dwellers on the savannas and not forest dwellers.

114 I copy, because they are absolutely in conformity with my observations, Dr. Simpson's words: "An Indian requires three
● 361 things for his home: (1) an open space, a savanna of greater or lesser area, for his dwelling; (2) a perpetual stream of water, sufficiently wide and deep so that he can swim and fish or, at least, which will provide a supply of water all year; (3) a forest on the edge of which he can grow crops and have wood available and, secondarily, where he can hunt."

131 12. The Gran Sabana is located "between the parallels 4° 34' and 6° 45' north longitude /sic/ and the meridians 60° 34' and 62° 50' west of Greenwich." The Gran Sabana is thus located in the most southeastern corner of Bolivar State and of Venezuela, in that part where Venezuela touches Brazil and British Guiana.

133 The Gran Sabana is shaped like an immense open fan, the ribs of which would be the several rivers that form the Caroní, which is the central rib or vein of this entire great river valley or hydrographic basin.

132 13. In general, the climate of the Gran Sabana, despite
133 its proximity to the tropic is temperate; this is due to the altitude above sea level and the high mountains which surround it.

131 14. The area of the Gran Sabana is approximately 35,000 square kilometers.

133 15. The principal mountain ranges, which surround this almost virgin district and which give it an aspect of majesty and grandiosity beyond imagination, are: Roroima, Iru-tepui, Putari-t, Lema (Ilotoyeukurú, Tukui-ouki-yén, Morochipán), Aparamán, Auyán, Aprada, Apakará, Chimaté, Tirepón, Churí, Akopán, Uekpuimá, Katurán, and Uei-tepui. Of lesser importance are Apaurai, Prai-tepui, Arumá-tepui, Sororopán, Pavi-tepui, Uona-tepui, and others.

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Fig. 1 – Typical Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén seen from the east. In the foreground is the edge of a forest, in which farm clearings are made. Beyond the buildings of Uruyén is the Aichá River, flowing from left to right. The trees in the right background follow the Yuruán, the confluence of which with the Aichá (white with reflected light on the water), is seen to the right. In the left background is the upper end of the Kamarata Valley, with its various small sabanas, and in the right background above the sabanas are the two lower terraces of Auyán-tepúi.

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361 103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orná, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orna, but building his house at Alenuba (alewiuba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous 103 but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, [823] which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see foot note on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuiba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
612 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
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97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

31/ Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi,
[134] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén
361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is
311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are
342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
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Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yare.	maripada-yare.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yare.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yare.	maripada-yare.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yare.	mud (non).	Dwelling. Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeaken.	kunwada-yare.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

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- Fig. 9 — Kama[illegible]o Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

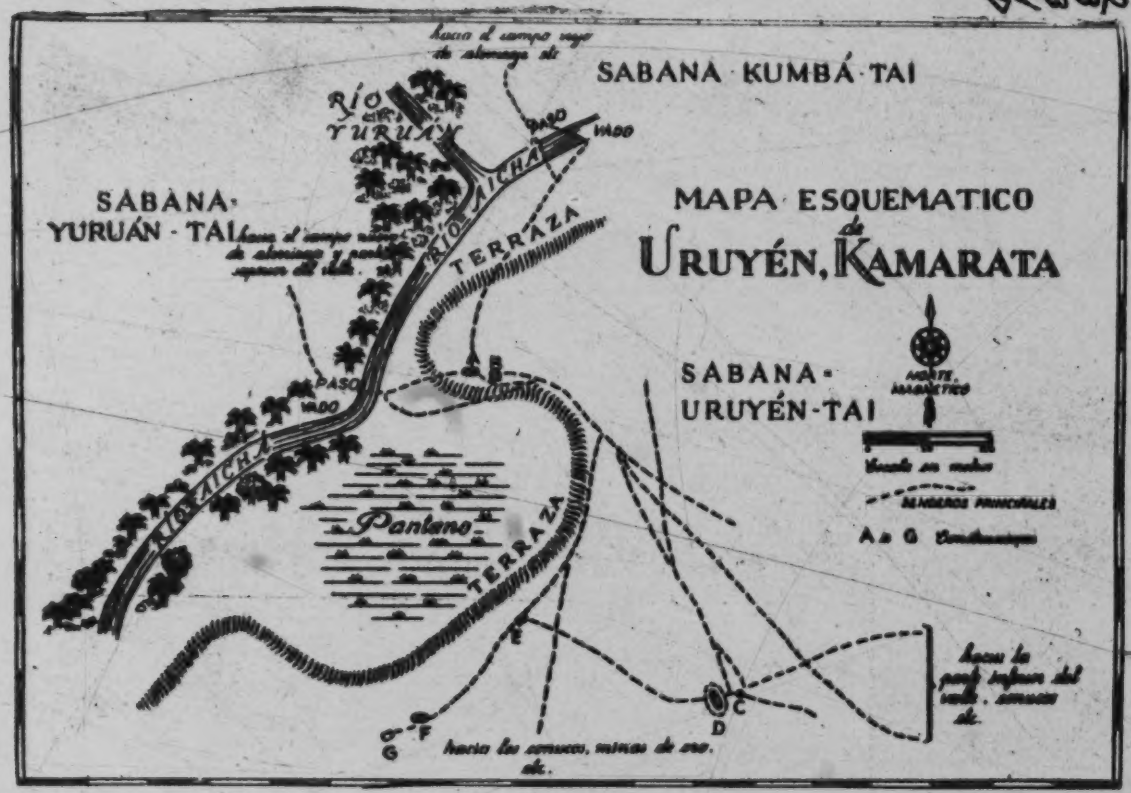

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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Fig. 12 — Kamarakoto Settlement.
Uruyén from the north. In the foreground is the edge of the Kumbá-tai, (on which the old air field was located). The moriche palms are growing on the swampy lower level between this and the Aichá River. Beyond the river, on a dry terrace, is the Uruyén-tai and Uruyén, the buildings of which can be dimly seen. The low, forest-covered hills beyond Uruyén are on igneous rock and against the horizon to the right is the east end of Enuarapaimá-tepui.

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [34] [628] [437] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

754 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the
824 forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.
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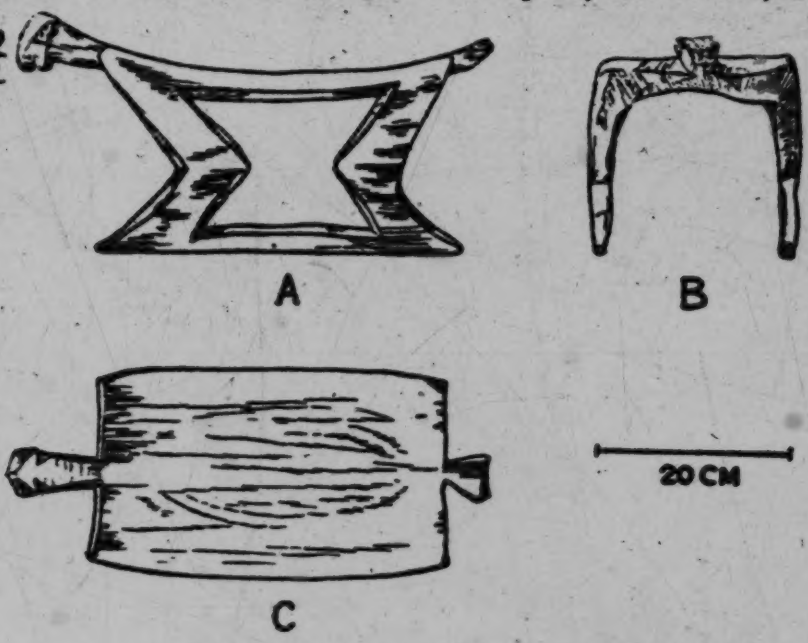

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the
797 alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos be-
[14] lieve and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

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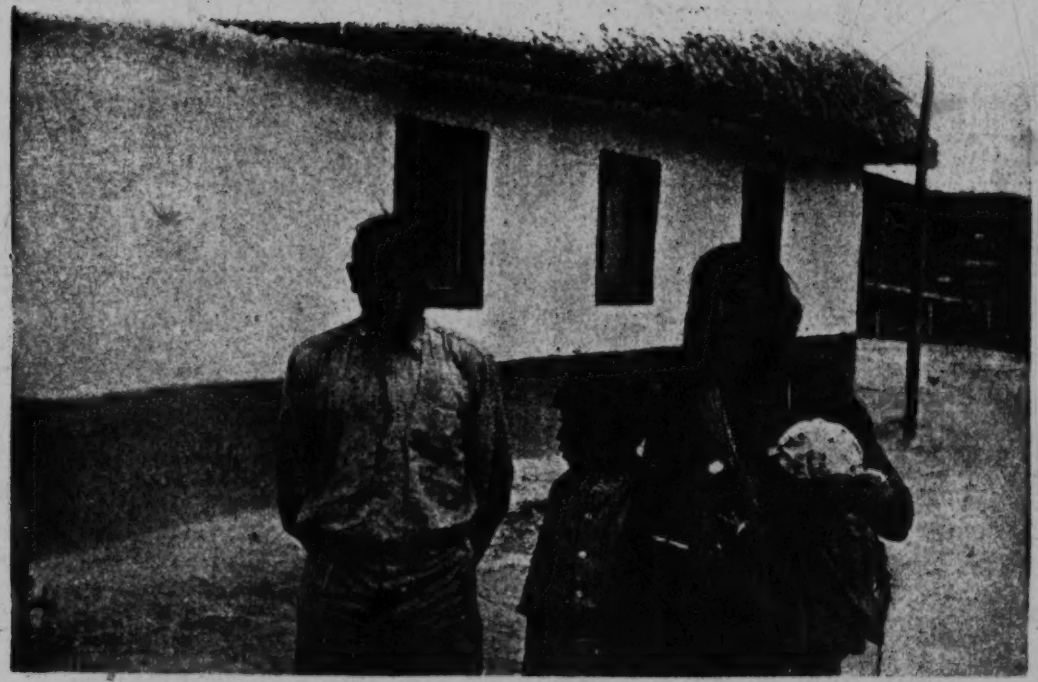

Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

5-Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
● Pemon SS 16

Y 101 [127]

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With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

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From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y M 648 361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

● 364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

● 364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
~~286~~ pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons, [372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 177 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/32 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

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The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də.

[41]

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

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b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakoc for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulū-kulū. Makuchi (Williams), kəri-kəri, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kōlō-kōlō. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulū-kulū. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kūlū-kūlū). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

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110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

*192 *197 ● 372

related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 372 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tuapan.

114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadaurma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

*192 372 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

*192 415 *[197] [114] 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Tamepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

*192 272 126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yúca) — kumachi.

*192 273 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeüka

*192 *197 415 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o. ina. Tamepán, o. üna, o. üna, üna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-na. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) höline. Most other languages agree with Yanarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o. i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

● 372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsę, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
[114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangõiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

●372

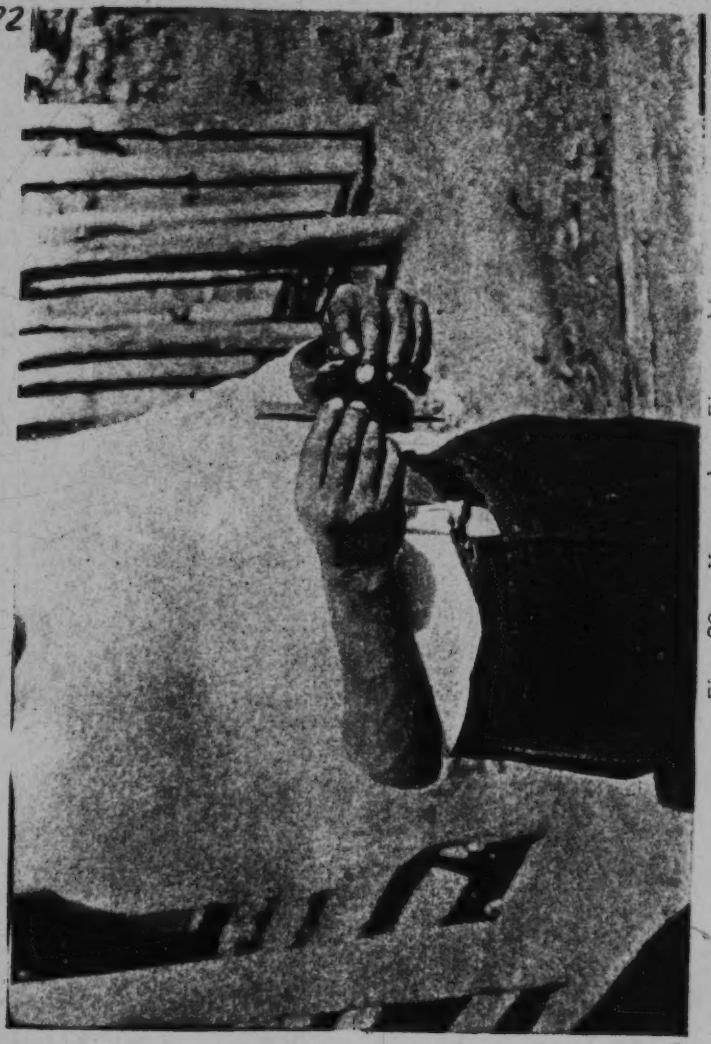

Fig. 23 – Kamarakoto Fire-making.
Use of flint (local jasper), steel (a triangular file) and tinder (a thick roll of native cotton).

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that, when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
[578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an ~~equally~~ hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

372 is probably not purposely fired, but it sometimes becomes dry enough to burn
311 and catches from the sabanas. Thus there is a large, gaunt, burned forest high on Auyán-tepúi, where no Indian ever goes, and others were seen in similar situations between Kamarata and Inepa. This custom has had a detrimental effect on the beauty of the region, which is of little import to the Indians, and on the pasturage of the sabanas, which is of still less — both points of some potential interest for the prospect of the opening up of this region.[230]

230 [see footnote on pp. 333-34, category 116 - Analyst]

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177
407 direct European influence.

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
199 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

*192 *197 291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) palai (= parai).

*192 291 177

168. Trade cloth — saraza (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

*192 *197 291

173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakuma.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügamə', lower band (y)e:ndapəgemə'.

[30]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pana:da. (pana = "ear").

[292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").

[854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

386 302 237 314

e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

*192 386

179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karōi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analyst]

*192
386
824
171
[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

*192
*197
386

181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-ta. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberō. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karawerū. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawōri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberō, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
283

Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu?. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro', and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa' (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [534] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, 388 but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black 824 paint, karöi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

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302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karōi). The Genipa
● 386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberō. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberō, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[139] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawōri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberō.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[114] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [381] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [754] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [839] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

252 Maize, very unimportant to these Indians, is usually grated while still [172] green and made into soup. The Kamarakotos are familiar with the Arawak style of corn preparation, now universal in Venezuela, by hulling it in a mortar, soaking, grinding, and baking in cakes, and they say that they occasionally do this. We did not, however, see any cornbread or any mortars for hulling corn and I am sure that this is a rarely used and essentially non-Kamarakoto process, borrowed from Arawak neighbors or from the Venezuelans (who had it from the Arawaks).

272 Sugar cane is commonly peeled and chewed and sucked raw, but the 273 juice is also squeezed out and drunk alone or with water, or added to the mash [171] for making alcoholic drinks. It is not boiled down and sugar is not made.[122] [263] The press used occurs, with some variations, among many of the Orinoco, 407 Amazon, and Guiana tribes. Like sugar cane, it is doubtless post-Columbian, [172] especially as it serves for nothing else and could not be used to prepare any pre-Columbian native food, but it is widely diffused and shows some distinctive local variation. It consists of an upright post one side of which is cut away excepting for a projecting step or shelf, with a hole through the post above this. The cane is set on this step, a pole passed through the hole, and pressure on the pole crushes the cane. The juice is led to a point at the lower end of the projection whence it drips into a vessel. See Fig. 26.

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177 The fact that foreign types of presses did not spread with the foreign 407 plant for which they are needed can be ascribed to difficulties of material and [401] technique. A wheel mill could successfully be made without iron, but this would be difficult, and the wheel principle is so foreign to the Indians that they seem quite unable to cope with it.[123]

Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice,

122, 123 [see footnotes on p.321, category 116 - Analysis]

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

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177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[276] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

● [407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 *197 412 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

439 206. *Knife (steel) — mariza. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasuzpara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛn.

210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapũn.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabozso. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabozso is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

343

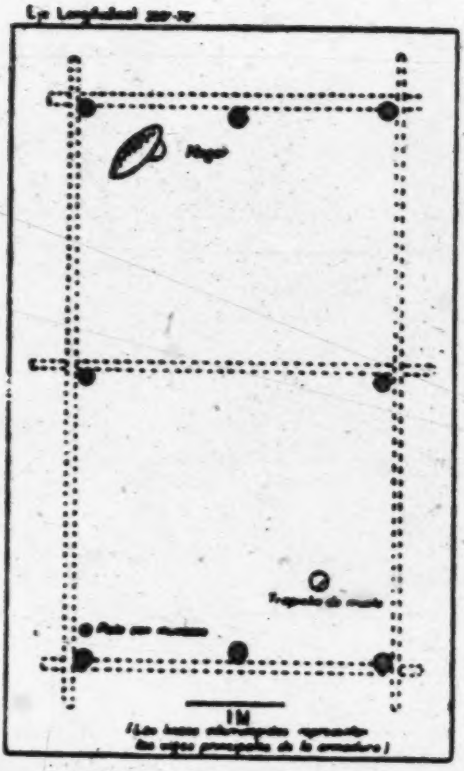

Fig. 2 — Kamarakoto Work Shelter. Building G at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a wata-imedapun. Ground plan, showing the eight uprights and (in broken lines) the frame beams. The fixtures include a fire hole, dug in the ground, a cane press, and a forked upright for a casave press.

[354]
[252]

342 Both these types of structures serve the same purpose. They are the homes, properly speaking, where the household goods are stored, where most of the meals are prepared and eaten, and where the family sleeps.

343 Near the dwelling there is usually built a simple quadrangular structure with open sides and a ridged roof. This serves as a sort of work room. It

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

Fig. 5 – Kamarakoto Work Shelter.

Same building as Figs. 2-4. Photograph of northeast end (see Fig. 4A). The cane-press can be seen inside to the left. This building had not been used for some weeks and the ground would be free of vegetation if it were in current use.

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Intoxicants and Narcotics.

273 Distilled liquors and fruit wines are unknown, but fermented starchy drinks are prepared in some variety and great abundance. The essential of all these is that some very starchy food, especially casave but also the various kinds of Dioscorea and maize, are grated mixed with water, and fermented. These may be varied by intermediate processes, strengthened by the addition of cane juice.

122, 123 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analysis]

273 or flavored by other ingredients. The generic name for the beverages thus prepared in the simplest way is kachiri, which is usually based on a mash of casave and of which there are varieties arising from the addition or substitution of other ingredients. Grated sweet potato (Ipomea) is added to one of the commonest varieties, giving it a reddish color.

Paiba, usually distinguished from kachiri, proper, is made of cooked (overcooked or burned) casave which is wrapped in leaves and left to ferment until black, after which it is broken up, soaked in warm water, and fermented. This is dark in color and is sometimes called "black Kachiri."

Parakari is made of cooked casave, like paiba, (but less heavily cooked). This is soaked in water and then wrapped in leaves for some time before being mashed and fermented but it does not turn black.

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● 407

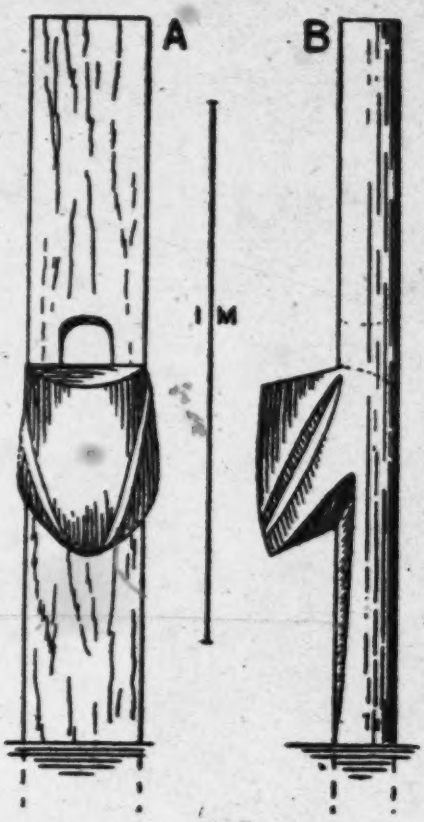

Fig. 26 — Kamarakoto Cane Press.
A. front view. B. side view.

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824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

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177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

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415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
407

177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
179 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
411
412

226
231
286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
342
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*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (n)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
● 411

86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu. Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *supalari. Taurepan, səpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakasi.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura', Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — taimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa. Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).
[177]

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102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — ingɛ'.[48]

Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):

106. *irn'. Taurepan, kari', but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

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The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-da.

[41]

The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

*192
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b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakon for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulū-kulū. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kōlō-kōlō. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulū-kulū. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kūlū-kūlū). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

[177]

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

224 (identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, taiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 – Analyst]

411
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Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

● 411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every
[867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys
[824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting
[224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical-
[263] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with
[237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 murun-yɛ'). long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[224] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[239] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[224] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered taran.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, Category 116 - Analyst]

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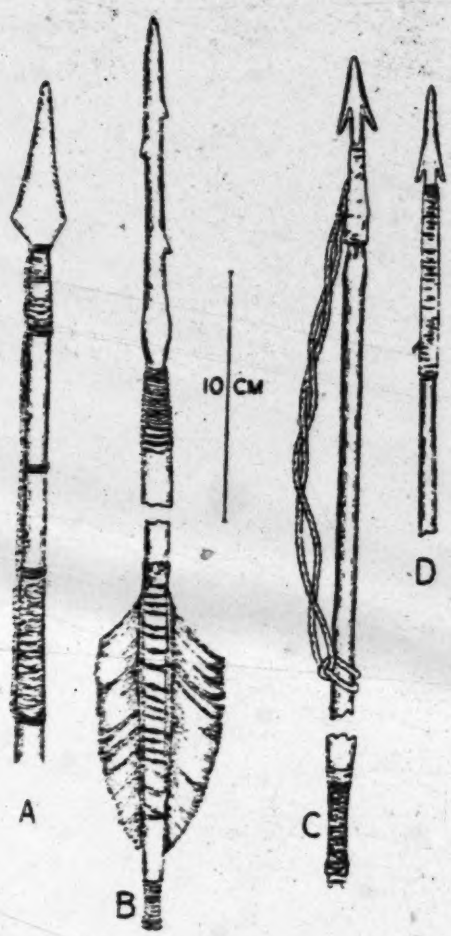

Fig. 16 — Kamarakoto Arrows.
A, distal end of a supalari, showing end of shaft and all of foreshaft and point.
B, tarau, with most of shaft omitted.
C, waibakasi, with most of shaft and proximal end of foreshaft omitted; the point and its looped cord are removable. D, panachika, point and distal end of foreshaft.

411 171 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point [298] (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 177 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their [325] introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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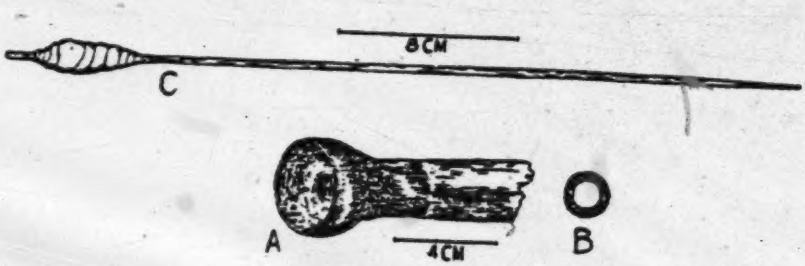

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece.
B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
[237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 möiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɨ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiɨ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumassa?, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosa?, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an improvised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-fed and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [144] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] 423 [72] [165] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [139] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[y] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yenku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yenku,	from yams.
icha-yenku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yenku,	from corn.

-yenku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

● 411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

*286 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at
482 the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most
[462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they
[184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position
● 411 as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that
[128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture.
[237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this
[283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

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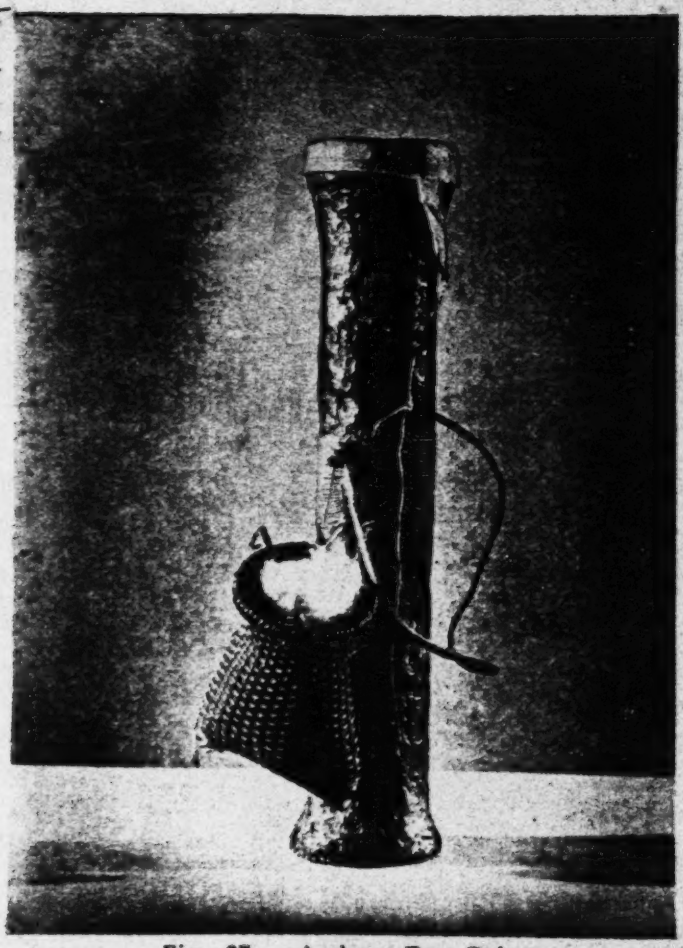

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (möi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

*285 shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usual-
● 411 ly tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer,
[283] by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper
[237] shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*285 The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general
227 form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*285 The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the
192 baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes
197 vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuma means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call amatu, which are entirely different from the Arekuma pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wōroworí
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	ɔtapa	ɔtəpa
	pangai'	pəngai'
	maturtu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawa'	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p.326, category 11b - Analyst]

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
[411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

●411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("xipōlaːli") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʾ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingʾ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto <u>kaikara</u> is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

Hunting
/82 cont./
224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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/32 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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*192 *197 415

The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini, Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — ehe.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

● [412] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateta. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition.
285 The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on
[128] basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138.	œapa	146.	akaiʾ
139.	pangaiʾ	147.	koataiʾ
140.	tangõiʾ	148.	wapa
141.	matuːtu	149.	ɛno-saramba
142.	o. olori	150.	sokoʾ
143.	waricha	151.	kumara-katsaʾ
144.	warakapi	152.	wakawaʾ
145.	amaːtu	153.	(t)siya-potapə

(muroiʾ, No. 104, tsimuiʾ, No. 99, and mõi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192 Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but
*197 given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising
285 that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word warockupa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

*192 *197 824 285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) manaːle (= manaːre). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "casava sifter" (called pangaiʔ in Kamarakoto and pangaʔ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʔ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʔ. Compare tsimuiʔ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʔ -epichaʔ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-kaːlimi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — ɛtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʔ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʔ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — pakaːri.

*192 [283] ●[412]

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʔ. gatsaʔ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of pututuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[53] [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[278] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 *197 ●412 439 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

206. *Knife (steel) — marita. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasupara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapoi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, mouta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛn.

210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabo:so. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabo:so is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

411 For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kuma:sa?, about 45-50 mm. in length,
[82] is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosa?, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is
[23] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun
278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison
411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that
[171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulü-kulü (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiʔ piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kösë, are first scraped with a knife and then
● 412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-
[114] Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangöiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

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Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samaːri, into a trough (moru).

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all
[249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes
[177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing
[171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no
[173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

● 412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of
177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

4/2 177 Precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 4/2 [252] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively [illegible]ne, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[283] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 [252] [53] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

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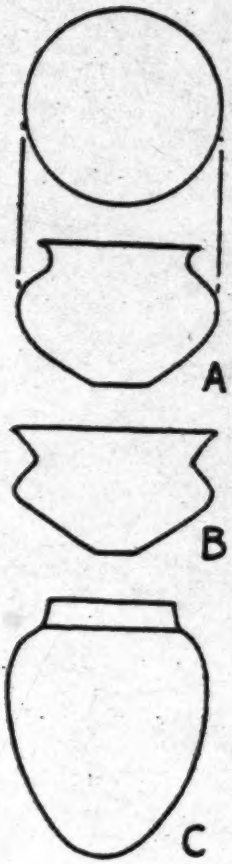

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes. A and B variations of the common pattern. C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
[412] gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamo, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

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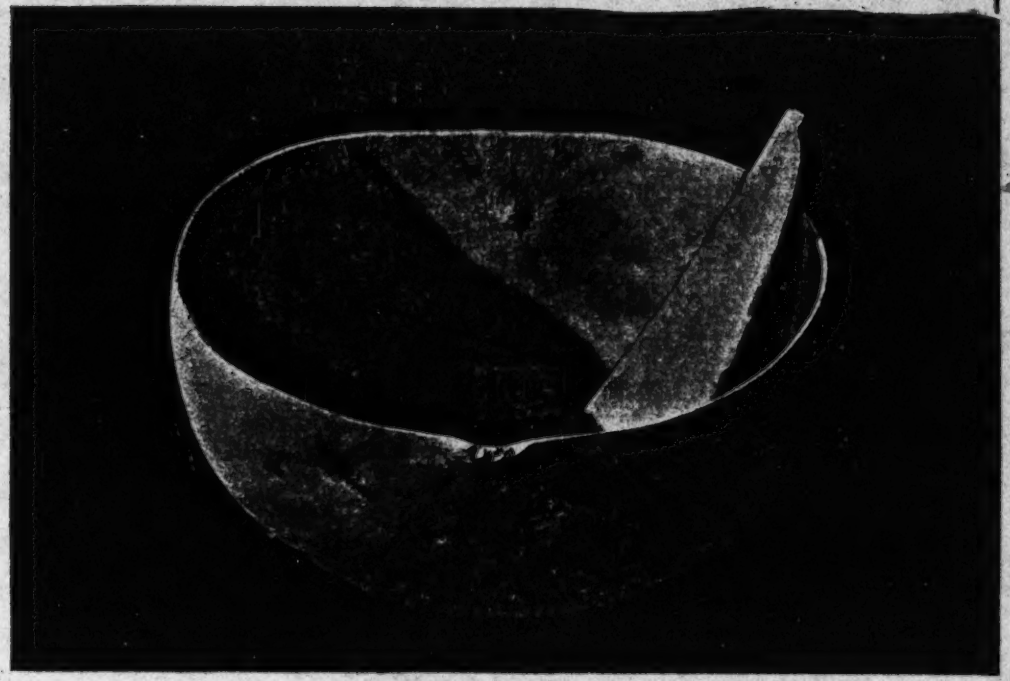

Fig. 29 — Kamarakoto Calabash Bowl and Spoon.
A kamo' with a koireka in it.

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes al-
487 though these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yé)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipōla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
238 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
237 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
● 412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ingʾ of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ingɔ can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

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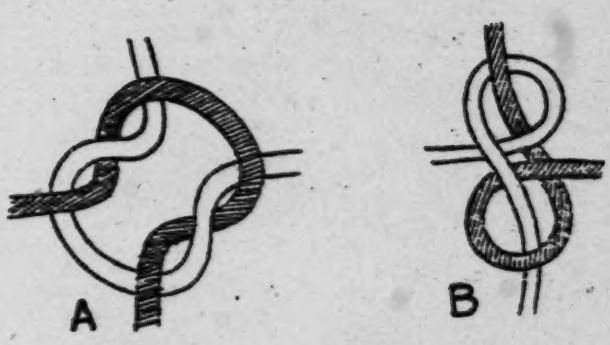

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 – Analysis]

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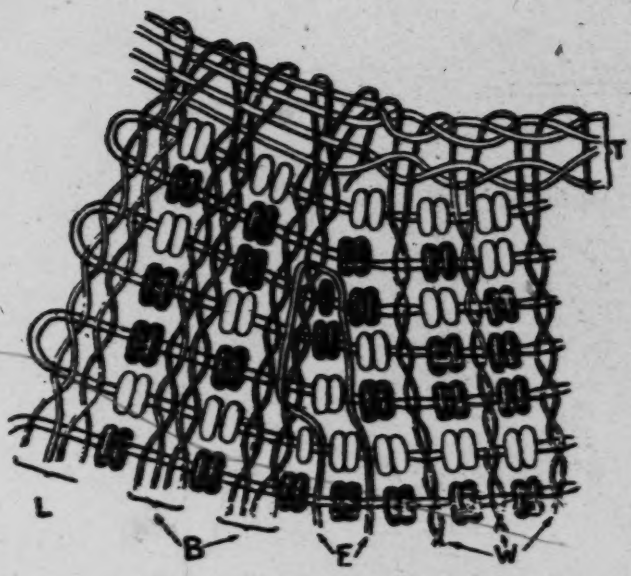

Fig. 46 — Kamarakoto Bead Apron Technique.
The diagram represents the upper left corner of an apron in process of manufacture. It shows the formation of the top edge (t) from four heavy strands, the similar formation of a lateral edge (l) and of extra border ties (b) internal to this. The insertion of the first warp strands (w) in the top edging and of extra warp strands (e) in an extra border tie are also shown as well as the manner of working in the beaded weft strands. All the strands are at least two-ply, but for diagrammatic simplicity this is shown only in the case of the first warp strands because in them the two elements separate at the insertion into the top edging. As in other bead diagrams, the fabric is actually tight and is here shown as loose and open only to make the structure clear. The natural size of this much of the fabric would be about 2 1/2 by 2 cm. A typical border pattern is shown with blue (shaded) and white (unshaded) beads. With this border, the body of the apron below it will be solid white. The lower edge will have a border symmetrical with this upper border.

286 needles — a pound or two of nails supplies the tribe for an indefinite period
● 413 since nails are used for no other purpose and these needles never wear out and
177 are so treasured as seldom to be lost.

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The
181 Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the
[415] cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for
[252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for
[262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and
[231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated,
155 dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

Hunting
/82 cont./
224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

*192 113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tuupan.
372 114. Ash — beruna.
115. Charcoal — kadarma-tipwa.
116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo'.
*192 Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):
262 117. kumasa
118. putosa
119. pusa
120. kambwo
121. erindasa
122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.
*192 123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.
●415 124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira.
*[197] Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash
114 used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.
125. Gourd bottle — wai.
*192 126. Juice — yenku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yenku; corn-juice, anai-
272 yenku; etc.
127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.
*192 Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):
273 128. kachiri.
129. paiba
130. parakari
131. akeüyeñka
*192 132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o.ina. Taurepán, o.ũna, o.ũna,
*197 iña. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yauarana (Koch-
415 Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yauarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arinato, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o.i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

*192
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The vowels are, so to speak, separated by a silent r. But the word is reduced to two syllables in one Taurepán variant and also in Oyana ini. Trio eni and Kalíña yene (all from de Goeje).

[252] 133. Cassava. Casave (the prepared bread) — eke.

134. Stone for roasting casave — puitari. Taurepán, putari. This Carib root is the origin of the colloquial Venezuelan word "budare."

[412] 135. *Grater for casave — samaːri. Taurepán, sumaːri.

136. *Hollow log for holding grated casave — moru. Taurepán, muru.

137. *Hollow log for making kachiri — wateːa. Taurepán, kanwa, kuriyara. The Kamarakoto word is probably the same as (Venezuelan) Spanish batea, also applied to a gold-pan (see below). The Taurepán words are the same as those applied to a dugout canoe, which is their primary meaning.

000 For plants and animals eaten see the respective lists and for other utensils see basketry, etc.

*192 c. Basketry. The words under this heading are only listed without definition.
285 The objects to which they apply are more fully described in the later section on
[128] basketry. The complex and somewhat different Taurepán basket nomenclature is also given in that section.

138. œapa	146. akaiʔ
139. pangaiʔ	147. koataiʔ
140. tangõiʔ	148. wapa
141. matuːtu	149. ɛno-saramba
142. o, olori	150. sokoʔ
143. waricha	151. kumara-katsaʔ
144. warakapi	152. wakawaʔ
145. amaːtu	153. (t)siya-potapə

(muroiʔ, No. 104, tsimuiʔ, No. 99, and mõi-yɛ, No. 98, are also basketry).

*192 Most of these words resemble fairly typical and common Carib roots but
*197 given the enormous variety of baskets made by these tribes it is not surprising
285 that no two apply all these words in exactly the same way and that each tribe has some words not used by its neighbors. Thus in Taurepán waikarapə, a word not used in Kamarakoto, includes a considerable variety of baskets most of which the Kamarakotos would separate as waricha or wapa, words which my Taurepán informants did not know.[49] The Taurepánes apply the similar word waroːkupa to one type of waikarapə, and the Kamarakotos have a third similar word, warakapi, which denotes a type of basket unknown to my Taurepan

49 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are
[137] a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[829] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
[237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 möiyp, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuip, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipirai, is attached to the top of quiver.

114 A, 115 A [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 22 — Barbasco Fishing.
Women with nets (iru') gathering poisoned fish from a pool.

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Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samaːri, into a trough (moru).

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōiʔ is
filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such
beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is
then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the
tangōiʔ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the
bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve,
pangaiʔ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat
stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular
[251] cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but
those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor.
It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it
without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable
varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else
that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas
or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[269] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, pre-
dominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or
stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties
of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed
into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled
mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes,
pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may
be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-
kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the
Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is
so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless
naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

● 4/5 The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned [4/2] under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and [25] puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-ye' and kopei-ye' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[285] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. [252] These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless [53] an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116-Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116-Analyst]

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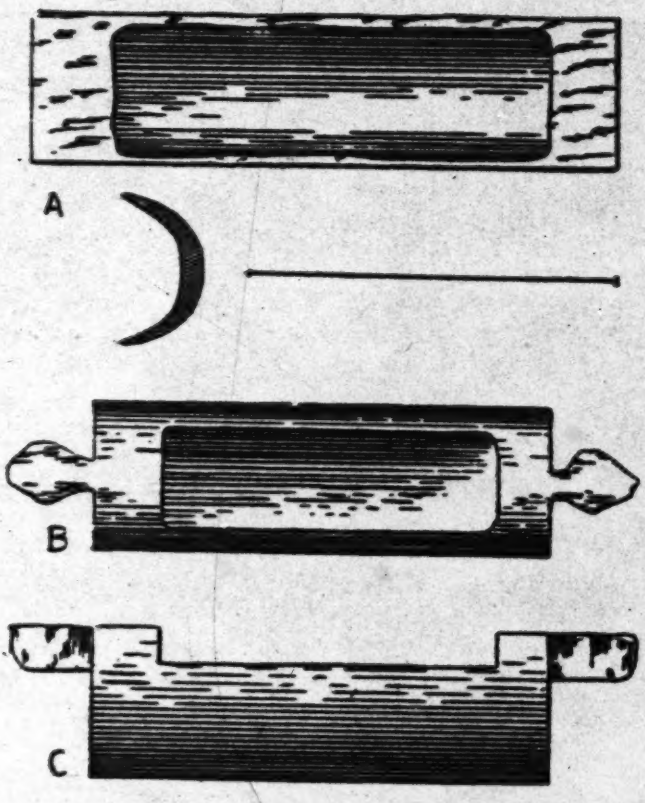

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, moru, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 438 462 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this region since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable

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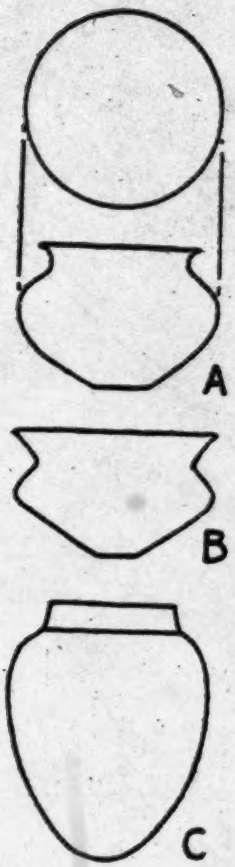

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes, A and B variations of the common pattern, C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

● 445 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
442 gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoi, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

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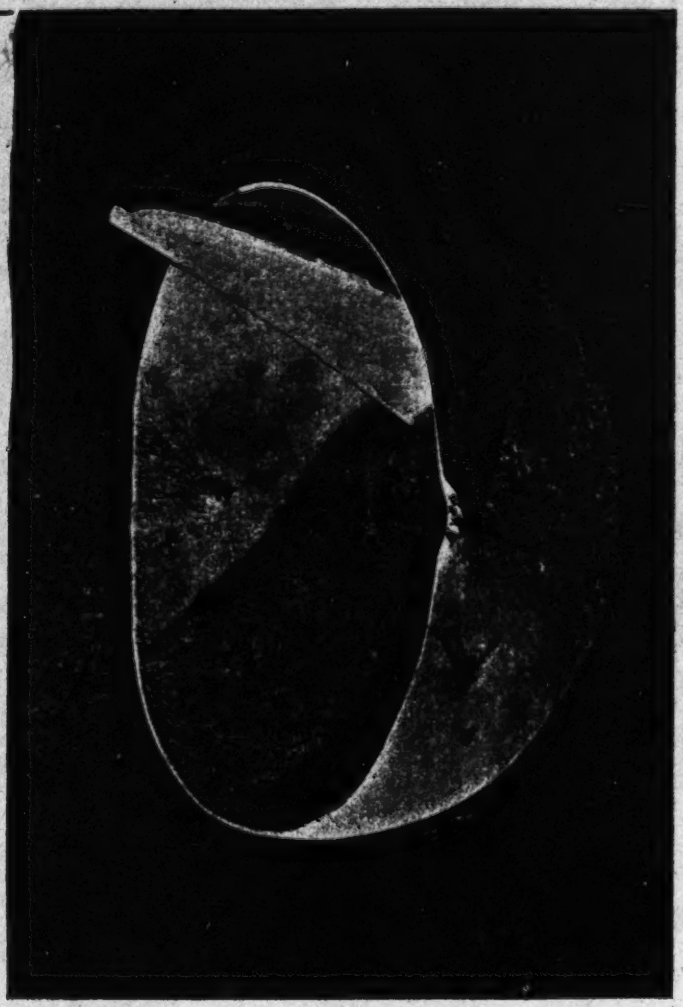

Fig. 29 — Kamarakoto Calabash Bowl and Spoon.
A kamo' with a koireka in it.

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

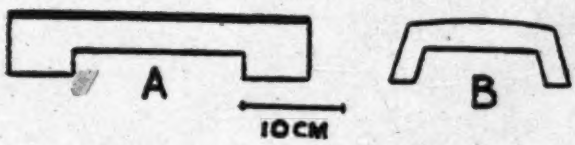

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

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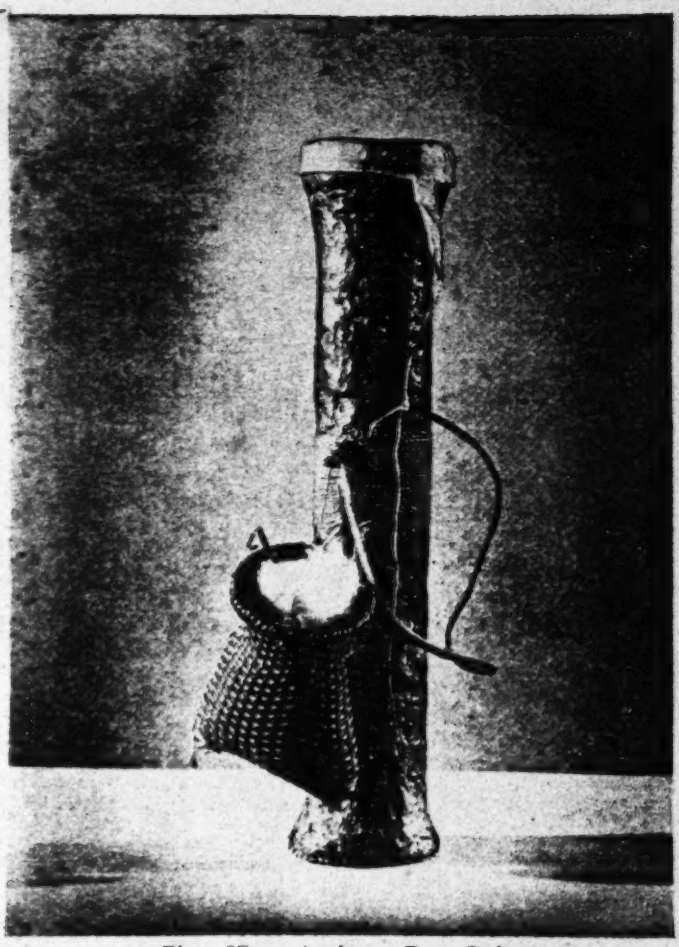

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (möi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui³) full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

226 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
824 innumerable doubtful points.
114

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

723 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɪ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

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417 APPARATUS--supports (e.g., posts, frames, ladders, scaffolds); fences and gates; pens and corrals; birdcages; apparatus not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Traps, snares, and fishing gear 22
Aids to locomotion and burden carrying 48
Looms 286
Furniture 362
Plumbing fixtures 414
Riding gear. 492
Nautical rigging and gear 501

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Native maloca under construction.

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaɜri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaɜri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangõiʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56A.

œapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56B.

matuɜtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the œapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o.olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ)

amaɜtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[402] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

● [411] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

● 421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[721] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

285 kumara-katsa) — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their
●422 households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places
177 now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and
[173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a
[497] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods.

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 40]

*285 them makes their bands produce a concentric square pattern on the fabric as a whole which, however, is very inconspicuous.

The rim re-enforcement is formed by two rails, one on each side, projecting well beyond the corners where they overlap as in a rail fence. At a given edge the basketry strands that are there at right angles to that edge are gathered in groups of two and each two-ply strand passes up inside the rails, circles completely around the top rail, is then passed over itself between the rails and looped back to the outer side, passes around this side of the lower rail, and is then woven obliquely into these same fibers where they depart from the sifting fabric, so as to form an obliquely twilled close-work border all around the bottom of the sieve. This edging technique is essentially constant and is seen on no other basketware.[155] The details of the bottom weave vary slightly.

The Kamarakotos do not, like the Makuchis, make sieves with basket-
[171] work rims rising above the rails. In Santa Elena the Franciscan Sisters kindly gave us a casave sieve of Taurepán manufacture which has most of the bottom of closework with a small central quadrangle of complicated lattice (woven in four directions with a twilled two-ply quadrangular base) and Roth illustrates somewhat similar Wapishana (and Makuchi ?) sieves. Certainly these are native work and made with native techniques, but I am doubtful whether they are made for the Indians' own use. They are not the common sifters in these tribes and they are more adopted for display than for use, their sifting area being small and its mesh large.

Some Indians, including some Arekumas, make purses of woven plaited basketry but the Kamarakotos have abandoned these in favor of the somewhat less esthetic but decidedly more practical thread-textile purse of the same form (pakara, a word also applied to the basketwork purses).

The waricha (Figs. 59 C, D, F) is perhaps the commonest Kamarakoto bas-
● [422] ket. A family may have a dozen or more of somewhat different sizes. These roughly bucket- (or rarely vase-) shaped baskets are used for the storage and transportation of any small objects. They always have hexagonal bases and side, as well as bottom, is of hexagonal lattice with at least one extra strand, horizontal on the sides. Roth distinguishes varieties with the horizontal side strands spiral (one or two continuous strands) and those in which they are circular (each a separate strand), but the Kamarakotos and their closer allies make only the former variety. Two varieties, not given separate names, can be distinguished, however, by the way in which the horizontal strands of the sides are worked in.

In both the horizontal strands on the sides consist of two separate strands both working around repeatedly, one above the other, in a spiral until the rim is reached. In both one of these strands is an oblique strand on the side which runs to a corner of the base and along one of its six sides but which then, instead of turning up and becoming an oblique strand on the side in the opposite

155 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

● 422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to'-esa' as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to'-esa' as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to'-esa' for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 [174] Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 [262] [123] [72] [685] Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 [172] [439] All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

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226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
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[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to'-esa' as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to'-esa' as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to'-esa' for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

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Chapter XVIII

Are the Indians Grateful or Ungrateful?

154. A universal complaint. 155. Beggary. 156. Ingratitude through ignorance. 157. The legend of Makunaimá and of the Government. 158. There are no gifts among Indians. 159. Practical advice. 160. Pleasant memories.

154. One of the proverbs most widely spread against the Indians is the one which is contained like gall in its bladder in the thousand times repeated quatrain:

The Indian flees from work
And looks for idleness:
Where they beat him up, he stays,
Where they pay him, he goes away.

431 577 This matter of ingratitude is more than a common, universal complaint of all against all others. And the fact is that since "gratitude is an interminable debt," -- (for which reason it is very correctly said that money is worth more than favors), many make excessive use of their gifts, by always and endlessly asking for the loan of services. As a result of which there exists that other little verse:

"Give him always, don't give him one;
You haven't given him anything." /72/

which is a two-edged blade, which cuts equally ingrates and the excessively demanding.

155. Another very similar thing and one which many confuse with ingratitude is excessive asking for favors, from which doubtless missionaries and Indians suffer. However, I [123] myself, who a great many times have suffered the bother of this defect (?) of the Indians through not being able to remedy

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful,
829 as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

● 431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/73 cont./

431 123 437 Practice has taught us not to accept any gift from them or to try to pay them back immediately with another gift; since were we to do otherwise 50 years later they would ask us for a corresponding payment. And this does not only apply to gifts offered by the natives to civilized persons, but also to those that they make among themselves. As a result the most reflective and delicate Indians (and there are such), when they are guests, try to pay back their hosts by helping them in their usual chores, bringing some game or fish, carrying firewood or water, etc. This observation has been expressly made to me by them and shows the delicacy of some of them not to be obligated and in others the fear of being recriminated for favors received completely gratis.

159. With respect to the matter under consideration, we must reiterate as very practical advice in dealing with the natives the following:

1. Not to accept any gift without the appropriate paying back of it. /74/
2. The best way to be freed of their demands, when this is a nuisance to us and we don't have any way of quieting it, is for us to ask for anything they may have.
3. When we stay among them we must lend a hand with the common loads or the expenses of food, and thus we shall be free from their recriminations.

123 437 On a certain occasion some Indians of a certain place made me a gift of some pineapples, which I immediately had peeled and divided among them themselves. Hardly had they eaten when the splendid donor came to ask me for bread; the pineapples belonged to the women and they wanted some little combs, which I didn't have. Then I divided among them all a half pound of chocolate, the pieces of which were a very good equivalent for the rings of pineapple; and as the women also ate, I asked them in payment for a uenek for carrying children. As they had not received the little combs, they

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

● 433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except
050 what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén nakê (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

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● 433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

000 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremc, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring (to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
433 more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[407] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 11b – Analyst]

177 178 drill), steel cutting implements (same functions as wood, bone, and stone implements supplemented by fire), steel fishhooks (same function as wooden hooks), enamelware and bottles (same functions as pottery and gourds), banana and cane (same function as aboriginal foodstuffs), and domestic fowl (same function as native wild birds). These can definitely replace native objects and hence do or may have a profound influence on material culture. They have the potentiality, not as yet much developed in this tribe, of modifying social culture in various directions, such as giving more leisure or creating greater dependence on trade. Such influence is, however, indirect. These innovations are acceptable mainly for the reason that they do not require any immediate, direct change in native modes of life.

Among the Kamarakotos there are as yet very few innovations that belong in the third category, evidence that their culture is still almost purely aboriginal despite the visible European influence. I am at a loss to cite any clear-cut example indubitably falling into this category except the increasing use of clothing European in general model. When they do come, innovations of this sort frequently do not merely modify aboriginal culture; they tend to destroy it and replace it by something different. Even when their effect is less drastic, it is more profound and has deeper social implications than does that of either of the first two sorts of innovations. The most important elements that might be placed in this third category are new ideas and habits of thought. It has been shown that the Kamarakotos have been more or less exposed to these, but that they have as yet generally adopted almost none.

177 435 The extent to which new materials and objects will be accepted and the rate of adoption depend on preferability and availability. Preferability, in turn, depends in the Indian mind on many factors of which functional adaptation, esthetic appreciation, and expense (in the broadest sense) are most important. Steel-cutting implements are not better on grounds of esthetics or of expense, but they are so greatly better on functional grounds that they are incomparably preferable. Beads have little functional preferability and are extremely expensive, but they are so preferable esthetically that they are highly acceptable. Tin or enamel pots have some but not pronounced functional advantage, they are generally considered inferior esthetically, but they are sometimes cheaper than native ware for the same purpose (i.e., they often cost fewer hours of labor, whether obtained directly for labor or in exchange for other products of labor). Dresses do not, in the native mind, or do only to very slight extent, perform any useful function and they are very expensive, but they are eagerly accepted on esthetic (and in part more broadly social, but still psychological rather than material) grounds.

These considerations work both ways, of course, that is they may impede as well as promote the acceptance of innovations. Good native basketry is expensive (in labor) even to its own maker and objects as good or better functionally

177 could be obtained more cheaply by trade, but as yet no such replacement has
435 even begun because the native basketry is greatly preferred on grounds of esthetics and custom. All articles of trade are expensive and it is exceptional for them to be less so than a native article, so that this is a constant barrier to their acceptability and in general they will not be adopted unless strongly preferable functionally, esthetically, or in both these respects.

177 The outcome of innovation is conditioned by the balance of relative acceptability and availability. With such imperfect and difficult contact with the outer world, many things that would otherwise be acceptable cannot be obtained, or not in sufficient quantity. New articles filling an essential function naturally cannot and will not entirely replace articles already serving that function unless a supply equal to the demand continues over a considerable period. Flint and steel (that is, the essential import for this combination) has been available in sufficient quantities and over a sufficient period entirely to replace the fire-drill, to such an extent that fire making would now be impossible here if the supply of steel were permanently stopped. Matches are decidedly more acceptable than flint and steel, even on the score of expense, but their supply is not now and will not be for a long time sufficient to bring about total replacement.

177 It is under these conditions that materials and objects belonging to dif-
178 ferent culture levels but serving essentially the same purpose survive simultaneously. Matches have not driven out flint and steel, firearms have not replaced blowguns and bows, and enamelware has not replaced native pottery. In all these cases, and others, there is no doubt that the innovations will totally replace the surviving older articles in the natural course of events when the supply becomes adequate. Other articles that would doubtless be acceptable if supplied are still practically without any use (even in cases where they are known) because the supply is so nearly nil. Iron nails and other manufactured building materials, imported foodstuffs, domestic transport and food animals (except chickens), and many other things are in this class.

The Present Trend and the Future

The broad trend all over the Americas has been and still is for cultures ultimately European in main outlines to affect the aboriginal cultures more and more intimately and finally to absorb them. In doing so, the European cultures have always adopted more or less from the native cultures and have themselves everywhere received a distinctive American flavor not merely because of independent evolution in this hemisphere but also because of direct heritage from the Indians. This influence is very noticeable in Venezuela where European civilization has mixed intimately with that of the Indians and produced a distinctive Venezuelan culture with many aboriginal elements surviving even in

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 756 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 534 755 [171] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

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At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare o:apa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [29] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekunas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327 category 116 – Analyst]

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[2]

[2] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful, as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the
829 missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
● 437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/73 cont./

431 Practice has taught us not to accept any gift from them or
123 to try to pay them back immediately with another gift; since
were we to do otherwise 50 years later they would ask us for a
●437 corresponding payment. And this does not only apply to gifts
offered by the natives to civilized persons, but also to those
that they make among themselves. As a result the most re-
flective and delicate Indians (and there are such), when they
are guests, try to pay back their hosts by helping them in their
usual chores, bringing some game or fish, carrying firewood
or water, etc. This observation has been expressly made to
me by them and shows the delicacy of some of them not to be
obligated and in others the fear of being recriminated for favors
received completely gratis.

159. With respect to the matter under consideration, we must reiterate as very practical advice in dealing with the natives the following:

1. Not to accept any gift without the appropriate paying back of it. /74/
2. The best way to be freed of their demands, when this is a nuisance to us and we don't have any way of quieting it, is for us to ask for anything they may have.
3. When we stay among them we must lend a hand with the common loads or the expenses of food, and thus we shall be free from their recriminations.

123 On a certain occasion some Indians of a certain place made
437 me a gift of some pineapples, which I immediately had peeled
and divided among them themselves. Hardly had they eaten
when the splendid donor came to ask me for bread; the pine-
apples belonged to the women and they wanted some little
combs, which I didn't have. Then I divided among them all
a half pound of chocolate, the pieces of which were a very
good equivalent for the rings of pineapple; and as the women
also ate, I asked them in payment for a wenck for carrying
children. As they had not received the little combs, they

/74 cont./

123 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry
● 437 children across their chest --; but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fond-
123 ness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

000 As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirts are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm -leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods,

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 48]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [34] [628] [43] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

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Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

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Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even [illegible]er than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[739] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

● 437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 category 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for [436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

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171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 — Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analysis]

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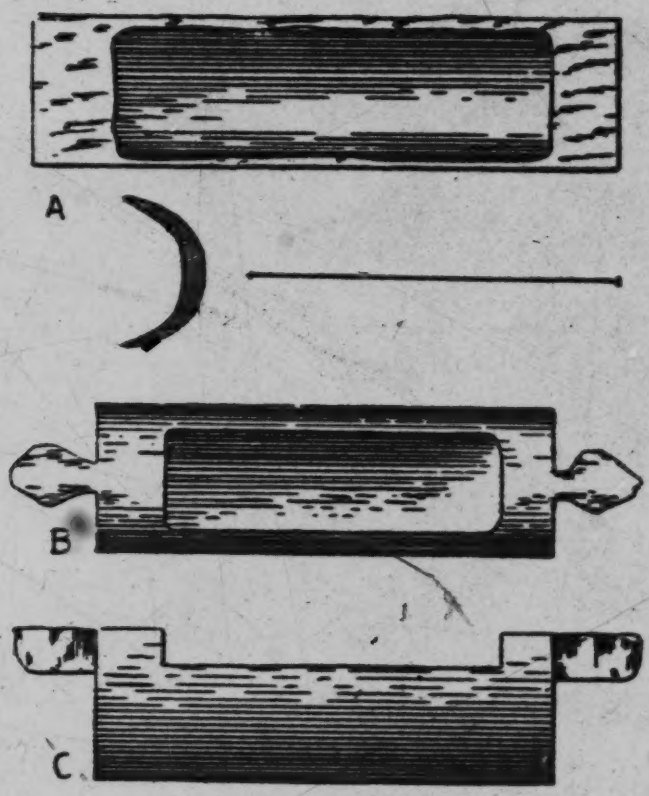

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, morn, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this re-
438 gion since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable
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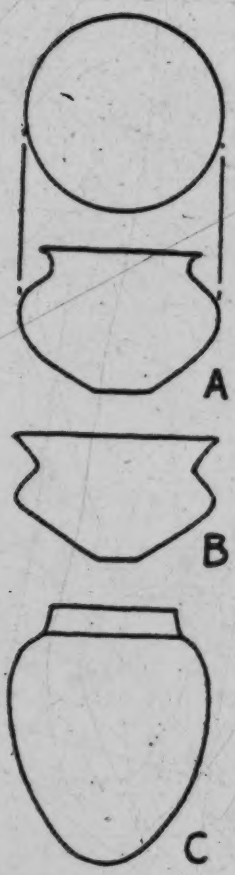

Fig. 28 — Kamarakoto Pots. Three characteristic shapes. A and B variations of the common pattern. C an unusual type.

323 clay, both uncommon. They are made at Uruyen, but most Kamarakotos do
438 not make them and some whole tribes of the region do not. We saw an Uruyen pot in the maloca (Indian village) at Santa Elena, several weeks' travel from Uruyen.

415 For all liquids not to be placed directly over a fire, calabashes and
412 gourds are used (Fig. 29). Large spherical calabashes cut in half, called kamoʔ, are the commonest means of serving or keeping soup, stews and other liquids, which are dipped out and drunk or eaten with spoons made of segments of elongated gourds, koireka. Whole gourds with the small end cut off are used
265 as bottles, wai. Solid foods are served on basketwork mats and eaten with the
264 fingers.

[Text continues on p. 145]

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re- [438] spect only by the ama:tu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not [439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka- [126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare) [171] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matu:tu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analyst]

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

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[249]

This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galuztu (Koch-Grünberg; = karuztu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

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181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-to. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "annatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana mku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberō. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

● [439]

184. kurawōri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberō, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f. Thread, fiber, etc.
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186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[197]

188. Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

*192 200. Mirror — unamari. (This is apparently a Carib word.)

[278] 201. Cigar — tamõi-koneasa' (literally "tobacco- (that has been) made").

202. *Pipe (for tobacco) — kachimba. This is the local Spanish "cachimba" — the pipe is not native to the Kamarakotos.

[407] 203. *Cane-press — tərabichi, tərapichi. This is the local Spanish "trapiche."

204. *Gold-pan (hewn of wood) — watea. This is the local Spanish "batea."

*192 *197 412 205. *Ax (steel) — waka. Taurepán, waka. Although this and the following two implements are, of course, imported, their names appear to be native.

● 439 206. *Knife (steel) — mariza. Taurepán, tawora. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) malia (i.e., maria). Makuchi (Williams) a-tau-wa-ra. Galibi and six other scattered dialects (de Goeje) maria.[54]

207. *Machete (steel) — kutsupara. Taurepán, kasuzpara.[54]

*192 h. Houses, etc.

*197 342 208. *House in general, roofed structure — tapũi. Taurepán, õuta, but according to Koch-Grünberg the Taurepánes call a shelter-hut (in the forest) tapoi (or tapəi). Makuchi (Williams) u-tə', "house," u-y-e-wu, "my house," ta-pui "small shed." Most Carib dialects use a variation of the õuta-utə root for "house" and apply the tapui root, if they use it, to a small hut, see, e.g., Adam No. 142, but the Kamarakotos call structures tapũi that are õuta (etc.) to other Caribs. There is also a root for "house" of the type muna, monta, motu, etc., see de Goeje No. 45, which is probably -mota of the Kamarakotos (see No. 267).

*192 342 209. House with walls — tapũi-timeakɛn.

210. Quadrangular house — wata. (For words usually used in allied dialects are parapan, below.)

211. — with walls — wata-timeakɛn.

212. — without walls — wata-imedapun.

213. *Quadrangular house hermetically sealed with mud — kalabœso. This is the Spanish "calabozo," "jail." The Kamarakoto kalabœso is used to escape insects and not as a place of confinement. I am not sure how general is the use of this word but it was heard from at least one Indian who did not speak Spanish.

54 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 [231] kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439] oro, woro?	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapəra and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
unamari	mirror
waka	ax
mariʔa	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulū-kulū	file
kōroitoko	chicken

101 may be distinguishable as another such group.[93] Probably the Arekuna vocab-
*197 ulary of Koch-Grünberg represents still another local group and dialect.[94]

Among adequately known Carib languages, Makuchi is certainly the
*197 closest to Arekuna. It is, as would be expected from the geographic relationship, more similar to Taurepán than to Kamarakoto. Makuchi and Taurepán are, indeed, so much alike that they might almost be considered dialects of one language, although it is more convenient and can be justified on a balance of various considerations to classify them in different languages.[95]

*197 Next in order of resemblance is the dialect called Ingariko by Koch-
101 Grünberg, which, as he points out, is not properly a linguistic or tribal name. It means simply "forest dwellers" and the forest Indians northeast of Roroima for whom he uses this name may be a branch of the Akawais and the language a dialect of Akawai. In any case, it is closer to Arekuna than is true or typical Akawai. The latter may be placed next in order of resemblance, along with Purukoto. Sapara and Wayumara, languages and tribes of Brazil, at the southeastern margin of the Arekuna area and near the Purukotos, are rapidly waning and may even be extinct now. These languages are definitely less like Arekuna than is Purukoto but still are recognizably related.

*197 The poorly known language Krishana and the likewise poorly known and now extinct Paravilhana, both spoken farther south in Brazil, may perhaps be taken as the most distant and least closely allied (to Kamarakoto) of this general group of languages, scattered over a great expanse with Roroima more or less in the center.

Maquiritare, with its four or more dialects, differs more from Arekuna than do the languages just mentioned and may conveniently be placed in a
● [489] separate group. Kamarakotos who have traded with the Pabanaton, as they
[101] call the Maquiritares, informed me that the language of the latter is quite incomprehensible to a Kamarakoto.

Other Carib languages are still more distant in relationships, although all those of what is called the "Main Division" in the classification given above have definite similarities and even occasional identical words.

[101] The Kamarakotos are surrounded by other Carib tribes on all sides and their remote valleys are almost in the geographic center of the far-flung distribution of this great family of Indians. Their dialect is certainly one of the purest known. Carib studies have not progressed far enough to reconstruct a proto-Carib or to identify the real root forms of words in the strictest sense, but there is some reason to believe that Kamarakoto is also a relatively primitive and undegenerate form of Carib. Its sharp and forceful articulation, in contrast even with Taurepán and still more so with many more distant dialects, suggests the retention of strong forms of words that elsewhere have often been slurred and simplified. Of course, among contemporaneous dialects it is never possible to construct a scale from the most primitive to the most advanced or

93-95 [see footnotes on pp. 317-18, category 116 — Analyst]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out, and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38-40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 möiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɨ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiɨ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[14] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
[262] in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
[423] jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
[721] arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
[685] at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
[172] by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
[439] penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi' in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

252 fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is ba-
[262] nanas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

372 Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably
[17] the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely
[317] native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulū-kulū (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

252 Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially
354 for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoi' piapoʔ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

252 Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

[262] Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the
[17] same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be de-
252 scribed in detail. The roots, kōsɛ, are first scraped with a knife and then
412 grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made
[439] by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the
[114] manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

252 The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezue-
288 lan Spanish and tangōiʔ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõiʔ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[482] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõiʔ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʔ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p 321, category 116 - Analyst]

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[114] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analysis]

284
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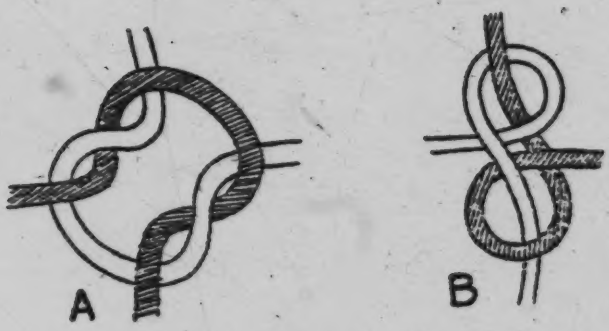

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalīnas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

*285 pattern at right angles to its former course and with upper and lower sides reversed. The weave forms a pattern of concentric squares, which contrast also in color and smoothness since the skin is left on the manare and successive squares are formed by the smoother, browner outer sides and by the rougher, paler inner sides of the strands. These are used for fanning the fire, for serving food, and for a dozen other purposes for which small mats are useful. The Kamarakotos do not make fans, like those of the Arawaks and some other Indians, that are definitely fan-shaped or that have handles.

Although simple in form, the o:apa (Fig. 56 B) commonly reaches the highest point of weaving and design shown by these Indians, rivaled in this re-
[438] spect only by the amaːtu. First-class o:apa are so difficult to weave that not
[439] all weavers are equal to this and they are common items of trade both within the tribe and with neighboring tribes. Some of the best o:apa in use by the Kamarakotos were made by Maquiritares but they are also made by Kamarakotos in essentially identical style and the following comments apply to the Ka-
[126] marakoto work. I was unable to obtain one of the highly prized Kamarakoto specimens and the one that I illustrate was said to be of Mayongón (Maquiritare)
[171] origin, but it perfectly illustrates the Kamarakoto technique also. Indeed Roth has shown that identically similar trays are made by Arawaks, Wapishanas, Warraus, Akawais, Makuchis, Tarumas, and others.

The tray is woven as a flat, square mat with two different sets of strands (not a single set doubled over as in the o. olori) of which one is colored brown or black on what is to be the upper side in order to increase the pattern contrast. The fiber is manare in finer strands than those usually used and the fabric is a pictorial twilled woven plaiting, the formula varied in accordance with the design but mainly one-over-two or one-over-three. The completed mat is cut into circular form and then edged and shaped so as to be definitely concave. The edging consists of a separate piece of all-over one-over-two or one-over-three twilled woven plaiting made in a seamless circle of the size required, doubled over the edge of the main mat and re-enforced by two opposite vine hoops, one outside and one inside the finished tray, bound into place by loops of curagua twine sewed through the fabric of the mat and edging.

These trays are not very specialized in use. Casave is served on them and they are also used for drying cotton or other things, for temporary storage, etc.[154]

The Kamarakotos do not make circular open-ware trays, as some Arawaks do, nor do they make square trays of edged-mat type such as occur among the Makuchis and numerous more distantly related tribes.

The matuːtu (Figs. 57-58), is a tray highly specialized in form, although less so in function. The bottom is a square, flat mat woven like the bottom of an o:apa (but left square) and not like an o:olori. In rimming and edging this is shaped so as to be somewhat concave, but less so than the o:apa.

154 [see footnote on p. 325, category 116 - Analysis]

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
● [439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

501 [322] [439] [828] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ'?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Ameri- 171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are un- [492] known (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akai' and koatai' (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akai' (or koatai') was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akai' and koatai' may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 213]

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[937] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[939] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
● 439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

●439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare o:apa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balata and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [29] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekumas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles,
[822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all
[123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analysis]

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.[236]

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 — Analysis]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsø?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retórata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[197] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.

[For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Marí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/17 cont./

are not going to talk about what we have heard; we have lived long years with the Indians and we speak from daily, intimate experience, which obliges us to speak the truth even though bullets may keep on flying.

We have not come to break spears in favor of the Indians, but in favor of the truth. This idea of the innate laziness of the Indians we believe to be the twin sister of the "black legend" about the Spaniards, against which of little avail have been the voices of Maetzu, Juderías, Bayle, Lummis, etc. Perhaps the voice of the missionary, so often accused of being blinded by affection, may also be scorned and turn out to have been preaching in the desert, but, anyway, magis amica veritas.

147 38. A very different matter, with which we shall not
146 here deal, is the physical endurance and useful labor of the Indians, which gave rise to the bringing of Negroes for the working of the mines and the sugar mills. Also different is the other question of malnutrition or incomplete nutrition and the degeneration produced by alcoholism, malaria, etc., although they have a bearing upon the main point we are dealing with
461 here. Speaking of useful labor, I do note that, with regard to the Guaraúno, the Rev. Fr. Gaspar de Pinilla, a missionary among them, has often told me that in the handling of the axe, canoe paddle, and dragging of temiche /18/, he would not exchange them for any Negro or Creole, despite the fact that the Guaraúno are among those most accused of being slothful and lazy. The same can be said of the Pemón of the Gran Sabana with respect to traveling with burdens, construction of huts, etc., that is to say, everything that makes up their daily life and their own activity.

People who often speak, to relieve their overflowing impatience on trips, against the sluggishness, stoicity, laziness, etc., of the long-suffering Indians, two days later, when the discomforts have now disappeared, can be heard to outdo themselves in praise of how fine they are for carrying and a thousand other things.

/18 cont./

167 39. Also flour from a different sack, although tangentially related to what we are dealing with, is the matter of a lack
461 of initiative, lack of ambition, and a lack of appetite for certain temporal well-being, to which they are not accustomed and which consequently they do not miss which should not justly surprise us, since we should never forget that man is a creature of customs. In this sense it is true that the Indian, without realizing it, seems to repeat the adage, which the Holy Books put in the mouth of the fool: "Better is a handful with rest than both hands full with work and vexation of spirit. (Ecclesiastes IV, 6.)

40. For the correct solution of the problem stated, we must keep most in mind that the place where the Indians live ought to be pondered, since not in vain is it said to us that geography is one of the eyes necessary in every treatise on or study of man.

147 a) Obviously in hot climates nobody can carry on the same activity as in cold ones. The wise Creator did not give to the animals of the tropics the same instinct for frugality or storing up that he gave to their congeners in other climates.

251 b) Tropical fruits, in general, cannot be stored, but
261 must be consumed at once: thus the more or less remote tendency to gluttony.

251 c) The lack of salt similarly does not allow them to store up provisions of the meat of animals for a long time and thus
263 to ration its consumption. Hung game /mosqueadas/ meat or meat cured only with fire does not last indefinitely like salted meat.

221 d) The nonexistence of seasons of strong contrast and well defined does not help man in these lands to precise calculation, thus great abundance and squandering may frequently be followed by great shortage.

433 e) The enormous isolation from centers of commerce, as a final evil, does not allow them to cultivate anything except what they themselves /19/ are going to consume. In general,

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

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462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

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538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

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"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amaztu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
● [461] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
● 461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to⁹-esa⁹ as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to⁹-esa⁹ as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to⁹-esa⁹ for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
● 461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[558] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[683] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[683] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

/19 cont./

we shall not deny that work is accepted as an unpleasant means by which we free ourselves from misery or indigence or obtain another pleasure; to consider it as noble in itself and above all to practice it for pure love of the art is still the patrimony of very few.

In the light of these geographical principles there is no doubt that the so proverbial laziness of the Indians is reduced to very little. And the golden rule of St. Francis of Assisi, "according to places and times and cold regions" might perhaps suggest to us more benign ideas with regard to Indians. For an Indian it would be the height of weakness to say of him that he does not contract matrimony or that he limits the number of his children; by contrast in our cities that is the daily food and our daily bread, despite claims of being hard-working and industrious and lovers of nature. Should one wish to demand so much of the aborigines residing in isolated districts, dominated and almost absorbed by harsh nature, without the stimuli of refined pleasures and ambitions and without the possible accumulation and transportation of wealth by means of money?

462 41. We have often been asked about the division of labor between men and women and frequently also is it heard said that the Indians load down their women with labor while the men spend their lives in idleness. Naturally, if we compare the Indian women with women mannequins, perhaps we could say that they are slaves; but when studied in the natural system of country life, our conclusion is that their work is equitably divided and that the division of labor which is observed among them might well be taken as a model. In effect, the man clears the land, fells trees, clears paths, hollows canoes, does all the building of huts and houses, makes sandals, manufactures twine and all kinds of arms and artifacts for hunting and fishing and even basketwork objects; he alone does all the operations of hunting and fishing.

The woman sows, pulls up, carries, and prepares foodstuffs; of woven articles she makes only those used by her or by the

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

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/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

[262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.). Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.
[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and 177 probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremę, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[231] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any
[237] attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[129] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (iruʔ) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
● [462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[277] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
185 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[267] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[25]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 32] category 116 - Analysis
[text continues on p. 137]

252 basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and
[285] open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangōiʼ is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The
[142] preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangōiʼ and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

[415] The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangaiʼ (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat
[251] soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard.
262 To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

251 Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

262 Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin
[171] stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs.
[252] This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

252 Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of
[263] condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwō.

263 There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any be-
[135] ing used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it
[439] through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless
[146] counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 11b – Analyst]

415
252

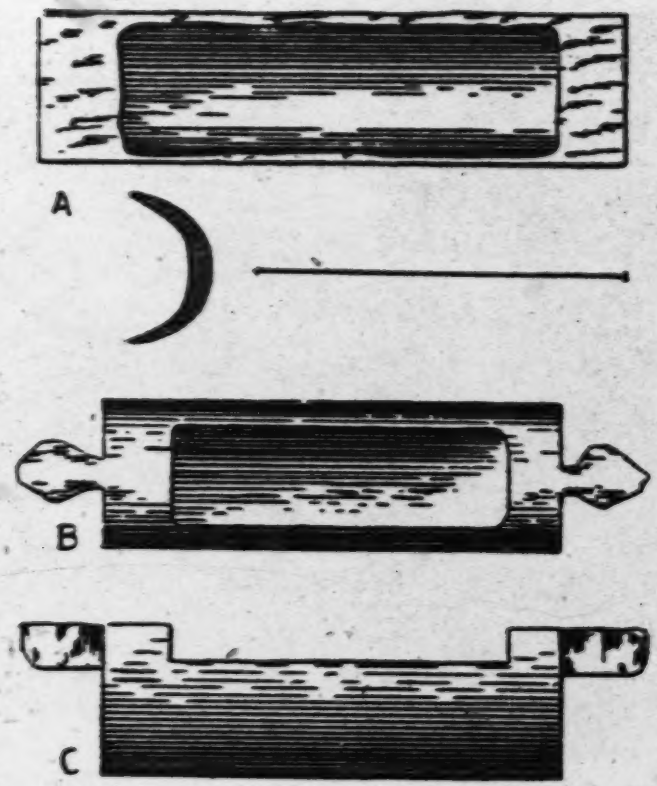

Fig. 27 — Kamarakoto Troughs.
A, trough used for grated casave, mom, seen from above and in cross section. B, trough used for making kachiri, watea, seen from above and from the side.

323 gradually built up. Then clay for the sides is applied from a thick roll, but it would be incorrect to call this coiled ware. The roll is merely a convenient way of adding bits of clay; from it the clay is smoothed into the vessel and the roll is not really applied as a coil. After modeling, the pots are thoroughly sun-dried and then baked on an ordinary open wood fire. They immediately become and remain black.

323 Pots, made only by women, are not manufactured everywhere in this re-
438 gion since they require a combination of local talent and local supply of suitable
462

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

283 textiles from it is woman's work while the twisting of bast and the manufacture
286 of textiles from it, although occasionally performed by a woman, is generally
[176] man's work.
[462]

In this tribe, however, bast textiles are uncommon. Bast thread or twine is usually used as such and the only textile usually made of it is netting.

286 The Kamarakotos say that they formerly made large pieces of cloth not unlike the "zaraza" or trade goods now used for loin cloths and dresses. They
[171] are still acquainted with a weaving technique capable of producing true cloth, hardly identical with "zaraza" but similar, and such fabrics are known from related tribes. (E.g., Roth, 1924, Plate 10, Fig. C, shows an Akawai baby sling that includes a large quadrangle of native woven cloth.) At present, however, the supply of trade goods is nearly enough equal to the demand and this true weaving technique is used only to produce long narrow bands.

The Kamarakotos now know and use five thread-textile techniques, each closely associated with different finished articles. To these should be added the several bead-techniques, which also use thread but are so distinct that they are here discussed separately. The five thread techniques are as follows:

1. True weaving, producing long narrow bands for headdresses, carrying straps, etc.
2. Loom twining, producing an open-meshed fabric made in the form of hammocks.
3. Loom plaiting, producing wide circular bands used as baby slings.
4. One-needle crocheting, producing a tight fabric usually in small circular bands, for armlets, anklets, purses (pakara), etc.
5. Knotting, producing netting mainly for fish nets.

[114] True weaving is the one textile technique that I did not see and the de-
[121] scription of it was not entirely clear to me. I have, however, good specimens of the textile thus made. The warp is composed of relatively few strands, usually four for a headband but as many as thirty-two for a carrying strap, which are stretched on a simple frame or between fixed sticks (this is the point that was not clear to me in the description of the process). The weft is then woven in by hand, using a flat stick as a separator and batten. (The Kamarakotos do not use either heddles or shuttles in any of their textile work, although both are known among some rather distantly related tribes in British Guiana.) The whole weft is a single continuous strand, which doubles back around the last warp strand on each side.

Although the weaving technique is basically the same for both, two fabrics of quite different appearance are made in this way (Fig. 37). In one, used for headbands, each warp strand is a thick bundle of separate threads (each of which is, in turn, usually two-ply). A six-fold warp strand is common, but the number is not constant. These heavy warp strands remain straight and the weft strands are simply twined around them. The surface of the finished fabric is

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton ● [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture.

*285 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʼ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʼ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 411 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position [128] as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. [233] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

●462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[254] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[464] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

●462 In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.	In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.
----------	All food preparation.
Manufacture of twisted thread, (curagua, moriche, etc.)	Manufacture of spun thread (cotton).
Manufacture of sandals.	Manufacture of all cotton textiles, baby slings, pakara, hammocks, etc., also all sewing of Europeanized garments.
Manufacture (and use) of all weapons, fish nets, etc.	----------
All basketwork.	All beadwork.
Manufacture and use of all musical instruments (except simple jingle-rattle ornaments).	----------
Such woodwork as is done (benches, canoes, etc.).	Manufacture of pottery.
[P54] Some help with care of children.	Almost all of the care of children (which is slight except for babies carried by the women in a sling).
----------	Incidental fetching and carrying, as of firewood and water.
Helping with the heavy carrying, as on journeys.	Much, often the lion's share, of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to>-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[22] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsara.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[937] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[472] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [269] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inaʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 11b - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 136]

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
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484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes al-
though these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as
permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There
are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares,"
that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran
Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of
vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and per-
fectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only
fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single
file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the
trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other with-
out turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over
to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them
deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking
and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and
branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always
possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-ɲ?)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction,
so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are
not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried
logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be
used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all
the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but
even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over
small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always
provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is
simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole
is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are wea[illegible] enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken [illegible] at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve [illegible]
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of vie[illegible] particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
[578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan.wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan.wa-pa:re.

[48]

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

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j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nau.

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[231]

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171]

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau samhola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

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Fig. 19 — Barbasco Fishing.
Carrying the prepared fish-poison (inɛ' in this case) up the stream (Río Yurnán), which is here low at the end of dry season.

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

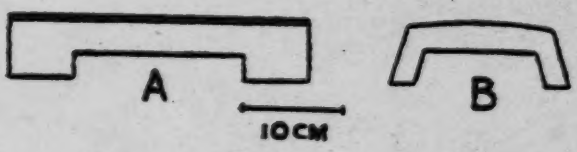

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangõʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 54.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56A.

ɔcapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the ɔcapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o. olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

● [H2] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

H/7 ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

286 As the apron becomes wider below, additional warp strands are added by tying into the most medial of the border bundles -- the borders are never widened and additional warp strands are almost invariably added from the border, only very rarely within the area below the top tie.

When the beaded area is completed, the ends of the warp strands and some other threads added for the purpose are knotted around a transverse string and left projecting as a fringe, which is often dyed pink or reddish brown. Typical completed aprons are shown in Fig. 47.

Bead bands, festoons, and a few special types of stringing beads, although not strictly textiles, have the same character and involve the same sorts of problems. Self-explanatory illustrations of several types of this work are given, Figs. 48-49. Beads are always strung simultaneously on two separate threads [283] even when this is not a technical necessity as it is in the apron fabric. Cotton [462] is generally used, but occasionally very fine curagua thread is employed. All bead work is done by women.

Basketry.

*285 The Kamarakotos make and use baskets in great numbers and variety and their skill in this respect is perhaps their most interesting characteristic to the visitor. Baskets are necessary to almost every phase of Kamarakoto life. Among the things for which they are used are:

[482] Carrying — a wide variety of baskets adapted for carrying almost everything, light or heavy, that an Indian has to transport.

[251] Storage — open baskets of several sorts for storing food, etc., also chests, jewel boxes, and others.

Mats, as floor mats for closing doors.

Pans.

Plates and trays for serving food.

Casave presses.

Casave sifters.

Trays for drying cotton, etc.

Bird cages.

Fish traps.

Quivers for blowgun darts.

It must, however, also be noted as characteristic that the Kamarakotos and their allies do not use basketry for purposes common among some distant Indians, for instance in North America. They do not make water containers of basketry and so have no boiling baskets, water storage baskets, or basket canteens, cups, and bottles. They do not use basketry as an adjunct to pottery manufacture, nor do they make any clothing, sandals, cradles or baby-carriers of basketry. Finally, they do not make any sort of basketry furniture,

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Fig. 55 — Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

*285 171 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa' that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] [797] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

*285 wadapi as in the best maturtu, with a small spirally wound wadapi loop on each side of the rim to which a carrying cord can be attached.

The amaztu (Figs. 62, 63) is with some reason the most prized of all baskets. It is made in all sizes from small ones that can rest on the palm of one hand and are the native "jewel cases" to big ones nearly half a meter in length that are the native "wardrobes," "coffers," or "satchels." It is almost always composed of two essentially similar and separate baskets, one slightly larger and slipping over the other as a cover. Each of these, in turn, is really two baskets, one permanently fixed inside the other as a lining. Finally a layer of flat leaves is frequently, but not always, placed between these two as an interlining. When thus prepared, such a basket is waterproof.[156]

The base of the outer layer (of course either of the basket, proper, or of its cover) is made like that of a soko' or wapa except that it has a row of hourglasses in the center and is elongate, not square. The sides are of pictorial twill like those of a wapa, generally on a grander scale. The lining is more simply and weakly woven in a plain, half-open checked pattern (see Fig. 63). The lining is simply cut off at the rim and the outer fabric is finished more or less as in the soko' but with the turned-over strands not woven back far enough to show after the split reed edging re-enforcement is applied.

[171] Baskets of similar form and use are made all over this culture area, varying in technique from crude one-ply checked or wicker work to two- (or with the leaves three-) ply baskets of the finest sort, such as the Kamarakotos make and use. Here again it is seen that the type made by these Indians is that most advanced technically and esthetically.

*285 252 171 Turning to special purpose objects that are made of basketry but cannot properly be called baskets, the casave press is perhaps the most essential. These are, necessarily, universal among the casave-eating Indians, and also in civilized communities where casave is prepared, so that they are already very familiar and no lengthy description is needed. A few tribes still use relatively primitive presses, but the Kamarakotos and all their allies and neighbors have the most advanced (now, indeed, nearly ubiquitous) type, called "sebucán" in Venezuela and "matapi" in British Guiana. It only needs to be added that the form of the Kamarakoto sebucán, tangõi' (Fig. 64), is that of Roth's (1929) "Taruma and Waiwai" type, that is without shoulder or hip girdle, but without the special Waiwai weave, the neck being of one-over-two twill and the body of two-over-three twill, plaits similar to those in the Arawak type which, however, differs markedly in details of form.

*285 ● 482 The woman's back-pack or knapsack[157] is called akai' (Fig. 65 B) if the bottom is of openwork and koatai' (Figs. 65A, 66) if it is closework, a distinction that has no bearing on either form or function of the back-pack as a whole but is apparently considered essential by the makers. The basketwork consists of a flat, elongate, rectangular bottom or back piece surrounded on the two

156, 157 [see footnotes on pp. 325-26, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at
●482 the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most
[462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they
[184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 As regards the dart-quiver, nõi-ye (Fig. 67), I am in the same position
411 as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that
[128] any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture.
[237] The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this
[283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

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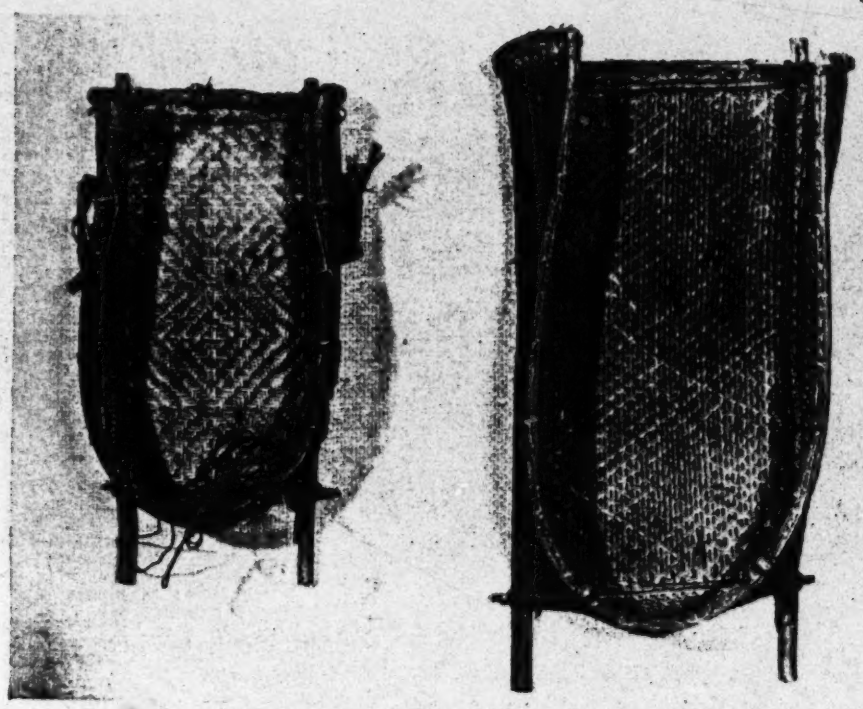

Fig. 65 — Kamarakoto Back-packs.
A, a koatai', with cotton load-lashing and bark carrying strap. B, an akai', without lashing or carrying strap. Both seen from behind (as they are carried in use).

*285
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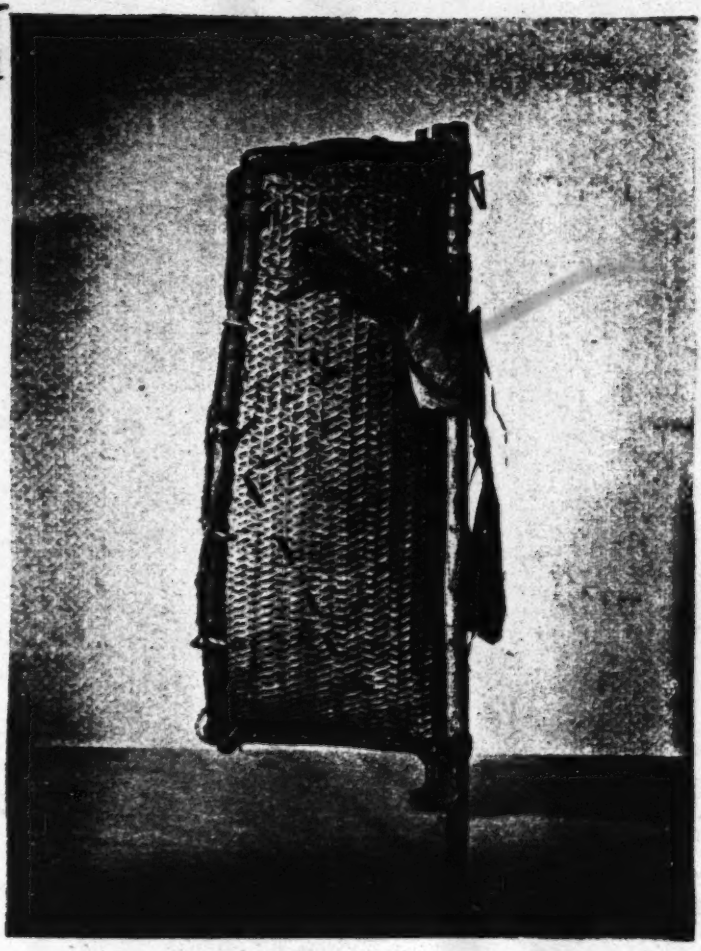

Fig. 66 — Kamarakoto Back-pack.
The koatai', shown in Fig. 65 A, seen from the side.

501 [322] [439] [924] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he 171 shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p.327, category 116 – Analyst]
[Text continues on p.213]

Fig. 73 — Kamara[illegible]an's Back-pack.
Man's carrying frame, wayare, a[illegible]. The load is lashed to the frame with cords.

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai' and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto
436 culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any
437 purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be
[177] used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between
[135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy
316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a
[177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

● 482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangöi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kösra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

This is the so-called tauróu, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[285] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[484] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[177] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[288] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepáne and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepáne.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [84] [628] [439] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analpet]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level [481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with [412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-ɣ?)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
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[text continues on p. 212]

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
[illegible] pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

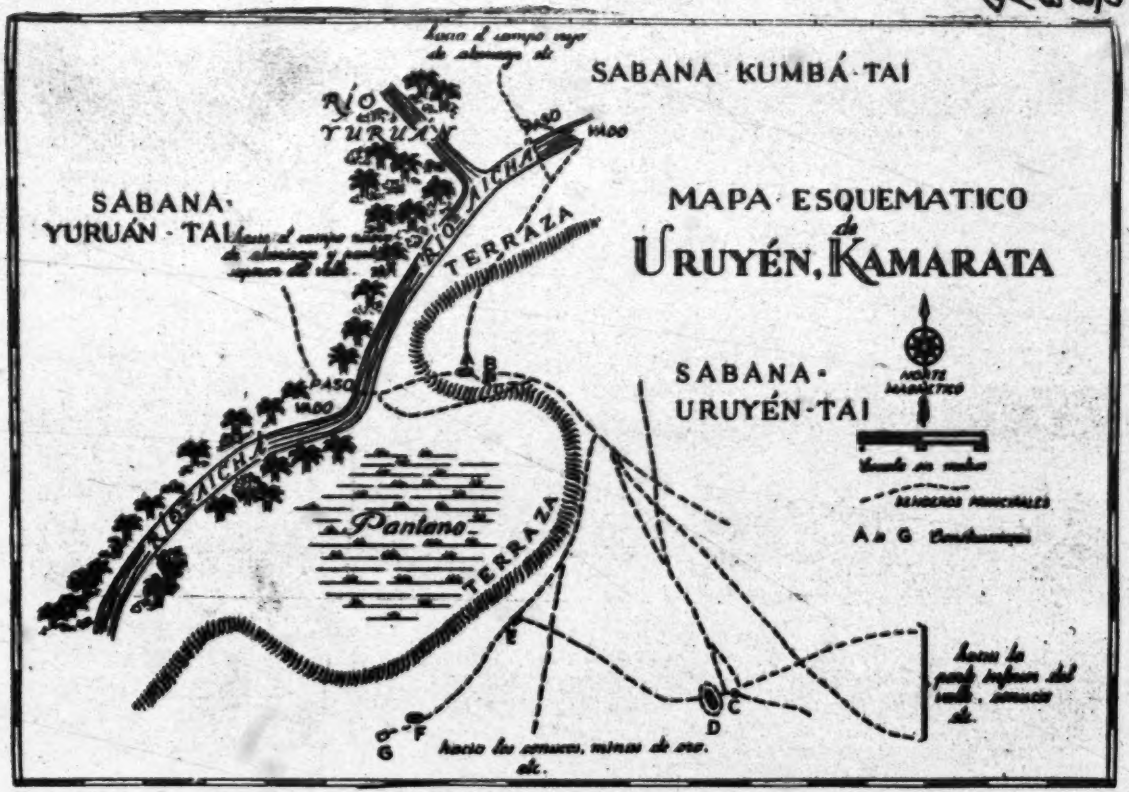

Fig. 11 - Kamarakoto Settlement.
Sketch map of Uruyén. A - G, buildings, see descriptions in text.

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In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
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[Text continues on p. 212]

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[407] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 category 116 – Analyst]

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

000

109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/9 cont./

133 23. The waterways are unsuitable for navigation because of the impetuous currents which at each step hinder the passage of boats, even small native curiaras; and this highland, surrounded on the north, east, and west by craggy mountain ridges and immense forests, this region is, with respect to Venezuela, a true nest of eagles or of airplanes. Only to the south are there some easier ways across some gorges of Pakaraima toward the Brazilian campos of the Branco River, which has been and in great measure still is the nursemaid and like the umbilical [491] cord of this part of Venezuela. The highway decreed in the distant times of General Gómez has still not poked its head into [552] those lands; and there one lives dependent upon the vulture-canoe, kurún-kanhúa, as the Indians say /the airplane/.

Chapter III

The Soul of the Gran Sabana and the Soul of the Pemón Indians

24. The patá-muná. 25. Truisms. 26. A copper-colored soul? 27. Conclusions. 28. The Indian is a child. 29. The maloca, symbol of the Indian soul. 30. Imagination a predominant faculty of the Indians.

24. To avoid caviling to my readers, I wish to tell them without circumlocutions that the soul of the Gran Sabana, to which I here refer, is the Indians. /10/

Certainly, if everywhere form is what gives life to material, and the inhabitants of a region with their typical customs and activities are those who give life and interest to their lands, it need not be said that they who have given and do give interest and life to the Gran Sabana are the Indians, its natural

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
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[Text continues on p. 212]

Fig. 69 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Typical pole-bridge of the more carefully constructed sort, across deep water in a marsh near Uruyén.

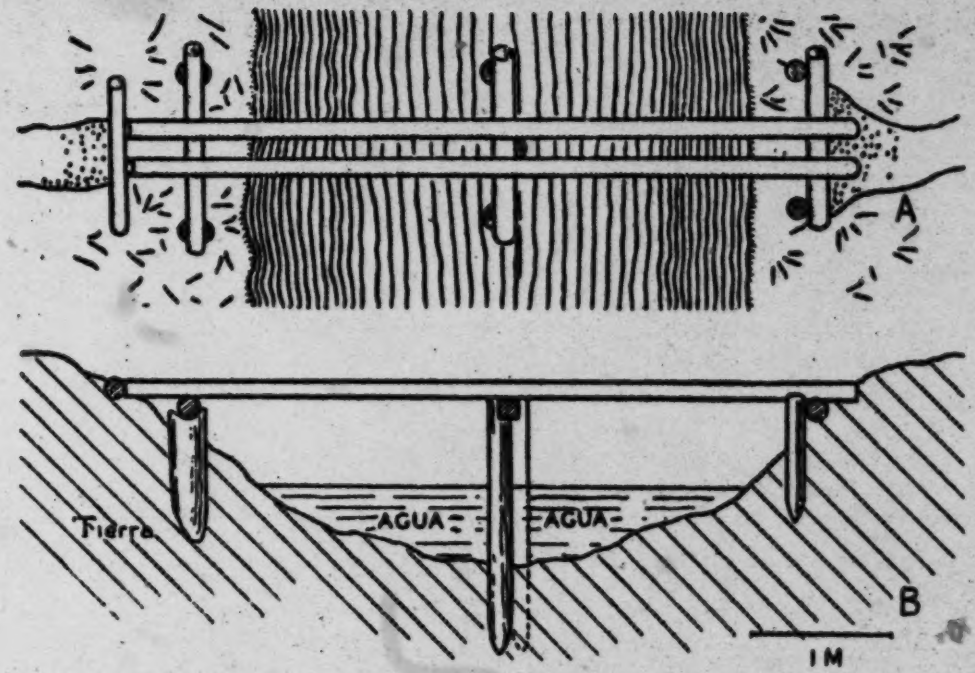

Fig. 70 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Diagrams of the construction of a bridge similar to that of Fig. 69.
A, plan. B, side view, with earth sectioned.

491
499

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South Ameri- 171 can paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are un- [492] known (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 213]

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484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

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Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
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[Text continues on p. 212]

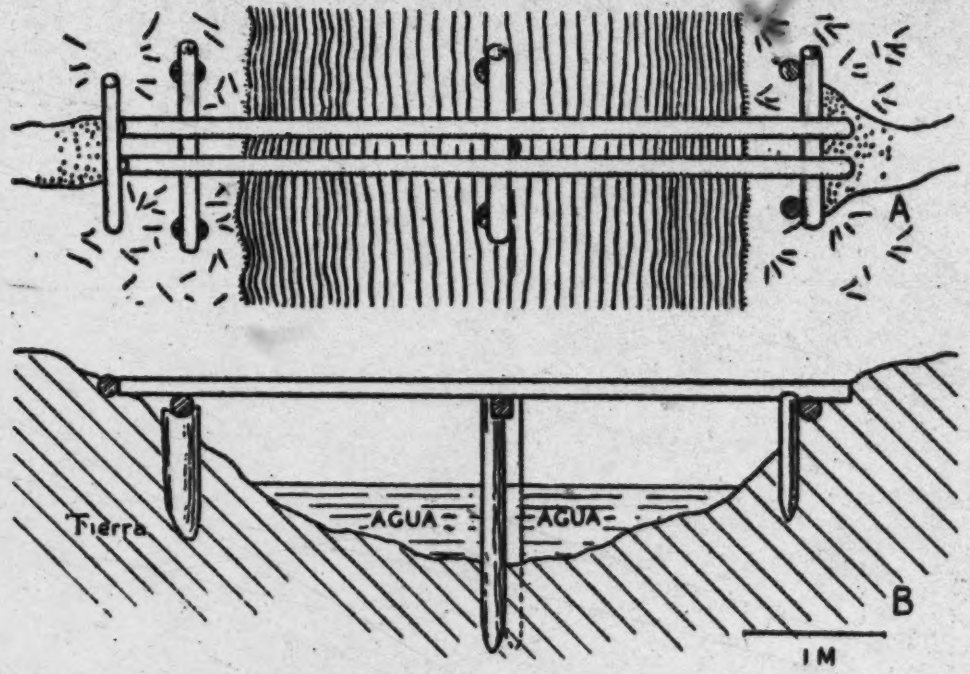

Fig. 70 — Kamarakoto Bridge.
Diagrams of the construction of a bridge similar to that of Fig. 69.
A, plan. B, side view, with earth sectioned.

491
464

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

*192 *197 342 214. *Circular house — waipa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukuɤyipan (with sibilant y). Makuchi (Roth, cited by Williams) tukuchpang. Akawai (and others, de Goeje) tukushipan. de Goeje suggests that tukushipan, etc., means "like a humming bird."

215. *Elongate house with semicircular ends[55] — parapan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pa:ˀlapan, "quadrangular house" (which would be called wata in Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, cited in Williams) parakapang, "elliptical house," but Appun gives paracapang as "quadrangular house" — probably it is used for both among these Indians. Williams suggests derivation from Makuchi paranka, "leiter," "plank?," and de Goeje from paraka (etc.), "pheasant," both of which seem to me highly improbable.

*192 342 216. Wall — (i)medan.

217. Roof — (i)murun.

218. Door (the opening) — munata.

219. *Door (a mat or boards to close the opening) — tapera. This is probably from the Spanish "tabla," compare Makuchi (Williams) tapara, given as synonymous with the Spanish "tabla." In the Kamarakoto word the ə is shorter than is usual for the penultimate vowel, a mere glide to separate -pr- (= -bl-) which Kamarakotos cannot pronounce.

220. Thresh-hold — munata-den.

*192 *197 i. Transportation.

221. *Trail — eima, yeima. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ɛ́ma, ɛˀma. Makuchi (Williams) e-ma. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)yɛ́ma, (u)yɛˀma. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg hɛ:ma. Cumanagoto (Adam) echema — many of the more distantly related dialects have the word more or less in this form. It is not clear whether ech- is a prefix or ema reduced.

222. Bridge — muineũ, tuna-muineũ-pu, "bridge over water."

*192 *197 ●501 223. *Canoe — kan.wa, kanhwa. Taurepán, kan,wa, kanoa. Makuchi (Williams) ka-na-wa. This is the Carib word, occurring in practically every dialect (cf. Adam No. 65), which has been adopted into most European languages, English "canoe" Spanish "canoa," etc. Forms like the Makuchi, with three syllables, are most common. The loss of the middle syllable is definitely perceptible in Kamarakoto by the otherwise anomalous lack of velarization of the n

55 [see footnote on p. 312, category 11b — Analyst]

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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan. wa-pa:re.

[482]

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

*192
*197
534

j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nau-nau.

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

[172]
[231]

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau samhola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

[171]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 487 [34] [628] [432] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those frequented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 491 499 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yĉ) trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a complete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map, in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

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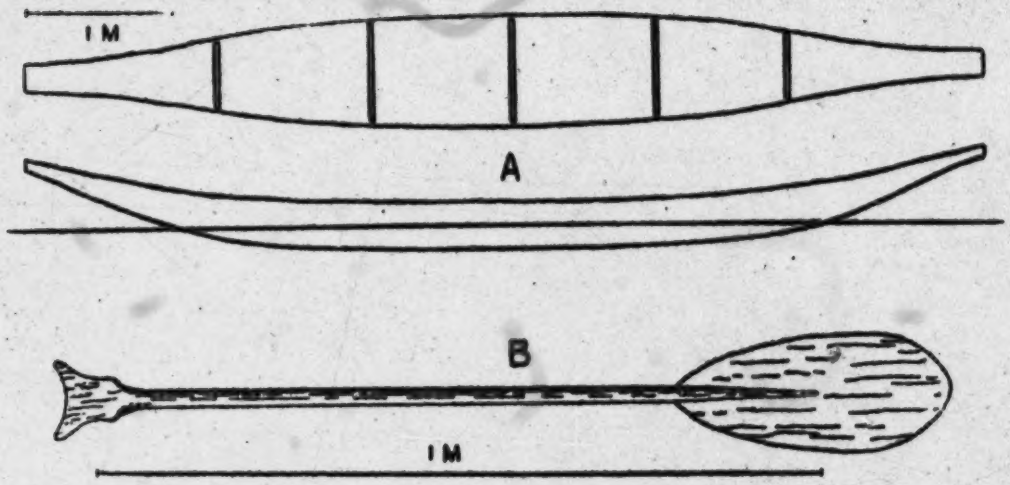

Fig. 71 — Kamarakoto Canoe and Paddle.
A, plan and side view of the dugout used as a ferry on the Aichá at Uruyén (see Fig. 72). In the side view the water line on the unloaded canoe is shown. B, typical Kamarakoto paddle.

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 171 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 213]

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Fig. 72 — Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uruyén.

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[325] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[505] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[248] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[283] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[286]
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

000

10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/
orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

● 511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venezolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
[511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 281]

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.[236]

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analysis]

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indige[illegible]on /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink [illegible] any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

● 512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/17 cont./

512 young people) do not speak again even though they may be almost hammock to hammock.

576 And if these and other similar rules are not outstanding examples of rules of courtesy and education in social dealings, neither are they to be scorned, and they certainly are very valuable examples of their delicate feelings.

Chapter XX

Isn't the Labor of Regeneration of the Indians Useless?

168. Anecdotes. 169. Principles. 170. Conversions 171. Practical cases. 172. Maternal love. 173. Results. 174. Proverb. 175. N. B.

168. Anecdotes. This question is one of the most frequent ones. It is usually asked concerning some Indian or other who has been adopted by some family or other and who after many years, with permission or taking an opportunity to take flight, returns among his relatives and to the life of his ancestors. The anecdotes which are told go from the simple Indian captured for free service, who is very little different from a slave, to the one who gets to be a lawyer, doctor, or priest, and who has left an elevated rank, his toga, his uniform, his vestments, to go once more to submerge himself in the barbarism from which he had come forth.

Since so many are the anecdotes related, I am not going to transcribe any of them nor am I going to deny them. I simply ask: What is the cause of these cases and these failures? If they are admitted, are they sufficient reason to state, in general, that all labor of regeneration and all attempts to incorporate them into our way of life are useless?

101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

157 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
[262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog..., following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical prac-
tices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives.
The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
412

It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakon, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyε? being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarε, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarε, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarε, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarε. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba> and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the to>-esa>, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[513] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[482] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[893] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[261] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[171] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
892 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
[578] ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

/34 cont./

515 hygiene, cannot be characterized as filthy and dirty perspicuously. Of this same opinion is the author of Los Kamarakotos, who were so exactly observed by him in all externals and visible particulars in his few weeks of living among them.

To state, as do some, that the Indians are dirty animals who wallow in filth, who abhor /35/ cleanliness and soap, etc., is to speak from memory, repeating old saws, which were more or less true according to the tribes to which these epithets might be applied. On my part, I cannot but confess that in the usual Motilón rancherías, cleanliness was at the level of shoe-blacking.

The popular proverb warns us that "every comparison limps on some foot," but it would limp much worse if one tried to compare it with what does not admit of a paragon. For this reason one should not compare, for instance, the hygiene and cleanliness of the Indians with that of a doctor or a palace-dweller.

The Indian should be compared with the poor people of our cities or, even better, with our country people. With these for paragons, we dare to maintain that they better those of our city backwaters and reach, more or less, the level of humble country people.

But it happens that, in general, those who visit the Indians are people from the top of the heap; people under glass, who bring almost every comfort with them and, therefore, suffer severe shock when they find themselves up to the neck in country life and see themselves beside real men of the soil who are living "nudi in nuda homo." And that is why they come back speaking of the horrors of the Indians. In contrast those accustomed to living among them and like them constrained by the harsh realities of life speak more benignly or less harshly of the natives. Thus, for example, Fr. Carry-Elwes, S.J., who says of the Indian women of Teuonó -- slope of Roroima -- that they reminded him of the housewives of his own Ireland or of the lands of Normandy.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that 262 515 mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons,
[372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down
177 by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/37 cont./

829 81. Before putting an end to this brief study, I should ad-
522 vise that by the natural law of retaliation, the Indians, acute observers of our customs and very fond of humor, also make fun of our hygienic customs and of some of our foods, which are likewise repugnant to them. Thus, for example, pork, eggs, etc. They also laugh at our corrals and houses for domestic animals, which are not always sufficiently separated from the houses and which do not smell like a bed of roses. And of our country privies, I have heard from them an infinite number of satirical remarks very similar to the popular saying, "What is it that the rich gather up, which the poor throw away?" with reference to nasal secretions.

● 515 82. To poke fun at dirty persons -- for such a person is
539 never lacking among the Indians, as everywhere else -- who flee from bathing like a cat from water, and abhor cleanliness as the devil the cross, they have the story of the Indian kamotipán, that is to say, the one who had mushrooms and squash sprout all over him, like ears all over his body, so that they made a noise when he walked along, so that game and fish fled and he had to be submitted to a great scraping and bathing by frogs, after which he became a good fisher and hunter.

Chapter X

What Is There To Their Corpulence and Healthiness?

83. Exaggeration in the reports. 84. The legend of the golden age. 85. Endemic diseases. 86. Are they not perfect herbists? 87. Medicine and magic: curers and enchanters. 88. Charms. 89. An Egyptian charm and a Pemón one. 90. Spiritual religion and corporal medicine.

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[30] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
● 515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--32a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

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The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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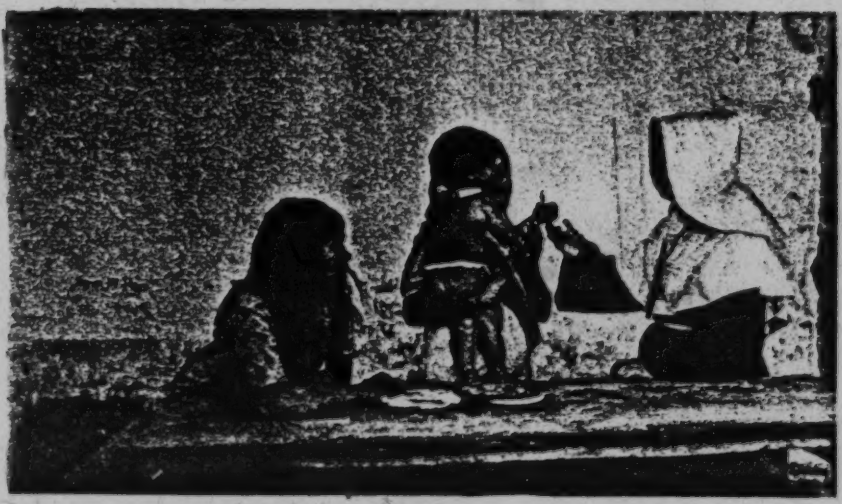

Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--107a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The native women of the Gran Sabana involved in their weaving.

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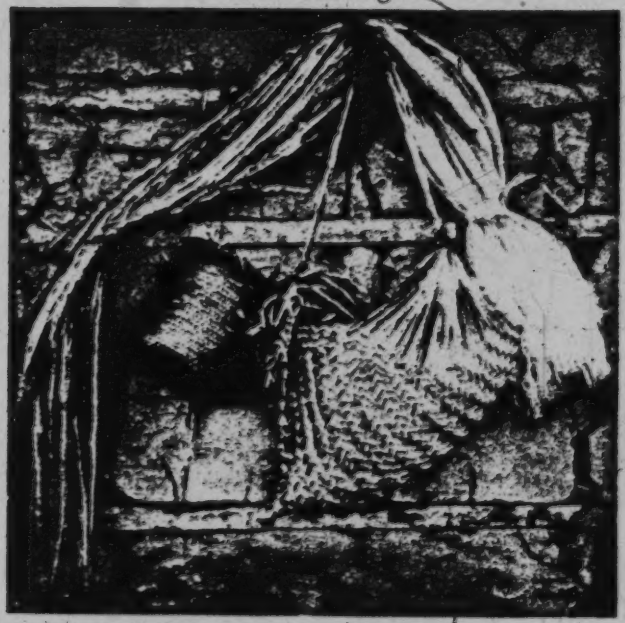

Fibers and weaving of the native women of the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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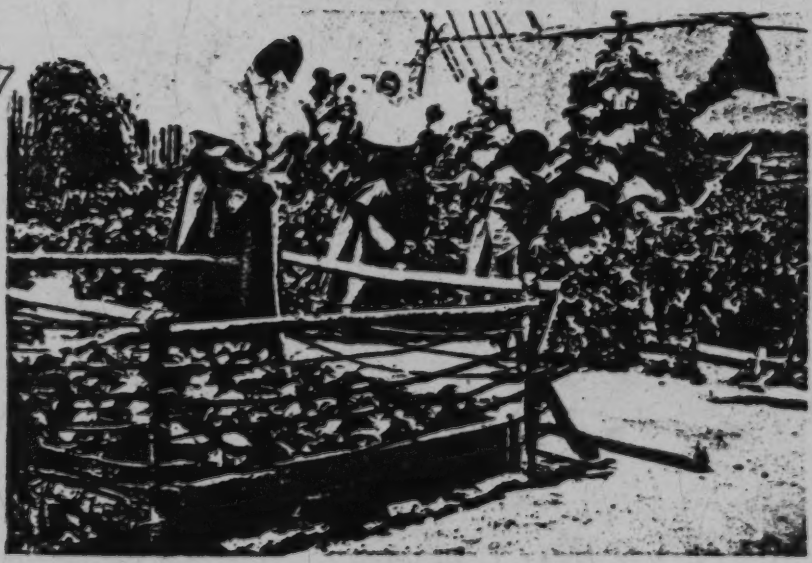

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Mission.

2:Armellada--129a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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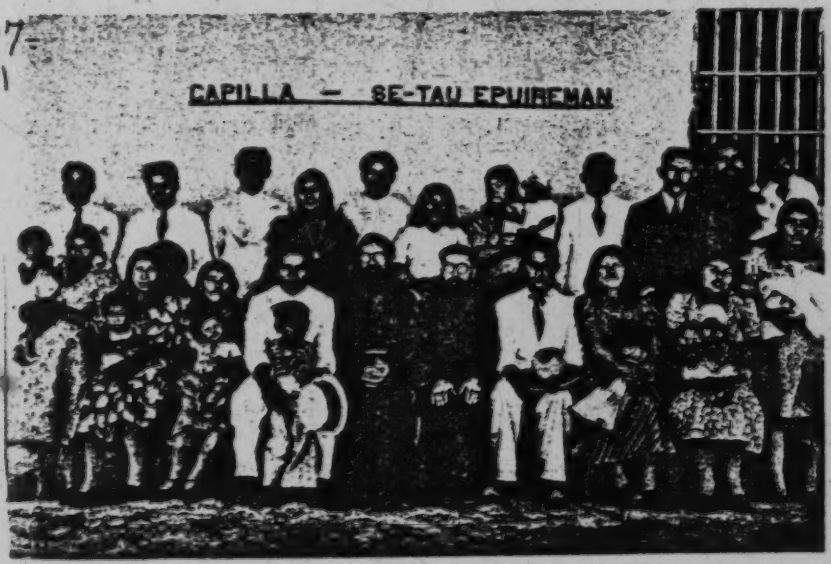

Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

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Fig. 9 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.

The east end of Building A at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11) is seen to the left, a parapan essentially like that in Figs. 6-8. To the right is a corner of Building B, the work shelter belonging to this dwelling. A fishtrap hangs from its eaves.

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Fig. 24 — Grating Casave.
Kamarakoto woman at Uruyén grating the Manihot root on a grater, samaːri, into a trough (moru).

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Fig. 25 – Pressing Casave.

Typical use of the Arekuna casave-press. tangoi' (Venezuelan Spanish "sebucán"). This woman is Taurepán, but the press and its use are identical among the Kamarakotos.

415 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a consid-
177 erable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

352 The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks,
[322] and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and
[576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

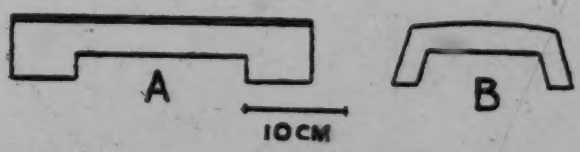

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[513] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks.
[182] Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pernon SS16
Kamarakoto

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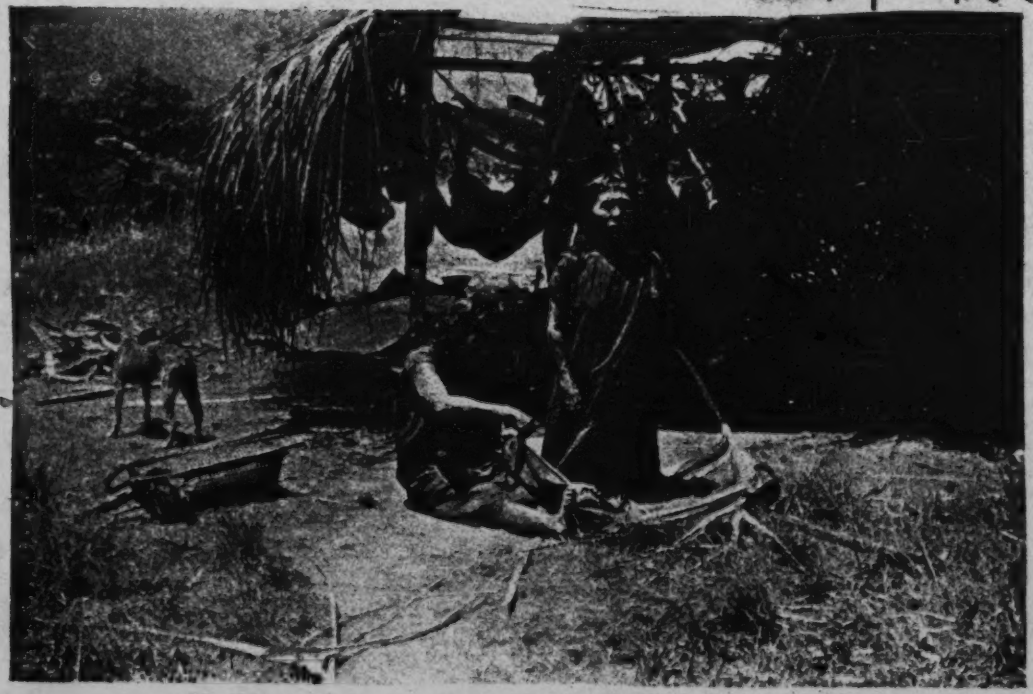

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

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Fig. 36 — Kamarakoto Spinning.
The whirling spindle has been dropped. The thread is held by the left hand and unspun cotton fed into it with the right.

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Fig. 42 – Kamarakoto Plaiting Loom.
The loom in Fig. 41 A is here shown in use.

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [51b] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ermba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [273] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329; category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

/60 cont./

881 b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;
[302]

c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;
881

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no
841 one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she
●521 wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of
[593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[481] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-y?)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

/13 cont./

phenomena created little gods, in contrast to the reasoning which assures us of the existence of a single God.

Creative is this Indian imagination which models their character and fills the world with fantastic beings! /14/

Chapter IV

Are the Indians Sad or Happy?

31. Contradictory evidence. 32. Somatic happiness and psychological happiness. 33. Under a humble cloak.... 34. The joke. 35. Religious anxiety?

C

114 31. Humboldt says, speaking of the Chaima Indians:
157 "Taciturn, without joy, turned in on himself, he affects a grave and mysterious air. When someone has lived a brief time in the missions and when he has not yet become familiar with the aspect of the Indians, he finds himself tempted to take their indolence and the dullness of their faculties as an expression of melancholy and a propensity to meditate."

P Diametrically opposed to this judgment is Simpson's,
114 who, speaking of the Kamarakoto, says: "They are quite the
157 opposite of withdrawn and silent.... On the contrary, their chatter is interminable and their faces constantly have their emotions shining through. The usual expression on the face is
P a broad smile, and any amusing incident makes them burst
[522] out in loud guffaws. They have an acute sense of humor and are always joking. They are very inclined to tell jokes." (P. 600.)

P The difficulty inherent in reducing to a single category
128 all the individuals of a single tribe (however small it may be) is clear, not to mention doing it for different tribes, although

/15 cont./

114 seem blank to us, the Indians generally hide a happy heart
152 overflowing with good humor. This is real, or psychological, happiness.

152 Freedom from difficulty in material life, the absence of psychological preoccupations, good social relations, an assiduous contemplation of nature, a scarcity of ambitions, etc., cannot do less than produce a certain intimate complacency, if it does not reach euphoria and felicity.

Naturally this is not a very exhilarating joy, but it is a truer one than the "laughter of dry or baked earth," which is told us of the Tuarez tribe or the "laughter of thorns in the fire," of which the Holy Books speak to us.

● 522 34. The joke, an example of cleverness and an arm
195 against ennui and tediousness, is not rare in the language of the Indians. Let us look, only by way of an example and not as a cataloge, at some of these:

E puek av-ichí? -- Ue-yepué puek edai?

What are you doing? What are you in? -- I am in my bones.

E puek av-echiri-pueří? -- Yuré neké; u-motá ponkón sekanon-cán puek man.

Why are you shouting? -- Not I, it is the inhabitants of my shoulder (hill) who are vexed (e.g., when carrying sticks).

On being asked to assent to a controversial matter, instead of answering iná, iná, "yes, yes," or iná-pe-ré, "it seems so," they respond with nearly homonymous phrases, but with an absolutely different meaning, ay-euná, y-euná, piok dapón, "your nose, full of pimples," or euná piré, "your reddish nose."

To say that they are very hungry frequently /16/ they are heard to say: u-paná kuntá karé euayichik, "I am with a belly up to my ear lobes."

On river trips, during which tediousness can be extreme, they can often be heard seeking relief now shouting at a black bird, "this isn't black territory," now at a tijereta, "that one stole some scissors for a tail," now shouting at a macaw, "that

/16 cont./

522 one took an arrow from the Indians for his tail and a fruit for
195 a head," or now at a monkey which is running off, startled,
"brother, just when I'm coming to visit, you go away," etc....

114 35. Many other manifestations of gaiety are beyond the scope of study in the short space of these little chapters. But I do not wish to end without calling attention to the poorly disguised sectarianism with which Dr. Simpson and his wife Ana Roe have tried to disparage religious ideas, by saying that they are bad for the Indians and the cause of an "anxiety" nothing less than "neurotic."

This statement, so gratuitous and tendentious, is on a par with another of the same author, in which he says that clothing creates modesty and that it is not shame that seeks clothing, and those other grammatical statements in which he says that there is no "clear distinction between nouns and adjectives" and "it is impossible to distinguish the adverb, preposition, or conjunction as special parts of speech."

It is a pity that the doctor has put into a ragged sack the warning that he himself puts in his prologue: "In matters dealing with the much more difficult problems of social culture, my observations are by necessity less complete. The best work in this specialty requires years of residence, an absolute command of the local dialect, and the fullest confidence of the Indians. We had only a few weeks available...."

So that, inasmuch as he has on his own confessed his ignorance, I do not believe it necessary to insist upon a refutation of such an assertion.

/27 cont./

251/ like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261/ very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mafloco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

/37 cont./

829 81. Before putting an end to this brief study, I should ad-
522 vise that by the natural law of retaliation, the Indians, acute observers of our customs and very fond of humor, also make fun of our hygienic customs and of some of our foods, which are likewise repugnant to them. Thus, for example, pork, eggs, etc. They also laugh at our corrals and houses for domestic animals, which are not always sufficiently separated from the houses and which do not smell like a bed of roses. And of our country privies, I have heard from them an infinite number of satirical remarks very similar to the popular saying, "What is it that the rich gather up, which the poor throw away?" with reference to nasal secretions.

515 82. To poke fun at dirty persons -- for such a person is
539 never lacking among the Indians, as everywhere else -- who flee from bathing like a cat from water, and abhor cleanliness as the devil the cross, they have the story of the Indian kamotipán, that is to say, the one who had mushrooms and squash sprout all over him, like ears all over his body, so that they made a noise when he walked along, so that game and fish fled and he had to be submitted to a great scraping and bathing by frogs, after which he became a good fisher and hunter.

Chapter X

What Is There To Their Corpulence and Healthiness?

83. Exaggeration in the reports. 84. The legend of the golden age. 85. Endemic diseases. 86. Are they not perfect herbists? 87. Medicine and magic: curers and enchanters. 88. Charms. 89. An Egyptian charm and a Pemón one. 90. Spiritual religion and corporal medicine.

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[173] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

231 In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
177 but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
235 mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[2]

[1] [see footnote on p. 319, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see vocabulary on pp. 84-89, category 11b - Analyst]

539 776 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 171 [197] [268] The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically. Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely 157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 152 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing 157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor 522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 — Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [381] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

● [522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katsupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
● 52 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[171] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[78] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[26] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 79 — Kamarakoto Boy.

The boy (No. 35 of our detailed records) is playing with improvised bow and arrow. Note his neck-string (yaichi') with miscellaneous objects tied to it. His dress is uncommon for a boy.

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

●524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

723 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsiːgamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [536] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing ● 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [273] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, par-
[578] ticularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the 273 slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied 535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/31 cont./

520 remember those dancers of the twelfth century, who appeared in Artois and Flanders, whom Proodt tells us about in his book, Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo /The Mysterious Phenomena of Psychism/, who "yielded themselves furiously to violent dances and exercises of dislocation, who asserted that they were favored with celestial visions. They would dance to the point of physical exhaustion, would fall like an inert mass, and seem to be lifeless." Why strange, then, that the Indians might not deceive themselves in the same fashion?

535 66. Dances are not organized to celebrate births, marriages, or deaths, since it is quite precluded by the extremely simple and private form of these, the restrictions imposed by the couvade with regard to the newborn and the asarakpué with regard to defunct relatives, all of these incompatible with the gluttony and imbibing in dances.

Neither are they organized as a preparation for great hunts or fishing; on the contrary, the men generally go out hunting or fishing six or eight days before them, while the women are preparing the fermented drinks.

535 527 67. The most ordinary reasons for dances are: construction of new dwellings, return from long journeys, and the simple desire of relatives to get together, since it is a fact that the Indians live very scattered, almost always only two or three families in each place. To this would have to be added the desire to make a show of wealth in food, almost the only thing which the Indians can at times show off, thus unknowingly fulfilling the caustic saying of our village people: "If he is so rich let him have dinner twice."

535 68. The most common autochthonous dances among these Indians are the tukui and the parichará; among the exotic ones, the origins of which we noted in our previous article, they perform in some regions the areruya chochimás.

535 302 In their dances the Indians customarily paint the face and the whole body with these three colors, principally: red from annatto, or achicote /sic/, white from clay or kaolin and

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (irup) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec-
[462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso-
[271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly
[265] wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with
[527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus
[252] is sun-dried and saved for the future.
[251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 137]

/82 cont./

412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

531
294

/Information on the use of beads as an integral part of a woven fabric will be found in category 286./

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 [42] [25] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawau-yɛ' and kopei-yɛ' (see "Vocabulary").[2] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[268] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

323 [252] [53] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o. ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[229] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[265] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[46] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[268] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[53] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro', and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa' (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each check. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 - Analport]

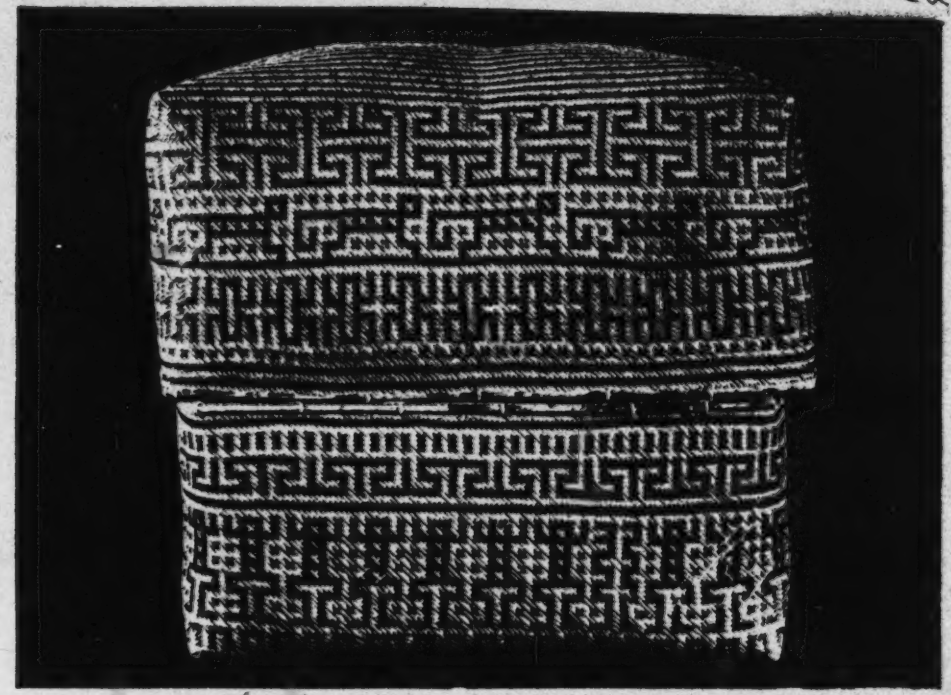

Fig. 62 — A Kamarakoto Basket.

An ama:tu, shown with the cover raised so that the side of the bottom basket is also visible. For details of construction of a different but closely similar ama:tu, see Fig. 63.

*285
192
197

Kamarakoto	Taurepán
(Not observed)	(in)nõyen (plain plaited carrying bag, more symmetrical than a pakanuma).
pakara (but made of thread-textile, not basketwork).	pékaːra (basketwork purse).
Baskets.	
waricha	waikarapə, variety chimanan.
warakapi	(Not observed).
(Not observed)	shimuˀ (a round-bottomed hanging basket).
tsimuiˀ	tsarambə
sokoˀ	sokoˀ
wapa	waikarapə, variety warokupa
amaːtu	damaːtu
Miscellaneous.	
tangõiˀ	tangõiˀ, tenkei[160]
akaiˀ }	akaiˀ
koataiˀ }	
mõi-yɛ	mõi-yɛ
muroiˀ	muroiˀ

*285 ●531 Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e.g. in a matuːtu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.[161] These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the

160, 161 [see footnoter on p. 326, category 116 — Analysis]

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
●531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amatu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

Occasionally single strands of wadapi, naturally much darker than manare, are woven across a manare fabric. This does have a somewhat decorative effect, but it is never used for that reason but only for the functional purpose of anchoring a wadapi strand that is to be used for lashing edge re-enforcement.

*285 Typical designs are seen in Figs. 51, 56B, 56C, 57, 59A, 62, 63. The
531 elements of these designs are widespread (Roth shows examples of virtually all
153 of them from British Guiana) and are simply learned by rote and handed on
[171] from one generation to the next. A Kamarakoto basket maker knows by this rote memory what exact formula for twilling will produce a picture of a frog, but he is unable to make a satisfactory or artistic picture of a frog in any other medium and I suspect, although I have not tried this out and cannot be positive, that he would in most or all cases be unable to produce in basketwork a picture for the elements of which he did not already know the twilling formula. In the combination of these elements into the more complex patterns, however, he shows considerable ingenuity and variety, to such an extent that except for the simplest geometrical patterns he seldom produces two designs that are exactly alike.

Exactly the same sort of rote knowledge of elements of designs with originality in combining these elements is shown by the women in weaving their bead aprons.

531 This is a convenient place for mention of Kamarakoto graphic skill in
532 general. It is very poor. Few Indians, at least in South America, surpass them
[46] in the more mechanical elements of technique and they have a genuine esthetic pleasure in work, such as basketry, that is well done, but there does not appear now to be among the members of the tribe any tradition of art or design on a purely esthetic basis or any individual who is an artist in any sense not included in the word artisan. They have learned and take delight in graphic design that is integral in the process of manufacture, but seem almost completely devoid of any idea of embellishing an article of which this is not true. For instance, I did not see any of their various wooden objects, troughs, benches, etc., on

531 532 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 534 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recently (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various [128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534 I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
- Flutes
  - Ductless
    - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not
771 significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have
[764] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were
[581] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [[22]] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hombostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

*285 colored parts of the pattern comprise parallel elements. In some cases, how-
531 ever, including the wapa and many (but not all) of the strands of an amastu, strands that belong to one set on the base turn at its rim in such a way that in part of side (spreading upward from each corner) strands that were all parallel on the base form the two interplaited sets on the side. This would make the use of pre-colored strands all running in one direction in the base impossible. The difficulty is cleverly met, as may be seen by close examination of the figures of the bases of these baskets, by coloring only half of each strand, carefully weaving so that the change in color on a given strand is at the diagonal of the base, and so that the colored fibers run in opposite directions in adjacent triangular segments of the base. This is done in such a way that on the sides all the colored strands are parallel.

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Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
534 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
[128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

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I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
  - Flutes
    - Ductless
      - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 32b, category 11b - Analysis]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponot?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p.328, category 11b - Analyst]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

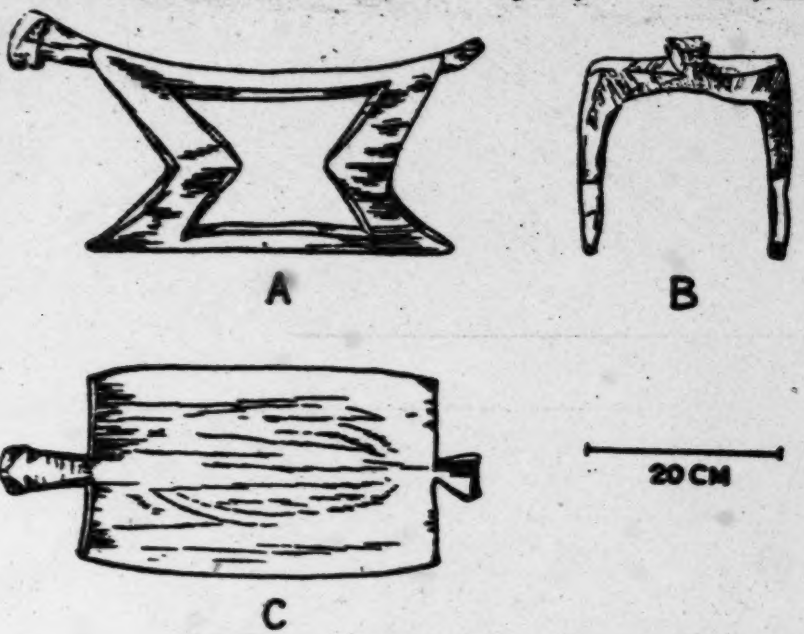

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Plache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [22b] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

●532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto <u>kaikara</u> is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

/32 cont./

535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain
533 of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margariteño. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

● [533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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114

b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʔ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

534 The
192 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[525] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the
Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáines (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau
was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make
one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto
instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[122] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic
name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana),
from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leav-
ing only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well
as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning.
The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from
distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced
between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed
on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop.
This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover
the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike
that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike
any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukūi' (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for
simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering
along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of
melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of
plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes
a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might
almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified
under European influence and others which are native copies of old European
models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instru-
ments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of
similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[1] [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b - Analysis]

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[79] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛrɛmba. The most common is the okõyima-ɛrɛmba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to?-esa?) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[289] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛrɛmba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[289] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aroff, and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aroff but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 – Analyst]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi uyepüi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpüi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [554] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

● 533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/31 cont./

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called rué, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

Hunting
/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /c[illegible]a/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted [illegible] thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafloco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[411] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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412

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan. wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan. wa-pa:re.

[482] 226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

*192 j. Musical instruments and dances.
*197
● 534

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nau.

[172] [231] 231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

[171] 233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

*192 [231]	kochino	cochino (pig)	This is hardly a useful word at present, as there are no pigs there now, but it is known.
	kura:tana	platano (plantain)	This is an old borrowing, so thoroughly Caribized that its Spanish origin has apparently not been noticed before.
[135] [439]	oro, woro'	oro (gold)	Although gold occurs in this area the Kamarakotos appear to have been unaware of it until they discovered that it can be traded to the Whites.
	patiya	patilla (watermelon)	This is supposed to be a Carib word, but I believe that the Kamarakotos have received it from Venezuelan Spanish (which may, indeed, have had it from some other Carib language).

*192 177 These words all apply to things that were received by the Indians directly or indirectly from Spanish-speaking people and not to native things except tapara and oro and even these apply to things for which there do not appear to [534] be old Carib words. The drum is usually supposed to be introduced but may [231] not be. Dogs are native and there is a Carib word for "dog," but the Kamarakotos may have received them from Spanish-speaking people.

On the other hand, there are introduced things for which the Kamarakotos have Carib words, among them:

kasu:ru	glass beads
peoi	nail
unamari	mirror
waka	ax
mari:a	knife
kutsupara	machete
kulü-kulü	file
kõroitoko	chicken

531 which a design had been painted, although this is common practice among
532 many Indians of this general part of South America, e.g. the Waiwais. The nearest approach toward any purely graphic impulse that I saw was the occasional scratching of drawings on mud walls of houses. These were puerile in the extreme and resembled the first attempts at drawing by an infant in our culture, with no real intent or result of embellishment.[162]

Musical Instruments

114 The musical instruments of all the South American Indians have recent-
● 534 ly (1935) been elaborately monographed by Izikowitz, who is mainly followed in the following brief summary of Kamarakoto instruments. Original descriptions of such instruments among allied tribes are of course given in the various
[128] works of explorers particularly Roth and Koch-Grünberg. My observations on Kamarakoto instruments are not exhaustive, but include all the common instruments. Those observed may be inserted in Izikowitz's classification as follows:

534 I. Idiophones.
- Percussion.
- Rattles.
  - Jingle rattles. . . . . 1. Seed-shell necklaces, limb-bands, etc.
  - Hollow rattles . . . . . 2. Gourd rattles.
  - Stamping tubes . . . . . (Probably occur but were not seen.)

II. Membranophones.
- Two-headed drums . . . . . 3. Dance drum.

III. Cordophones (not used).

IV. Aerophones.
- Free. . . . . (Buzz-disc known, but not really used as a musical or sound-producing instrument.)
- Valve.
  - Simple trumpets. . . . . 4. End-blown wooden trumpet.
    5. Side-blown horn trumpet.
  - Reed instruments (not observed).
  - Flutes
    - Ductless
      - Transverse, with stops 6. Side-blown flute.

162 [see footnote on p. 32b, category 11b - Analysis]

● 534

Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [533] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [324] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[289] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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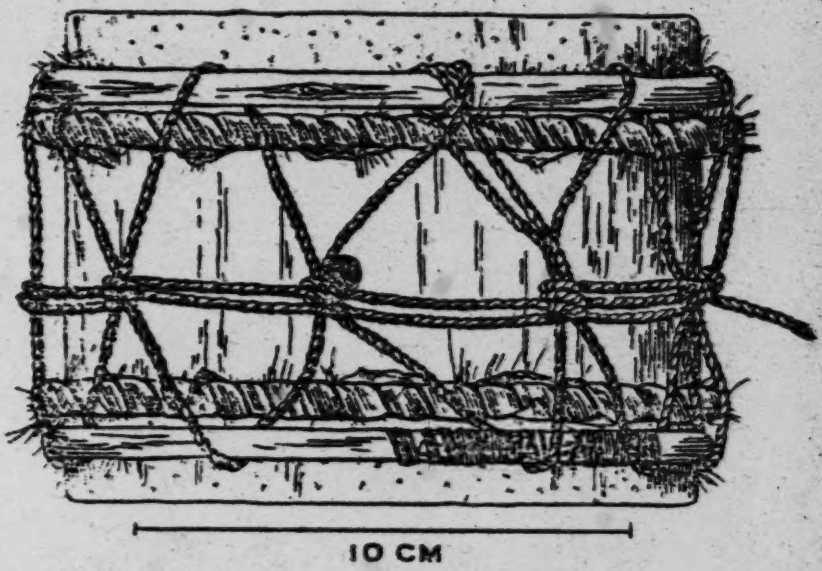

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 197 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet The
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáñes (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiiⁿ (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [94] [628] [433] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116- Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
● [534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ergmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See P. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

● 534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
● 534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsiːgamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

171 of ticks (which is highly doubtful), but the same thing is done where it is obvious-
372 ly and wholly harmful and there is little doubt that this is merely attempted
311 rationalization of an essentially irrational custom.

272 231. This[1] belongs to the colonial level in the sense that it was invented
273 in colonial times to deal with a colonial introduction of new foodstuff, but to
176 the aboriginal level in the sense that it was a purely Indian invention without
177 direct European influence.
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177 232. Of course this[2] may be a modern introduction in this tribe, but it
235 belongs generally to the colonial level.

178 233. This instrument[3] and its unchanged survival are emphasized because
534 in many tribes the flageolet, or similar flute-like instrument, was definitely
177 modified under European influence, but the Kamarakotos retain the purely aboriginal form.

114 234. As discussed elsewhere, some students believe that these[4] belong to
343 what I here call the colonial level, but I believe them to be aboriginal.

000 235. I do not speak here of the strictly religious aspects of this work, matters of opinion which it is not my business to discuss. Regardless of their own intentions, the work of missionaries always has widespread results also in the non-religious sphere which may legitimately be studied and evaluated quite aside from belief in any creed. These results are sometimes admirable, but it is an open secret that they are also sometimes deplorable. One may share the opinion that it is better to believe in Christ than in kanaima and still believe that it is better to retain native skills than to be taught to depend on insecure importation.

Similarly in speaking later of how little the Indians have to gain from the process of "civilization," religion is entirely excluded from the discussion and no judgment of its value to the Indians is implied.

236. These and the other suggestions made are not theoretical abstractions. Examples of impoverishment by the contrary policy can be cited not only from Venezuela but also from every country in the Americas.

123 237. Some reluctance was encountered but every person whom I asked
126 finally accepted. In the midst of operations, when all scruples seemed to have been conquered, the tribe suddenly and unanimously refused to be measured any more. On investigation, I finally learned that this was because the English numeral "eight," which I had several times called out to my wife or to

1 [i.e. the cane press - Analyst]
2 [i.e. chickens - Analyst] 3 [i.e. the flageolet - Analyst]
4 [i.e. square shelters - Analyst]

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

●535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/30 cont./

273 Although I have written that the Indians do not move their
535 feet to dance without the stimulation of kachirí, this does not mean that drink is the cause much less the end of every dance among them. Nowhere in the world should the condition or the stimulation be confused with the cause.

Furthermore, although I stated that the dances tend to degenerate, as among ourselves, into disputes and less decorous acts, neither did I intend to say that everyone in the dances is reduced to committing reprehensible acts, nor that drunkenness is always extreme.

535 Among the most primitive Indians, as in more cultured societies, the dance is, above all, a manifestation of happiness, just as drink is its physiological cause. Vinum laetificet cor hominis.

Full belly, happy heart, says the proverb. The first thing the Indians want in their dances is diversion (in the etymological sense) and happiness; to free themselves from the daily struggle and the prosaicness of daily living, restricted as they are in a small circle of activities and social relationships.

65. Furthermore dancing in great choruses, with music, disguises, mimetism, drinks, etc., necessarily gives rise to that orgiastic exaltation, fever of phantasmagoric inspiration and like a liberation of the soul through tiredness and exhaustion of the body, although this might appear a paradox. There is no doubt that in this sense Menéndez Pidal wrote those verses: /31/

> "Blessed the nights -- clear ones of summer
> in which souls fly so free
> while bodies remain so languid."

And this is also why dances may have in the origins of all peoples a religious or magical sense. Let us remember the dances of David before the Ark, those of our seises /"sixes"/ before the Most Holy, on the one hand; and on the other let us

/31 cont./

620 remember those dancers of the twelfth century, who appeared in Artois and Flanders, whom Proodt tells us about in his book, Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo /The Mysterious Phenomena of Psychism/, who "yielded themselves furiously to violent dances and exercises of dislocation, who asserted that they were favored with celestial visions. They would dance to the point of physical exhaustion, would fall like an inert mass, and seem to be lifeless." Why strange, then, that the Indians might not deceive themselves in the same fashion?

●535 66. Dances are not organized to celebrate births, marriages, or deaths, since it is quite precluded by the extremely simple and private form of these, the restrictions imposed by the couvade with regard to the newborn and the asarakpué with regard to defunct relatives, all of these incompatible with the gluttony and imbibing in dances.

Neither are they organized as a preparation for great hunts or fishing; on the contrary, the men generally go out hunting or fishing six or eight days before them, while the women are preparing the fermented drinks.

535 527 67. The most ordinary reasons for dances are: construction of new dwellings, return from long journeys, and the simple desire of relatives to get together, since it is a fact that the Indians live very scattered, almost always only two or three families in each place. To this would have to be added the desire to make a show of wealth in food, almost the only thing which the Indians can at times show off, thus unknowingly fulfilling the caustic saying of our village people: "If he is so rich let him have dinner twice."

535 68. The most common autochthonous dances among these Indians are the tukui and the parichará; among the exotic ones, the origins of which we noted in our previous article, they perform in some regions the areruya chochimás.

535 302 In their dances the Indians customarily paint the face and the whole body with these three colors, principally: red from annatto, or achicote /sic/, white from clay or kaolin and

/31 cont./

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called rué, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

/32 cont./

535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary
533 and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margariteño. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukiiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — miirepon.

240. ware.

241. katofʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i) maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thum to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

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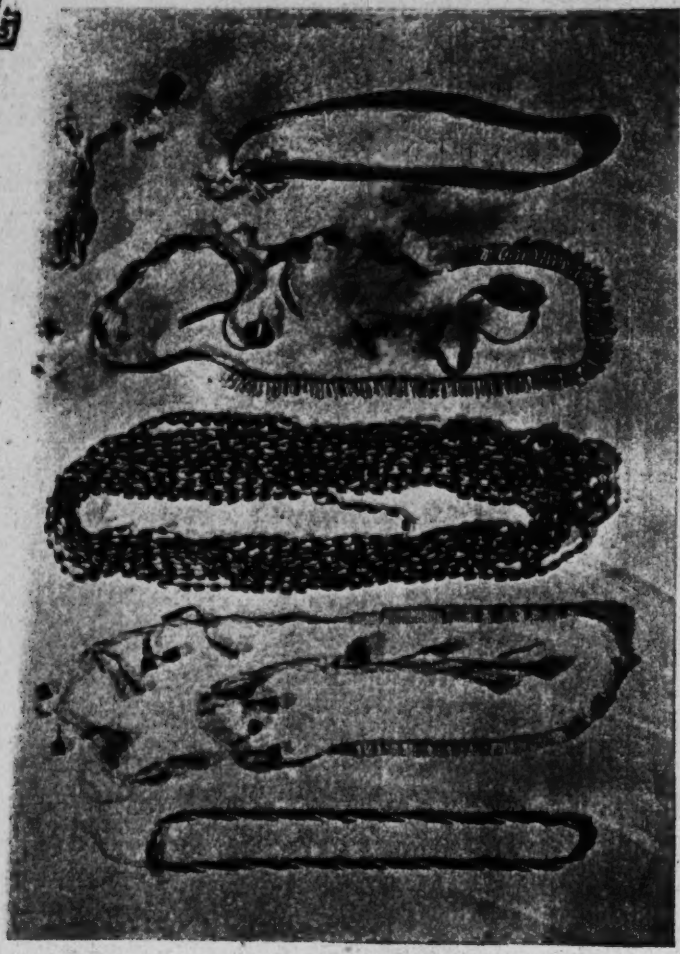

Fig. 33 — Kamarakoto Personal Adornment.

A, a man's belt of twisted strands of red, white, and blue beads. B, flat white bead-band necklace with streamers and tassels. C, multiple single-strand necklace of white beads and brown seeds. D, festooned white bead necklace with tassels and down-puffs. E, woven cotton woman's dance head-dress with back streamer with down-puffs.

●535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [184] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [53] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[Text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, ping-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

They use the rattle for

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

534
284

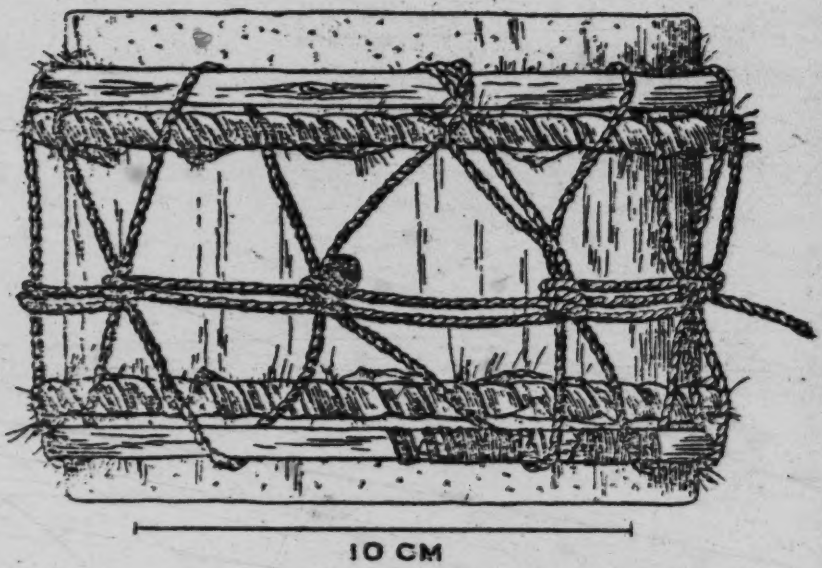

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the
Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von
[128] Hornbostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no nauman
was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make
one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto
instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic
name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana),
from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leav-
ing only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well
as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning.
The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from
distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced
between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed
on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop.
This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover
the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike
that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike
any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiiⁿ (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for
simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering
along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of
melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of
plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes
a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might
almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified
under European influence and others which are native copies of old European
models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instru-
ments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of
similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[797] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
● 535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent toʔ-esaʔ) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[289] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[289] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[574] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[9], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[9] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

●535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are sup-
533 posed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 11b - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzes and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special [534] costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [554] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various ɛrɛmba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing 526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination [273] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

●535
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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68.
[See p. 204, Category 116 -- Analysis]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

/7 cont./

103 contraposition with "Remono-tá," "land of fields or level savannas," a name by which they know the bordering region of the Branco River in the neighboring republic of Brazil.

135 20. I believe that the wealth, both present and potential, of the Gran Sabana has been spoken and written about with evident exaggeration. (I am not here speaking, naturally, about mineral wealth nor that of the subsoil, obscure, problematical, and /8/ almost never with real positive results for the region wherein they are found.)

137 Possibilities for farming and grazing cannot be said to be optimal; and there even exist substantial areas which are wasteland or have very sparse vegetation.

133 21. Nonetheless there is a great present and positive wealth in the Gran Sabana, which has been taken advantage of by the Pemón Indians for centuries and that we can share in should we go there, our lungs filled, our hands full, our eyes struck by emotion; it is the moderate climate, the inexhaustible watercourses, and the beauties of enchanting landscapes.

Those who may have had the fortune to visit this region will not find exaggerated these verses from one of the rhymes of our native children of the Mission of Santa Elena, "Viva the Nation -- and viva, viva the Sabana, -- which is the best of Guiana."

This is a beautiful region, certainly the most beautiful of all Guiana: beautiful in its indescribable landscapes, in the almost artificial profile of its mountains, in its valleys and rises, in its moriche palm groves swaying in the breeze, in its countless streamlets of pure and crystalline water, and, above all, in its immense waterfalls touched with rainbow hues.

133 The Pemón Indians sing of these beauties while enjoying
538 them, in their dance songs, in their tales and legends, only lacking the pen to come to copy them and printing to make them take flight on paper wings.

/19 cont./

462 children, such as adornments of strings of beads, straps for carrying children, and hammocks; they make ollas (where they can find suitable clay); and they care for the cleanliness of the house and its surroundings and the raising of the children. In short, pertaining to the man are the use of the machete, the axe, weapons, etc., and to the woman ollas, decorations, the broom, etc.

484 Only on journeys, considered apart from the rest of their
482 life, do the Indian women appear laden like the bachaco /an antlike insect/, /20/ while the men walk unburdened with weapons in hand. But it should be considered that the Indian travels this way always in hope of game that may appear at an unexpected moment, and that frequently he leaves the beaten path to run on to an agreed meeting point or the end of the trip.

461 Often the Indian man will be found lying down in his
462 hammock while the woman prepares the meal for him; but on many other occasions the Indian woman will be seen resting or relaxed in her hut while the man, abandoning repose, in wind, cold, and rain is hunting animal food (not so easy to obtain as is the vegetable) in the early mornings, at nightfall, or running the whole day long with but a piece of cassava in his bag.

[521] To be sure among the Indians as well they debate the eternal and hateful question (especially in moments of displeasure) of whether the women work more than the men or vice-versa, and the final conclusion is always in favor of the person speaking and against those of the opposite group. But this proves nothing, since nobody is a fair judge in his own case.

461 42. The much-cackled-about laziness of the Indians as a
● 538 group having thus been resolved, we do not deny that among them, at the side of the arikenak, diligent one, exists the enakiní, the weak and lazy one, both of them so ably portrayed in the tale of the owl and the duck. They also say that just

/20 cont./

461 like the tapui amuenín and mua akenín (builder of houses and
● 538 organizer of agricultural work), there are the kamí tarén (one who lives in his hammock) and the tereutasén naké (the eternal stroller-about), who cannot relax because he has a pointed stick in his critical part, and the karán (traveler), who often turns out to be a karán-karán (head insect), who lives
[126] off the work of others. Precisely on the subject of these last a few days ago I received a drawing from one of those educated in our boarding school in San Francisco de Luepa, with the following expressive caption: Kamí tarenkon, iuantón, "Those who live in the hammock, live hungry."

114 433 43. For more proof I want to transcribe Dr. Simpson's
461 words in his work Los Kamarakotos, page 541, on this same subject, since we are in complete agreement. "The Kamarakoto have a very definite standard of living which almost all of them attain. They work hard to maintain a home of their own, with a good house, adequate conuco /fields/, hammocks, baskets, and all of the goods that they need, personal adornments, and other items of property inherent in their way of life.

"When these necessities are for the moment satisfied, /21/ the Indians relax and have fun. The heaping up of wealth, saving for the future, and any accumulation of goods that is not for daily use is not even attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered true loafers.

"Bearing in mind their standard, they have abundant energy that they display when, by this same standard, they have any reason whatsoever to work; it is thus completely unjust to
[462] apply to them the term idlers." "Neither is it true, say what you will about other Indians, that the Kamarakoto assign to their women an inequitable portion of the work."

● 44. Whence, then, it will be said, the backwardness and lack of culture of these Indians? I am the first to recognize and to touch with my own hands the lack of culture and

/32 cont./

535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary
533 and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margariteño. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

P /33 cont./
538 The poetic motifs of these verses are widely varied: new paths, a new house, hills, birds, the dancers' adornments, the musical instruments, the kachirí vessels, dawn and nightfall, etc. These lyrics are usually transmitted by memory, but sometimes they invent them when caught up in the dance itself.

Here are a few samples:

1. Rué ke, rué ke (With the pipe, with the pipe	uy-eserumbai I am going to sing)
2. U-paruchí kamokí (Of my little sister the camaza	mutá menú karutuá the edge painted with caruto.
3. Tavá ke, tavá ke (With white earth (bis)	a-patá samerukai, tukuchí I made your dwelling beautiful, tukuí dancer.)
4. Kinó, kinó (The mockingbird (bis)	uayí komankanín, kinó, kinó prolongs or sustains my song, the mockingbird, (bis).

no

Apart from the immoderate drinking, it would be a great pity if these dances, so poetic and so typical, and, in all cases more /34/ than almost all modern ones, were to disappear from living customs; and even more of a pity when they have not yet been captured on film and phonograph records at least as solace for the studious.

C 73. So that it might be seen that four centuries after
535 Columbus we still have in several corners of our homeland the
114 same customs as then, I am going to copy one more time (and it will not be the last) a paragraph from the already cited

/37 cont./

829 81. Before putting an end to this brief study, I should ad-
522 vise that by the natural law of retaliation, the Indians, acute observers of our customs and very fond of humor, also make fun of our hygienic customs and of some of our foods, which are likewise repugnant to them. Thus, for example, pork, eggs, etc. They also laugh at our corrals and houses for domestic animals, which are not always sufficiently separated from the houses and which do not smell like a bed of roses. And of our country privies, I have heard from them an infinite number of satirical remarks very similar to the popular saying, "What is it that the rich gather up, which the poor throw away?" with reference to nasal secretions.

515 82. To poke fun at dirty persons -- for such a person is
539 never lacking among the Indians, as everywhere else -- who flee from bathing like a cat from water, and abhor cleanliness as the devil the cross, they have the story of the Indian kamotipán, that is to say, the one who had mushrooms and squash sprout all over him, like ears all over his body, so that they made a noise when he walked along, so that game and fish fled and he had to be submitted to a great scraping and bathing by frogs, after which he became a good fisher and hunter.

Chapter X

What Is There To Their Corpulence and Healthiness?

83. Exaggeration in the reports. 84. The legend of the golden age. 85. Endemic diseases. 86. Are they not perfect herbists? 87. Medicine and magic: curers and enchanters. 88. Charms. 89. An Egyptian charm and a Pemón one. 90. Spiritual religion and corporal medicine.

/40 cont./

which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
●538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: 'I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the
538 case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

/43 cont./

755 96. The piaches do not customarily work for a fixed price, but the Indians, according to their ability to pay and their gratitude and according to the good or bad results of the cure, make them gifts as they freely wish.

756 The piaches believe in the obligation to abstain from cer-
755 tain foodstuffs, principally on the day of and the night before they must perform.

755 In the cases I witnessed I did not see that the piaches were
787 /44/ real ventriloquists or that they "were talking big," as the ancients would say; they only imitated in an ordinary way different voices, with the help of the hand and quickly changing posture and place. (Darkness was a help to me in following all their tricks and illusions, both in this and when they pretended to go up in the air and down again.)

755 97. All the Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, believe themselves capable of curing by means of charms and at the
755 same time capable of producing evil effects; but naturally they
756 believe the charms and magical blowings cast by the piaches are much more efficaceous and fearsome. Among the latter as well there are degrees; and they usually consider to be the wisest of those initiated in other tribes or coming from them. For this reason the piaches sometimes say that they can do nothing to cure certain diseases, because they have been caused by other piaches who live in distant regions and possess other secrets unknown by them.

● 538 98. In tales and legends, more than in real life, the
756 Indians consider their piaches to be diviners and miracle workers. Thus for example, they attribute to Chirikavai or Apakavai: that he carved off human limbs and put them back on as one would put together and take apart a clock; that he turned his yachí and his pana-darí (dependents) into birds; that he was able to interpret their songs as if they were conversations of people; finally, that he ascended to the sky preceded by his nephew Marité (Scorpion) and that with his equipment and his limbs he created several constellations, among them Tamuekán,

/44 cont./

538 or the Pleiades. The Indians also say that he converted his wife
756 into a little melero /"honey dealer"/ dog, his little son into a frog, and that the spawning of fish at the beginning of the period of heavy showers of rain coincides with the day when Chirikavai hit the ceiling of the sky with a great shaking, thus giving rise to the storms and showers of the winter.

Of Maichapué, another of the legendary piaches, they say that he converted little pieces of cassava and ají into a number of birds that might alert him to the nearness of his enemies, that he was helped by his yachí in the difficult undertakings to which he was submitted as a test by his father-in-law, Anhuoná or Etitó (king of the two-headed vultures), in payment for his daughter, whom he had stolen away by astutely pretending to be a decomposing corpse.

756 Not long ago the Indian, Daniel Karoi, a resident of Santa
[115] Teresita de Kavanayén and his sister Luisa, who came from the Tiriká River, told me that their grandfather had been /45/ a piache and that he lighted his pipe without needing fire and that he could rise and play the part of the murei as if he were a real monkey. I do not know with certainty up to what point the piaches' deceptions can go, but I do not believe -- from what I have seen -- that these go beyond childish and easily uncovered tricks; I deduce this from the great admiration which they manifest for our magic tricks and little tricks of combination and prestidigitation.

000 99. This brief study of the piache will once more convince my readers that when imagination replaces intelligence and phantasmagorias replace reality, among Indians they can come to be a fertile source not only of tales and legends, but also of falsified religion, falsified medicine, etc. Therefore, Coué wrote quite correctly although with obvious exaggeration: "it is not will which makes them work, but imagination." And A. Bouyssonie also wrote that "magic is a materialistic falsification of religion."

/61 cont./
881 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip
593 her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
●538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised ratón, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

/67 cont./

159 himself in the field. But this time playing Kanaima did not
776 serve him any purpose, since his companion recognized him
578 and, far from being frightened, fell upon him with blows of a stick, so that, going for wool, he came back fleeced and, with his back redder than annatto, ran off to hid his sad fate.

144. The Indians themselves, for whom it is easier to let
•538 the imagination run to create a tale than to tie together the
776 ends of various facts and ideas to form a well-reasoned out argument, have in their folklore this extremely significant story:

In a certain place there lived two Indians, each one married to the other's sister. During the night they heard Kanaima's whistle, who, or so it seemed, was going around the house with the intention of catching someone. One of the women with the greatest secrecy got down from the hammock and began to spin cotton. The Kanaima whistled again: Soé, soé. The Indian woman opened the door as though to throw out the seeds, and she saw the Kanaima hiding behind a tree. Then speaking in a loud voice in order to cover her intention, she said to her husband: Here is a rat which is eating up my cotton seeds, come shoot it with an arrow. Her husband leaped out of the hammock, picked up his bow, and approached his wife; she said in his ear: The Kanaima is there behind that pole, shoot it. The Kanaima was watching, fooled, to see what would come of that scene, when all of a sudden he received a blow with an arrow on his forehead. Protected by the darkness of the night, he went running to his rancho; to hide what had happened he told his mother that he was shooting at a toucan and that the arrow had come back and wounded him on the forehead.

When day came the Indian woman went to her mother's house and found her brother sick; her mother explained to her that in trying to shoot a toucan he had wounded himself. She returned to her house and told this to her husband. He suspected

/67 cont./

538 that he could be the Kanaima of the night before and went to
776 see his brother-in-law; he wanted to see the wound but he resisted showing it to him; then he was even more suspicious and by force he tore off the bandage. The arrow was still stuck in; then he recognized that it was his own and, pulling it out of him violently, he said:

" This arrow is mine; you were not shooting toucans, /68/ you were trying to act like Kanaima, and this happened so that you will learn a lesson."

And let what has been said suffice, since the proverb warns us that "intelligentibus, pauca."

Chapter XVII

Are the Indians Shameless or Modest?

100

145. Clothing and virtues, modesty and morality. 146. Individual morality. 147. Modesty seeks clothing. 148. Nudists and Freudians. 149. Accidental morality. 150. From the word to the act. 151. Knowledge of morality or ethics. 152. Polygamy. 153. Negative and positive morality.

145. This question, asked perhaps in a merely physiological sense, gives us the basis for dealing at the same time with the morality of the Indians, since, according to what St. Paul said, clothing is the image of internal virtues and modesty, of moral decency.

156 146. In the first place, it is clear that one cannot talk of the Indians in the plural without making any distinction, as one can about mice, since for them, as for everyone else, there is value in the saying that "not even the fingers of the hand are the same." Every individual among them, simply because they

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful, as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the
829 missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creóles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have
538 gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/86 cont./
them. And I particularly call attention to what is written in the prologue of the Diccionario Pemón on various linguistic topics.

538 187. Moreover this is not just a wealth of vocabulary and of grammatical forms; the Indians have their set idioms, clichés, proverbs, songs, stories, legends, and myths, that is, a whole folklore, or popular wisdom, transmitted as spiritual riches by means of lingual communication: a whole flowering, a whole harvest of fruits coming from the root of words, a whole treasure of the native soul. When, very soon the Colección E. V. I. is continued, our readers will see that we are not exaggerating.

The study of the language alone would suffice to give a very high opinion of the Indians, since, as S. de Madariaga says: "A grammar is a philosophy.... Languages, the most direct expression of the national character."

Time and again they come to us with the same question, and on occasions when they hear me discuss the richness of the vocabulary and the grammatical ductility of the language of the Pemón Indians, little would be needed for my interlocutors to call me mad or at least blinded by affection. And this has happened to me not just among befuddled people but also among people who, because of their occupation or profession, should have general knowledge and comprehension of these matters.

And (what is more regrettable), our aboriginal Indians have been defamed in this and other particulars not only by excursionists or vulgar globetrotters, who are off hunting hoaxes for fools in remote regions, which cannot be checked because of distance, but also by understanding compatriots, who talk about /87/ the Indians with the greatest scorn in the world. Always the same phenomenon: scorn or belittle what is unknown, the boldness of ignorance.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[128] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[124] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

*193 Prepositions do not occur as such but their place is taken by a large number of postpositions that are suffixed to nouns and have a prepositional sense, e.g. tuna-wapai, "from the water," uruyen-poirə, "to Uruyen," etc.

Conjunctions are quite absent. Co-ordinate words simply follow each other without conjunction and other connecting concepts are expressed by position, context, or suffixes expressive of relative concepts.

195 Interjections are very common but they are so simply organic or imitative that it does not seem justified to reduce them to standard form or to consider them as definite and definable words of the language. The international vocalic expressions of pain or surprise, a:, a:i, etc., are often heard, also the less universal aka:, which appears to be widespread among the Caribs and is not so [153] common among other peoples. Imitative sounds, a tree falling, a machete-blow, a bird's call, etc., are constantly heard.[89]

*193 Articles are absent.

Text.

●539 The following short extract from the legend of Maichak must suffice here to show the Kamarakoto dialect in action.

maichaʔ	ɛpətipə	putapun	maichaʔ	ɛpətipə
Maichak	was	ignorant (knowing-less).	Maichak	was
Maichak	was	ignorant.	Maichak	was

tuwari	itetsɛton	tuwari-dõ	arautizõ
poor	his brothers-in-law	poor - than.	Notwithstanding
poorer than his brothers-in-law.			But

itɛtseru	epolupuy-ya	wai-kɛ	pemon-ya
his - method	found - he.	gourd (bottle)	man (Indian)
he found out how to get along.		A man	gave him

idepapə	tuna-wapai	idepakapə	idepatse
him - gave.	water - from	he - came	he - giving (at the same time)

a gourd bottle. He (the man) came out of the water (or stream), giving

wai-kɛ	more -popɛ	erupapoyɛ	wai
gourd	Then	advised (or taught)	gourd's

him (Maichak) a gourd bottle. Then he showed him how

539 etserukɛ marodɛu maicha'-ya moro'
use. Forthwith Maichak fishy
to use the gourd bottle. Then Maichak emptied (from

tuna anokapatipa to' anumbatupõyɛ
water emptied then gathered.
the river) the water containing fishes and gathered them (the fishes).

mono-pɛ moro' anumbatupɛ itetsɛron-ya
For a time fish gathered. His brothers-in-law
He continued to gather fish for some time. His brothers-in-law

itɛtseru putu pura yetsipə teumo-dakarə
his method know(ing) not were his (own) son with
did not know how he did this. Only his son was

leukin yepatipə moro' anumupə
only was fish gathered.
with him when they gathered fish.

Linguistic Affinities

"Ancient Kamarakoto."

*197 173 Several of the better informed Kamarakotos assured me that their speech is not "real Kamarakoto," although it goes by that name among them and all the neighboring tribes, but has replaced an older language which was Kamarakoto, strictly speaking. This "ancient" or "real" Kamarakoto is now extinct. No one can speak it and no one knows much about it except that it was quite [115] unlike the present speech. The combined efforts of most of the older and more intelligent men of the tribe produced five isolated words and one phrase which are claimed to be ancient Kamarakoto, handed down in the tribe from father to son from very remote times. The phrase, "It is dawn, son, get up!" is peculiar, but is consistent with the memory of an ancient language heard in childhood and later forgotten except for a few scraps more indelibly impressed.

These words are as follows:

*192 *197

Translation	"Ancient Kamarakoto"	Modern Kamarakoto	Taurepan	Others
1. Forest	icha	chureta	tu'rita	Chaima (Adam y-uto, y-ucha.

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not
535 frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are supposed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one
533
539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast
535 and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɩ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged
[195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

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128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181–184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 – Analyst]

●539 was a grown man, twenty years old, he did not know anything. He did not know as much as his brothers-in-law. He did not know how to hunt or fish or weave, and was so ignorant that he was very poor. It was not until he was forty that he knew everything. He used to go fishing and hunting without taking anything with him, no bow, no arrows, no fish poison, no nets.

One day when he was out fishing, when he was about thirty years old, as usual he was not catching anything because he did not know how, and he did not have anything to catch fish with. A man came out of the water of the river and said to Maichak.

"What is wrong, Maichak? Why do you fish and not get anything?"

"I am very sad," said Maichak. "I cannot catch any fish because I am so ignorant."

"All right," said the man from the water. "I will give you a taparita, [185] but do not show it to anyone, because if you do you will lose it."

"What shall I do with it?" asked Maichak.

"Put water from the river in it. Then the river will become empty and you will be able to pick up all the fish. But be very careful only to fill it half full, because if you fill it all the way, the water will overflow and will flood the whole country."

So Maichak did as the river man told him, and he caught many fish. All the men and women, his mother-in-law, his father-in-law, and his brothers-in-law said to each other,

"Where does this stupid man get all these fish?"

Maichak always used to take his son fishing with him. He taught his son how to use the taparita, and warned him never to tell anybody about it. So several years passed.

Everybody wanted to know how Maichak got so many fish. One day the family decided to try to find out. So they invited him to the house and they gave him kachiri and paiba to drink and made him drunk, and then they asked him how he caught so many fish. But even when he was drunk, Maichak would not say anything.

One day Maichak's brother-in-law took his nephew, Maichak's son, out into the forest and asked him how his father caught fish.

"My father has a taparita," said the boy to his uncle, "but it is hidden."

The uncle said, "Well, let us get it, because we need fish to eat at home."

So Maichak's son showed the uncle where it was hidden and he explained to his uncle how to use it, and told him to be careful only to fill it halfway. They filled it halfway. The river became dry, and they got many fish and took them home to eat. When Maichak saw them come home with all these fish, he asked how they got them, and his son told him that they had gotten them with Maichak's taparita.

185 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 — Analysis]

539 One day the younger brother of that brother-in-law went out with Maichak's son to fish with the taparita. He said,

"Let us fill the taparita all the way. Then we will get more fish."

"No," said the nephew, "my father told me never to fill it more than halfway."

But his uncle filled it all the way up. The water overflowed and flooded the whole country, and the uncle dropped the taparita which was washed away in the flood and lost.

Maichak was very sad. For months he looked and looked for his taparita, but he never found it again. He could not catch any fish now that he did not have his taparita. He used to go hunting and fishing, but he never got anything.

One day Maichak was hunting in the woods. He came across an armadillo[186] that talked like a man. The armadillo had a rattle[187] in one hand and he was singing a song. This is the song:

Takaznaimo poiznimo maraka i sakauma-nõi,
"Beast's peccary's rattle I sound
("I sound, I sound, I sound the wild peccary's rattle.")
sakauma-nõi, sakauma-nõi.
I sound I sound."

The armadillo sang the song three times, and then he reached up with his hand and rattled the rattle three times, and he jumped back into his hole. Immediately a lot of peccaries[188] came running up, but Maichak did not have anything to kill them with, so he went home without anything.

Maichak decided that he would have to get the rattle, so that he could catch peccaries, so he went out into the forest to get it. The armadillo stuck his head out of his hole and sang his song while Maichak waited with an arrow. When the armadillo had sung the song he stuck his hand out of the hole, holding the rattle in order to shake it. Maichak grabbed the rattle out of his hand. When Maichak grabbed the rattle, it rattled, but no peccaries came. The armadillo came out to see who had taken his rattle.

"Why did you take my rattle?" said the armadillo.

"I took it because I wanted it," replied Maichak. "I want to catch peccaries with it."

"All right," said the armadillo, "you have my rattle, but I am going to give you some advice. You had a taparita once but you lost it, so now I advise you about this rattle. If you are on the ground or in a tree, and you sound the rattle more than three times, the peccaries will come and take it."

So Maichak went home.

One day Maichak went out to hunt. He built himself a platform and he used to keep his rattle on this platform. This day he climbed up on the platform and he sang the peccary song three times. (Here song is sung as before.) Then he rattled the rattle three times. The peccaries came and he killed four

186, 187 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]
188 [see footnote on p. 330, category 116 - Analysis]

539 or five or six with his arrow. He hid his rattle and went home with the meat. His brother-in-law asked him where he got so many peccaries.

"Oh," said Maichak. "I got them far, far away."

His brother-in-law did not believe that Maichak had been hunting far, far away.

About this time Maichak's son died.[189]

One day, Maichak went hunting and his brothers-in-law followed him to see where he got all the peccaries. Maichak climbed up on his platform and the brothers-in-law listened to him singing and rattling and then went away. Maichak got about five peccaries near his home.

Maichak's brother-in-law went out in the forest and got the rattle and sang the song. Then he sounded the rattle four or five times. A lot of peccaries came, crowds and crowds of peccaries, and they took the rattle away from the brother-in-law. When Maichak went to look for his rattle it was gone. He had lost it just the way he lost the taparita.

Days and days passed.

Maichak did not know how to make casave presses[190] and sieves[191] but his brothers-in-law did. One day his brothers-in-law asked him to come with them to a place two days away. When they got there, they said,

"Who will stay here, and make a press and other things so that we can have casave?"

"I will," said Maichak, although he did not know how to make a press and other things to make casave.

"All right," said his brothers-in-law, "but do it just as fast as you can. We are going out hunting, and this afternoon we will come back with peccaries, and the women must have some casave ready for us when we get here."[192]

The brothers-in-law went out to hunt. Maichak went to get the fibers[193] to make the press and other things. He went away after breakfast and came back about noon. He got the fibers all ready, but he did not know how to make a press. So of course he could not do anything. The women had the grated yuca[194] all ready and were waiting to press it and make casave bread. The brothers-in-law came with peccary meat.

"Where is Maichak?" they asked the women.

"He is out making a press," said the women.

They sent a boy to call Maichak. They were very hungry.

"Did you make a press?" they asked Maichak.

"No, I do not know how," said Maichak.

"Well, then, why did you try?" they asked him. And they got very angry and abused Maichak.

The brothers-in-law made a press in about two hours.

"All right," they said. "Now we will teach you how to behave."

189-194 [see footnotes on p. 330, category 116 — Analyst]

539 So they tied Maichak's hands together and his feet together, and they hung him up alongside the press, and they impaled him on a sharp stick and killed him. But Maichak got up again from death and was alive again.

The brothers-in-law and Maichak started home with the peccaries. Maichak said for them to go ahead and he would follow, and they said all right. Maichak went with his wife to hunt for peccaries, and the brothers-in-law went to Maichak's house. Maichak got some peccaries. Then he said to his wife,

"Your family was abusive to me, and I am going to take my revenge on you."

He killed his wife, and he salted her body, and put it on the platform where he had his salted peccaries. Then he made an enormous carrying frame.[195] He put the salted wife and the salted peccaries in the carrying frame and took them to the house of the parents of his wife. His mother-in-law gave him some casave and some peppers.[196] She gave him three or four of these peppers. Then she asked him,

"Do you want to eat now?"

Maichak said, "No, first I will go and bathe."

Maichak went to bathe, and his mother-in-law took the carrying frame and took out the meat and saw that some of the meat was her daughter. She shrieked and cried and the brothers-in-law ran after Maichak to kill him. Maichak ran away into the forest.

Maichak broke off a piece of the casave and cut one of the peppers in two and put them in the fork of a tree, saying to them,

"Let me know if my brothers-in-law come this way."

Farther along, he took another piece of casave and cut another pepper and did the same thing with them. When he had gone about half a league into the forest and had come to a river, he heard loud cries from the casave, which was really being taken away by a bird.

"Men are coming," said Maichak.

He got into a canoe on the river but he did not know how to paddle. As he was being carried down the river, a bird sang to him, saying to him,

"Dip in the paddle, dip in the paddle."

Another bird[197] warned him that his brothers-in-law were still following him. He paddled down the river for two days, until he came to a big tributary. He paddled up the tributary for ten days, until he came to its headwaters. He had with him yuca and bananas and all kinds of plants, done up in a small package, in a carrying frame. He stopped and built himself a house, and planted a garden and lived there all by himself.

Piaimá, an animal-man who lives in the mountains and in the forests, and who can be seen only by a piache, not by common Indians, came to Maichak and taught him how to make presses and all kinds of weaving. Thus Maichak learned to weave and to do all kinds of man's work, and he lived happily.

195-197 [see footnotes on p. 330, category 116 - Analysis]

539 While he was making his conuco, he lived on wild fruit. Later he had casave to eat. He got tired of nothing but casave so he went out hunting and killed a deer. As he was eating venison on another day, he thought about how lonely he was. He said,

"I am going to get the king[198] of the buzzards to keep house for me."

Maichak went out and killed a tapir. Then Maichak smeared rancid grease all over himself and when the tapir was putrid, he lay down alongside it, and pretended to be dead.

The buzzards came to eat the tapir and the man, and Maichak grabbed the king of the buzzards[199] and went home with him. He used to bring the buzzard meat and they lived together for some days. Maichak would go out to hunt about an hour after sunrise and when he came back at sunset he would find casave and kachiri and other things to eat and drink all made, but only the buzzard would be there. The truth was that during the day the buzzard became a human and made all of these things, and then at night turned back into a buzzard.

Maichak asked, "Who made the casave and the kachiri?"

One day, Maichak said that he was going out to hunt and that he would not be back until after dark, but he sneaked back to the house about noon, and there he saw a beautiful woman, making casave and kachiri and other things. Maichak asked,

"Where did you come from?"

The woman replied, "I am the queen[200] of the buzzards and I live here with you."

They lived there together for a long time, and the buzzard queen remained a woman. One day, the buzzard queen said, "If you would like to see my father, we will go to my house."

She took Maichak to see her father. When they arrived outside the house of the king buzzard, whose name was Atitó,[201] she said to Maichak,

"You stay here and I will go ask if papa will receive you."

Whenever any visitors came to see the king buzzard, he used to kill them and eat them. The queen buzzard said to him,

"I have brought you a son-in-law whose name is Maichak."[202]

The king buzzard said, "All right, daughter, let us see what sort of character he has."

The queen buzzard went and got Maichak and came back in the house and presented him to her father. The king buzzard said,

"All right, if Maichak is a good worker, he can live here. But if he is not, I am going to eat him."

To test Maichak, the king sent him out to drain a big lake. It was an enormous lake, the biggest in the whole world, and Maichak had to drain it in one day to get fish for the king to eat. He had to do this all in one afternoon or die.

198-202 [see footnotes on pp. 330-331, category 116-Analyst]

539 Maichak was sitting pensively when a dragonfly came flying up and said, "Why are you so sad, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I am sad because I have to drain this enormous lake in one day, or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The dragonfly said, "All right, then, I will help you."

Multitudes and multitudes of dragonflies came to help drain the lake. Then a bird[203] came flying up and asked Maichak, "What is wrong?"

Maichak said, "I have to drain this enormous lake in one day or the king of the buzzards will kill me."

The bird said, "I will sing to let you know when the queen is coming, so that she will not see that the dragonflies are doing your work."

The bird went and mounted guard a little distance away. Every half hour[204] the queen came to see the work, but the bird always warned Maichak. The dragonflies and Maichak drained the whole lake and finished it about the middle of the afternoon. The queen came and found that the work was all done, and they got great quantities of fish for the king.

Next day the king said, "Very well, daughter, he seems to be a good worker. But we shall see. We will give him a three day test. If he passes this test, you can marry him, and if he does not, we will eat him. He must build me a house. Here is an enormous stone, and he must build me a house right here."

The queen said to Maichak, "Tomorrow in one day you must make a house on that stone."

Maichak went to see the place. There was nothing but a big stone. There was no dirt or anything. Maichak was very sad.

Remember that at this time, it was years since he had left his brothers-in-law, his mother, his father and the rest. They all thought he was dead.[205]

Maichak said, "I cannot build a house on this rock. Anywhere else would be all right but not here."[206]

But shortly after sunrise he went to cut wood. He got together all kinds of animals and birds. They all worked together and they gathered all the materials for a house, but they could not make any holes in the rock to set up the posts.

Then a worm appeared and said to Maichak, "You have to build this house in one day. How are you going to do it?"

Maichak said, "I do not know because I cannot make holes in this rock."

The worm said, "Very well, Maichak. I will burrow into the rock and you can set up the four posts in the holes that I make."[207]

They did so. So Maichak finished the house and the animals thatched the roof. Everybody went to see the house. The king asked, "Is it done?" and the queen told him that it was all done.

203-207 [see footnotes on p. 331, category 11b - Analyst]

539 The king said, "All right, now tomorrow, Maichak must make me a piache's bench.[208] It must be made out of stone. It must be enormous. It must be able to walk by itself, and it must look like me."

Nobody but the queen knew what the king looked like. He had two heads, and he wore earrings on both. Next day, Maichak tried to make the bench. A termite[209] came and said, "What are you doing?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I cannot."

Maichak did not know that the king had two heads. Then a hummingbird came, and he asked,

"What are you doing, Maichak?"

Maichak said, "I have to make a bench that looks like the king and I don't know what the king looks like."

The hummingbird went to look at the king. The king never paid any attention to visitors. He would not turn his heads, so they could not see what he looked like. The hummingbird sang and sang, but he could not see the king.

Then another small bird[210] came and asked Maichak what he was doing, and Maichak told him. This bird went into the king's house and he sang and sang. The king finally turned his heads to see the bird. The bird saw that the king had two heads and he went and told Maichak about the heads and the earrings on each of them. Maichak told the termite how to make the bench, and the termite made it, and finished it before noon. Maichak had finished his three-day test in two and a half days. Maichak put the finished bench in the king's house and he called the king and queen.

The king said, "Can it be like me?"

The bench said, "I am just like the king" and it came running up like a dog.

The king was terrified and ran away. The king said, "Maichak has frightened me, so I am going to kill him."

The queen went and warned Maichak of her father's intentions. Maichak ran away again. Now he was running away from his brothers-in-law and also from the king of the buzzards.

He came to a big mountain, Auyán-tepúi, or one of the other mountains like it, very near Auyán-tepúi. The king's men were still chasing him and Maichak did not know how to get down the mountain. Then a lizard[211] appeared and asked,

"What is the matter?"

Maichak told the lizard about the king.

The lizard said, "All right. Jump on my back and I will take you down."

Maichak got on the lizard and rode him. Down they went. There was a big tree[212] which fell down. While they were still coming down, the lizard

208-212 [see footnotes on p.331, category 116 — Analysis]

●539 stopped about a hundred yards from the bottom and told Maichak to jump. But Maichak said it was too far. Finally they came down to the ground.

Maichak did not know where he was. He wandered about at random until he came to a big river, and then he walked upstream along the bank. He came to a quebrada and he walked up it. This was in Kamarata and he found his family's house there, but he was afraid to let them know that he was there because of having killed his wife. He stayed hidden for three days.

Maichak had two sisters and a brother. One of his sisters had been a girl when he left home and was now a woman. The other sister was just a baby when he went away and she did not remember Maichak. She used to ask, "How many of us are there, three?" and they would reply, "No, there are four of us, counting Maichak, who is dead."

The girls used to go down to the river to bathe. Maichak had turned himself into a little fish in the river in order to hide. When the girls bathed, Maichak touched the older girl intimately.

The girl said, "I will go get a sieve[213] and see what fish is touching me."

She went and got the sieve and went into the water. She gave the sieve to the smaller girl and told her to catch the fish when she shouted. Maichak touched the girl again and she shouted to the smaller girl to catch him. She caught Maichak who was a little fish.

The girl said, "You touched my sister so I will roast and eat you."

Maichak turned back into a man and said, "I am your brother."

Everybody was happy.

(This happened in the Aichá River, and may be it is called that because of Maichak.)[214]

The little sister ran to the house, shouting "Here is my brother."

Now Maichak had learned everything in the course of his travels. He stayed for some time at home and everybody wanted to see him.

He knew everything, he could do everything. He preached and taught, showing the other Indians what to do and how to make everything that they needed. His fame extended far and wide and many other Indians came to him to learn.

One day Maichak was sitting in the house, making an arrow and a woman was in the house, eating. This woman[215] had a speech defect. She was partly mute, and could not speak distinctly, and at this moment she had her mouth full. She turned to Maichak and said,

pemon-don	yeupüi	maichaʼ	enese.
"People (Indians)	are coming,	Maichak	to see."

Now, at this time, Maichak was still afraid of his brothers-in-law and of the king of the buzzards, from whom he had been fleeing. The woman spoke so indistinctly, that he understood her to say,

213-215 [see footnotes on pp. 331-32, category 116 - Analyst]

●539 pemon-don yeupüi maicha' ereukai.
"People (Indians) are coming. Maichak to kill."

[101] Many Indians were coming. Among them were[216]

Kamarakoto: from the valley where Maichak himself lived.
Karopakoi': from near Luepa.
Karoziai: from the Gran Sabana.
Nungakoi: from Brazil.
Mwerwan: from the Caroni.

— and many others.

Maichak understood the woman to say that they were going to kill him. He was afraid and began to tremble. He trembled so that the house trembled and all the earth round about trembled. The whole world trembled for three [103] days. The Indians who were coming trembled and turned to stone. Kamarata is so called because it is the region where Kamarakoto lived and the stone into [101] which Kamarakoto turned is still there. The Kamarakoto Indians are so-called because Kamarakoto was one of their ancestors. Maichak also lived in Kamarata.

The woman who spoke to Maichak was turned into a bird.[217] Maichak had no woman, but his mother was turned into a deer.

Just before this happened, Maichak had sent his brother-in-law out to gather cane[218] to make baskets. The brother-in-law had gathered a great bundle of this and was coming back bearing it on his back with the long hair-like ends trailing out behind him. Then the earthquake came, and he was turned into an anteater,[219] and the fibers became the long hairs on the anteater's tail.

There was a great disaster in those days. Everyone became stones or birds or animals.

Maichak went far away. No one knows where he went or where he is now.

Discussion.

This long tale consists of several different legends and comparison with those known from related tribes shows that some of these are unrelated in origin. It is probably a Kamarakoto artifice to have united them and to have given all the same hero, but it is one that is strongly maintained. For instance, the "beginning" of the story must be with the magic implements and later episodes cannot be given as separate stories.

The structure is:

I. The story of the magic implements:

a. The taparita.
b. The rattle.
— These two episodes are integrally united and together form one legend.

216-219 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

539

II. The story of Maichak and his wife's family:

a. The quarrel and the murder of Maichak's wife.
b. The flight.
— This is one legend with two more or less separable episodes.
(A transitional episode including Piaimá's teaching of Maichak.)

III. The Buzzard King and Queen:

a. The capture of the Queen.
b. The three labors:
1. Draining the lake.
2. Building the house on rock.
3. The magic bench.
— This legend is thus compounded of four distinct episodes.
(A transitional episode of flight from the Buzzard King.)

IV. The return home.
— Brief as it is, this curious episode is quite unrelated to any other and constitutes a separate legend.
(A very brief transitional episode in which Maichak appears as a culture teacher.)

V. The earthquake (involving a sort of Kamarakoto creation legend.)

The whole story is thus composed of a sequence of thirteen different episodes each of which is potentially a separate story, and several of which do indeed appear as distinct stories among other tribes, except that the two episodes of the magic implements and the three of the labors for the Buzzard King are less readily separable. So much has been crowded into this long story that it is almost a whole system of mythology in itself.

Despite this composite nature, the story as a whole has a sort of tenuous common theme or broad plot, which is related to the almost universal culture-hero complex. Maichak appears at first as a completely ignorant, useless individual. His deficiencies are to some extent remedied by the magic implements, but he loses them, largely because of his stupidity. His quarrel with his brothers-in-law and his subsequent flight also arise from his ignorance, the fact that he did not know how to make basketwork.[220]

Then comes the brief but revealing interlude in which Maichak is taught the useful arts by a supernatural being, Piaima, the formerly ignorant culture-hero receiving knowledge from a divine source. Finally Maichak returns to his

220 [see footnote on p. 332, category 116 - Analysis]

●539 tribe, teaches the arts he has now acquired, and in a final episode is instrumental in the creation of things as they are and himself disappears.

Even from this broad point of view, the episodes of the king and queen buzzards are interpolations that are unrelated to the slender thread of unified plot.

[17] It would take too long here to trace the distribution and pedigree of each of the various episodes, but it may be mentioned that several of them, like that of the magic rattle, are very widespread in South America, and that some, like that of the magic bench, can be traced even well into North America. Koch-Grünberg has given an Arekuna[221] version of the magic implement legend ("Wewe und seine Schwäger"), with one Wawe as hero, and a Taulepán version of the Buzzard King legend ("Der Besuch im Himmel"), with Maichame (doubtless = Maichak) as hero. These differ from the present version in many details but are so similar as to have an obviously common origin.

In the latter legend, the Buzzard King is called Kasaná-podosé and his heads are named Mósyimón and Eteró. The Kamarakoto name Ariró is obviously that of one (the left) head of the Taulepán Buzzard King. All the elements of this legend are very widespread and familiar in numerous different versions and combinations: the capture of the buzzard by feigning death, the transformation of bird to woman, the three labors (and each of them), the animal helpers, etc.

It is usually made clear that these later episodes transpire in heaven, or in the sky, as suggested by the general name of the complex, "Besuch im Himmel" (Boas), etc., but this is not stated in the Kamarakoto version. That this is true of the original story explains the otherwise anomalous fact that in fleeing, Maichak is represented as coming down an impassable mountain,[222] that he apparently did not and could not ascend. The curiously irrelevant and circumstantial points regarding the fall of the tree and Maichak's refusal to jump strongly suggest that this brief episode of the flight is a garbled or at least elided version of a longer legend that has been lost.

171 539 Roth (1924, pp. 486-488) has given a Makuchi "Story of Maichoppa" (obviously equal to Maichak) which is a recognizable equivalent of the story of Maichak and the Buzzard King and Queen, different as are many of the details. At the end of this, when Maichoppa is returning to the ground, he has to descend a tree, which is a ceibo like the apparently irrelevant tree in the Kamarakoto story. A lizard volunteers to carry him, but really intends to eat him. Maichoppa finally escapes by slipping from the lizard's back to the ground. This straightforward story offers a version that could well be related to the forgotten original of the now almost irrational details vestigial in the Kamarakoto version, and confirms me in the opinion that a distinct episode or story has been incomprehensibly elided here. I have not found a more detailed version of this one episode or one more clearly related to the Kamarakoto legend at this point.

221,222 [see footnotes on p. 332, category 11b – Analysis]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto
[152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be
539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe
823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is str[illegible] called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).‡ He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human
825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction
[171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos
[551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should
776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

‡ [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 776 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piaimá is commonly represented as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 171 [197] [266] The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically. Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."[223] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely 157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 152 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing 157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor 522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

133
539
823

Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɣ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825]

188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna'.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwara', a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara' (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛ'. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai'. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. [848] Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai', which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162 551 621 622	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
	KAMARATA:		
	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abari.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103 162 551 621 622	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekumas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to›-esa›, "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

[102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]]

551 177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

551 [123]

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

[82]

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essentially as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

[123] [177] [797] [553] 551 553

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the ex-
perience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who
did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete de-
scription (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-
Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the con-
cept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic
fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to
a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supematural means he causes
almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical
but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos
deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are
kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or
at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft.
The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with,
any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm,
but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be
dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told
Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies
in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be
used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians
toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not
kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or
men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide
wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual
with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be
such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood
Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in
the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto [152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makmnaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).‡ He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

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539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

‡ [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

● 551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosera, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsera.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

/9 cont./

133 23. The waterways are unsuitable for navigation because of the impetuous currents which at each step hinder the passage of boats, even small native curiaras; and this highland, surrounded on the north, east, and west by craggy mountain ridges and immense forests, this region is, with respect to Venezuela, a true nest of eagles or of airplanes. Only to the south are there some easier ways across some gorges of Pakaraima toward the Brazilian campos of the Branco River, which has been and in great measure still is the nursemaid and like the umbilical [491] cord of this part of Venezuela. The highway decreed in the distant times of General Gómez has still not poked its head into [552] those lands; and there one lives dependent upon the vulture-canoe, kurún-kanhúa, as the Indians say /the airplane/.

Chapter III

The Soul of the Gran Sabana and the Soul of the Pemón Indians

24. The patá-muná. 25. Truisms. 26. A copper-colored soul? 27. Conclusions. 28. The Indian is a child. 29. The maloca, symbol of the Indian soul. 30. Imagination a predominant faculty of the Indians.

24. To avoid caviling to my readers, I wish to tell them without circumlocutions that the soul of the Gran Sabana, to which I here refer, is the Indians. /10/

Certainly, if everywhere form is what gives life to material, and the inhabitants of a region with their typical customs and activities are those who give life and interest to their lands, it need not be said that they who have given and do give interest and life to the Gran Sabana are the Indians, its natural

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

551/177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

551 [123]

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

[829]

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essentially as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such. a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

[123] [177] [797] [553] 551 553

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so-often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756] neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

105 /90 cont./

[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
[593] daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more; and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[479] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, 561 were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic 141 mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237 [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analyst]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[179] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

291 127. Even if we agree, as I do not, that the Caribs wore no clothing
177 whatever before contact with Europeans. Alejo's date is too late by a century
[114] or two and it is virtually impossible that any authentic tribal memory is as old as that.

[123] 128. The women would never visit us except in dresses — I shall show
[562] on a later page that this was because of pride, fashion and authority, and not because of personal modesty or fear. They either stayed at home in the remoter places that we did not visit, or borrowed dresses for the occasion. The men wore trousers if they could, but had no hesitation in visiting us without them.

129. But by the time we left, the cacique was more conventionally clothed than we were and would have excited no comment on any city street. No other Indian achieved quite this degree of sartorial splendor.

130. Our party did supply them with some ready-made dresses, but this is a momentary phase. The women of the tribe as a whole are adopting and will soon universally wear the homemade costume described.

294 131. This and the following paragraph are by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe.
114

171 132. In fact many culture traits common to these Indians and the civilized part of Venezuela are not evidence of Venezuelan influence on the Indians but of the reverse.

291 133. except one Taurepán mosa that was not made for use but as a curio
126 for a missionary, who supplied the heads. Very misleading data are sometimes
128 given by such made-to-order specimens and I may emphasize here that I have described nothing that was not seen actually in use by the Indians and collected nothing but used objects or, when this was impossible, new ones made for use and carefully compared with those that had been used. In the field of their special skills, notably basketry, the Indians can and will supply almost anything that a collector wants, but if he describes what he wishes and has it made to order, the result is likely to be definitely non-Indian in form and design.

114 134. If I understand Roth correctly (this passage is not entirely clear to
301 me), he considers the belief that these bands permanently groove the limbs
304 "ridiculous" and "physiologically impossible" "delusions." Nevertheless it is a fact, fully proven by the plainly visible effects of the bands even when the bands themselves have been removed.

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

837 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that
[684] Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good."
[563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

P /63 cont./
582 people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying
[563] that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want
P to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry
C Indian men.

584 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the
585 ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe
171 a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions, among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
684 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it ap-
563 pears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
[582] illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
592 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
621 gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
571 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two
578 plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

● 571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some toʔ-esaʔ, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called toʔ-epuruʔ), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in toʔ-esaʔ, but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a toʔ-esaʔ.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

/27 cont./

251 like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors
261 very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

273 58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians."
[522] Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men
[574] against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

261 Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable
262 food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called
262 tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mañoco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called abaʔ and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the toʔ-esaʔ, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page.[1]

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

[1] [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
●574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[578] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p.329, category 116 – Analyst]

273 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are
574 awake and hilarious at all times.

533 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these
539 songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint,
171 which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an air-
153 plane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and in-
115 sistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded
126 this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough
128 comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɾ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 576 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/77 cont./

512 young people) do not speak again even though they may be almost hammock to hammock.

576 And if these and other similar rules are not outstanding examples of rules of courtesy and education in social dealings, neither are they to be scorned, and they certainly are very valuable examples of their delicate feelings.

Chapter XX

Isn't the Labor of Regeneration of the Indians Useless?

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168. Anecdotes. 169. Principles. 170. Conversions 171. Practical cases. 172. Maternal love. 173. Results. 174. Proverb. 175. N. B.

168. Anecdotes. This question is one of the most frequent ones. It is usually asked concerning some Indian or other who has been adopted by some family or other and who after many years, with permission or taking an opportunity to take flight, returns among his relatives and to the life of his ancestors. The anecdotes which are told go from the simple Indian captured for free service, who is very little different from a slave, to the one who gets to be a lawyer, doctor, or priest, and who has left an elevated rank, his toga, his uniform, his vestments, to go once more to submerge himself in the barbarism from which he had come forth.

Since so many are the anecdotes related, I am not going to transcribe any of them nor am I going to deny them. I simply ask: What is the cause of these cases and these failures? If they are admitted; are they sufficient reason to state, in general, that all labor of regeneration and all attempts to incorporate them into our way of life are useless?

/68 cont./

156 are free persons, has his own moral conduct. And even though among the Indians there does not exist the great discrimination and complexity as among us, neither can we fall into the utopia of believing them identical to the point of repeating the saying that "their faces and their characters are like grains of rice."

577 Having made this reservation, we shall say that shame and modesty are words which form a part of the linguistic fund of these Indians and, consequently, the ideas of their moral fund. We speak of modesty in physiological actions and in the modest parts of the body; and of shame for immoral actions in the broadest sense of this word.

147. To say that clothing engenders modesty and not vice versa and to suppose that customs (mores) create the concept of morality and not the reverse is to invert the concepts provided by history and by intimate personal experience.

It is true that clothes produce a certain kind of accidental modesty; and thus, verbi gracia, those of us who use long robes or long trousers would be embarrassed to walk around with trousers up to the knee or a tunic that only comes halfway down the leg. But there is a minimum of /69/ clothing required by the minimum of natural modesty, whether they be the mythical fig leaves, the classic grape leaves, or the native loincloths made of glass beads, palm leaves, the neck of a gourd, or a /piece of/ tree bark /concha de arboles/. Thus it is that not even among the Pemón nor even among other even poorer and more isolated tribes, such as the Sapé, Arutaní, Sirianá, and Motilón, have we ever found an Indian in puris naturalibus, or a naked Indian. By means of trade with neighboring tribes or by their own industry they all manage not to be without at least a humble guayuco, loincloths, a covering of foliage, or whatever it might be called.

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/70 cont./

576 proboque, deteriora sequor," is a truth from the days in the Garden of Eden up to the present. And this is because from the desire to the deed, from the word to the act, there is a great gap. "It is necessary to confess that, even when we know what is good, we do not follow it, some out of laziness and others because we postpone virtue in favor of pleasure," many centuries ago the Latin poet, the Greek Euripedes, wrote.

151. We recognize, thus, the deficiencies of the Indians in the practice of good, but we affirm roundly their knowledge of morality. This would be a good occasion to repeat what was said by Msgr. Le Roy and previously referred to, but I am going to copy, rather, what Father Topinard says in his /Antropologia /Anthropology/, so that no one will think that we are talking just for the sake of talking or beating the air.

"Man," says the French writer, "is in no way distinct from animals as regards family: he is monogamous or polygamous and woman polyandrous like them.... Man unites, as they do, without scruple with his own relatives or relatives by marriage.... The father is the master of the life of his children, practices infanticide at will, without having to be circumspect, just as the son later gets rid of his old and infirm parents, who are a burden to him." This is what is called reciting by heart, not to say without understanding.

577 Much to the contrary, lying, stealing, disobeying parents on the part of minors, simple adultery (not to mention incest), simple homicide (not to mention parricide and infanticide), etc., seem to be firmly condemned in the daily life and the oral literature of the Indians.

575 152. Let us speak in particular of polygamy. With regard to this question not long ago an unperceptive journalist wrote that we missionaries had managed to clothe the Indians, but that we had not managed to clothe them in our Christian morality. With statistics in hand we can prove that polygamy, in spite of not being clearly reproved in the natives' moral code and in spite of having been quite widely practiced in

/71 cont./

Chapter XVIII

Are the Indians Grateful or Ungrateful?

154. A universal complaint. 155. Beggary. 156. Ingratitude through ignorance. 157. The legend of Makunaimá and of the Government. 158. There are no gifts among Indians. 159. Practical advice. 160. Pleasant memories.

154. One of the proverbs most widely spread against the Indians is the one which is contained like gall in its bladder in the thousand times repeated quatrain:

The Indian flees from work
And looks for idleness:
Where they beat him up, he stays,
Where they pay him, he goes away.

431 This matter of ingratitude is more than a common, uni-
577 versal complaint of all against all others. And the fact is that since "gratitude is an interminable debt," -- (for which reason it is very correctly said that money is worth more than favors), many make excessive use of their gifts, by always and endlessly asking for the loan of services. As a result of which there exists that other little verse:

"Give him always, don't give him one;
You haven't given him anything," /72/

which is a two-edged blade, which cuts equally ingrates and the excessively demanding.

155. Another very similar thing and one which many confuse with ingratitude is excessive asking for favors, from which doubtless missionaries and Indians suffer. However, I
[123] myself, who a great many times have suffered the bother of this defect (?) of the Indians through not being able to remedy

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have
538 gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/95 cont./

776 a) The Pemón do not have an autochthonous idea of a God Creator and Savior of each of his creatures, nor particularly of man. I believe very apt Joubert's statement: "Seeking words, ideas are found," and from it I deduce that, since the Pemón lack any word of their own to say "God," they also lack this concept. And I do remember with no little laughter that the "pra man, there is none," with which /96/ they answered someone who was interrogating them about this, was interpreted as the equivalent of "Brahma."

771 b) Their moral code, although it is known, is not made
● 577 dependent upon a supreme will, nor is it thought that moral actions might have the sanction of a reward or a positive punishment, external and not inherent to the action itself either in this life or in another one, although this life is clearly admitted with regard to its existence but very confusedly regarding its form and manner.

Those who state flatly that "there neither exists dogma without morality, nor morality without dogma," should explain this anomaly. I believe simply that they ought not to exist logically; but from this it cannot be deduced that they do not exist in fact.

782 c) No acts of worship are known of: neither of love and adoration, nor of sacrifice and placation. Neither are images or idols seen, nor anything, in general, of what makes up the external demonstrations of respect to God and his saints.

208. And in lieu of these three essential elements, they have the following:

776 a) A belief that each one of the species of animate and inanimate beings, which exists in the world, has its progenitor or its own primogenital ancestor, endowed with specific qualities, from whom individuals derive their faculties, of whom he is the protector and avenger in a purely physical order. These are the imá, the piá, said in generic form, and the potorí and the pachí, according to whether these ancestors or genealogical trees are considered masculine or feminine.

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

/67 cont./

159 himself in the field. But this time playing Kanaima did not
776 serve him any purpose, since his companion recognized him
578 and, far from being frightened, fell upon him with blows of a stick, so that, going for wool, he came back fleeced and, with his back redder than annatto, ran off to hid his sad fate.

144. The Indians themselves, for whom it is easier to let
538 the imagination run to create a tale than to tie together the
776 ends of various facts and ideas to form a well-reasoned out argument, have in their folklore this extremely significant story:

In a certain place there lived two Indians, each one married to the other's sister. During the night they heard Kanaima's whistle, who, or so it seemed, was going around the house with the intention of catching someone. One of the women with the greatest secrecy got down from the hammock and began to spin cotton. The Kanaima whistled again: Soé, soé. The Indian woman opened the door as though to throw out the seeds, and she saw the Kanaima hiding behind a tree. Then speaking in a loud voice in order to cover her intention, she said to her husband: Here is a rat which is eating up my cotton seeds, come shoot it with an arrow. Her husband leaped out of the hammock, picked up his bow, and approached his wife; she said in his ear: The Kanaima is there behind that pole, shoot it. The Kanaima was watching, fooled, to see what would come of that scene, when all of a sudden he received a blow with an arrow on his forehead. Protected by the darkness of the night, he went running to his rancho; to hide what had happened he told his mother that he was shooting at a toucan and that the arrow had come back and wounded him on the forehead.

When day came the Indian woman went to her mother's house and found her brother sick; her mother explained to her that in trying to shoot a toucan he had wounded himself. She returned to her house and told this to her husband. He suspected

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[576] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.

[535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.

[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[9], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[9] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 – Analysis]

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to become drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
● [578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

Marriage

●58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 576 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

Marriage

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583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
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563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
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563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

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848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
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162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

137 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages;
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595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

● 582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good."
[563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

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P /63 cont./
582 people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying
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P C 584 585 171 136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

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141

Adult Female Taurepanes; N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ±1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ±1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ±1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ±1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3±1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ±1.7	5.5 ±1.2	3.6± .8

141 144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these [582] [648] Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seeming contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekumas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekumas.

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 576 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

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582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good." [563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
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595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

539 [825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsera.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, [illegible] it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceíbo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

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/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

●584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
756 other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

Marriage

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584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

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539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kuriñata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimé-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asaɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

/61 cont./

581 131. When their daughters are capable of being mothers, their progenitors positively warn them of the obligations of the state /62/ of matrimony, especially that they have to be esenekama-yen, industrious, or, more literally, recipients full of work; in the same way they advise them to seek a husband for themselves, but that he must also be industrious, especially a good hunter and fisherman. (Concerning this latter see the very practical and expressive counsels of these patriarchs, which we transcribe in part in another place.)

584 132. "When their daughters have a fiancé or suitor, their parents observe in silence," (I continue copying from Ernesto) "and if they see that he not a very good worker and they don't like his behavior, they say so to their daughter, but in such a way that the fiancé hears it; this makes them despondent and to reflect. But also sometimes they visit each other at night without the parents finding out about it."

584 576 From what has just been said it can be deduced with how much reason the clearest manifestation that an Indian can make to a girl with whom he is in love or to a mother that he is in love with her daughter is to give them presents of game and fish. And the acceptance of these and, especially, the preparing and serving of them is a manifest sign of accepting his love or at least that he may court her. For the same reason it is not accepted as a rule of morality and of etiquette that an Indian girl should offer drink and food to anybody who is not her husband or her declared and accepted fiancé. How well does the proverb say that "gifts crack rocks!"

585 133. Marriage does not have any special ceremony; it is simply what is noted in Pimentel's account, which we shall copy later.

583 But after the union has taken place, the most generous Indians (and there are no lack of the other sort) usually remain for some time almost as though they were laborers for their parents-in-law, paying in some way for the delights and abilities of the beloved wife rather than the parents-in-law

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people in these cases usually exaggerate to the point of saying that "just as a dog joins with a bitch and a horse with a mare, thus an Indian man should marry an Indian woman, and a Creole a Creole." And they customarily also say that if Creoles want to marry their daughters, they must bring their sisters to marry Indian men.

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136. Now, so that the similarity of these Indians to the ancient Indians of Caracas can be seen, I am going to transcribe a paragraph of Pimentel's geographic account, which deals with the subject of marriages.

In regard to marriages and the absence of formalities and festivities, as well as the spontaneity and absolute liberty of those who contract it, the present-day situation also coincides with the ancient one of the Caracas Indians, of whom J. Pimentel writes: "In marriages they have this system: when an Indian finds an Indian woman who pleases him, he gives her to understand this with words, and if it seems to him that she responds favorably, he goes to her house, and if she gives him something to sit on and brings him a gourd bowl of water so that he can wash and puts out something for him to eat, he then understands the will of the girl and they go and sleep together without it seeming bad to her parents and relatives, and thus they are married, and in this marriage only their will keeps it going for a greater or lesser period of time." /64/

Chapter XVI

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What Should Be Understood By Kanaima?

137. The firm belief in Kanaima. 138. General statements. 139. Magic properties. 140. Are they happy with these ideas? 141. What is the missionaries' idea of the Kanaima?

Marriage

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586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
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684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

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848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
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Fig. 75 – Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

Marriage

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Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher.
[165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

125 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more
162 were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other
163 close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females
589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is
165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are,
[805] however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain-
[814] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none
165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

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589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

126 purposes analyses and comparisons of the various groups are adequate and more important and comprehensible than would be publication of all the raw data.

Kamarakoto measurements may be assumed to include only individuals from what I have called the central group. More remote individuals could not have been included in the correct proportions and would have made the homogeneity and representativeness of the sample uncertain. The central group samples are excellent and give good information on the population even though the samples are small. They necessarily include only individuals who visited camp and could be persuaded to be measured,[237] but any bias caused by this selection was carefully watched for and is believed not to have affected the final sample. The various subsamples (adult males, etc.) have been checked for age, geographic, and family distribution, and found to be distributed in all these respects in a way that would normally occur in completely random sampling with the entire central group available.

126 561 Measurements of children, although usually avoided by anthropologists, were also taken because they can provide interesting data on growth and no such data have hitherto been available for any comparable group. The records were, of course, carefully isolated from those of the adult groups. For the latter, three samples were separated: young adult males, fully adult males, and adult [589] females. The first is the bachelor group, which I have mentioned before as a concomitant of polygamy. They are fully mature but young men (probably around 20 years of age) who are considered to be adult and marriageable but are not yet married. At the time of recording they were believed to be fully grown, but the figures now reveal that as a group they are slightly but significantly smaller than the fully adult men. The latter are those who are certainly fully grown, married, and with children and include various ages, probably all between 20 and 50, in about the same proportions as the tribe as a whole. Among the women no young adult group can be distinguished and perhaps one or two recorded individuals had not quite reached their full stature, but if so this cannot have altered the data significantly.

128 141 In all the following tabular matter R = observed range, M = arithmetic mean, = standard deviation, V = coefficient of variation, d = deviation from the arithmetic mean, N = size of sample, P = probability of equal or greater deviation in random sampling of one population (as a fraction of 1.00), and X = an individual measurement, standard, not probable, errors are given. The word "significant" is used in all following paragraphs only in a fully technical sense and means that an objective statistical test of significance (using d/ = 3 or P = .01 as the limit unless otherwise stated) has been applied, even when the details or numerical results of such a test have not been explicitly published here.

141 The pertinent data for the three adult Kamarakoto groups are as follows:

237 [see footnote on pp. 334-335, category 116 - Analyst]

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 11b - Analyst]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[13] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-esa'.

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

● 592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

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5:Simpson, N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

283e

Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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881 [302] b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;

881 c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 841 521 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of [593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

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881 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip
593 her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised rató, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

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584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc...., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
● 593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

572 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

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583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

105 /90 cont./
[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and
[593] these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they
respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more;
and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make
him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[939] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women gen[illegible]y spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not [illegible] their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

157 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

152 [593] parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together 857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 855 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much [861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion. 854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a [853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and 155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt 854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 [1 2] Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They 842 [897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 [514] The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that [291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

137 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; [684] although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good." [563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

/70 cont./

proboque, deteriora sequor," is a truth from the days in the Garden of Eden up to the present. And this is because from the desire to the deed, from the word to the act, there is a great gap. "It is necessary to confess that, even when we know what is good, we do not follow it, some out of laziness and others because we postpone virtue in favor of pleasure," many centuries ago the Latin poet, the Greek Euripedes, wrote.

151. We recognize, thus, the deficiencies of the Indians in the practice of good, but we affirm roundly their knowledge of morality. This would be a good occasion to repeat what was said by Msgr. Le Roy and previously referred to, but I am going to copy, rather, what Father Topinard says in his /Antropologia /Anthropology/, so that no one will think that we are talking just for the sake of talking or beating the air.

"Man," says the French writer, "is in no way distinct from animals as regards family: he is monogamous or polygamous and woman polyandrous like them.... Man unites, as they do, without scruple with his own relatives or relatives by marriage.... The father is the master of the life of his children, practices infanticide at will, without having to be circumspect, just as the son later gets rid of his old and infirm parents, who are a burden to him." This is what is called reciting by heart, not to say without understanding.

577 Much to the contrary, lying, stealing, disobeying parents on the part of minors, simple adultery (not to mention incest), simple homicide (not to mention parricide and infanticide), etc., seem to be firmly condemned in the daily life and the oral literature of the Indians.

595 152. Let us speak in particular of polygamy. With regard to this question not long ago an unperceptive journalist wrote that we missionaries had managed to clothe the Indians, but that we had not managed to clothe them in our Christian morality. With statistics in hand we can prove that polygamy, in spite of not being clearly reproved in the natives' moral code and in spite of having been quite widely practiced in

/70 cont./

595 ancient times, today does not reach the figure among the Pemón Indians of even three per cent. This is due, and we must recognize it, to the leavening of Christianity which the missionaries have worked into this native dough for several generations from Brazil and the Guianas. Thus, in all, concerning the polygamy of the Indians, we must say with Msgr. Jorge Caruana that, as they practiced it, it is preferable to the prevalent pandering and divorce which is sanctioned /71/ in so many countries, since the latter certainly is polygamy and polyandry in fact although not simultaneous but successive.

000 153. Let there still be heard this other statement by Topinard: "Only man must have the notion of duty. Could this be true?.... His most certain criterion, 'do not do unto others what you do not want them to do unto you,' is as applicable to animals as it is to man. The dog knows that in order not to be bitten he must not to bite, and he operates accordingly. He also has his morality." The dog neither knows such a thing nor learns it as morality. In any case, this is only the negative part of morality, thou shall not hurt. Where is the positive part, thou shalt love, kindness to strangers, self-sacrifice to meet the needs of others?

I believe that the curiosity of the one who asks this question must be satisfied. We shall not get into minute details because the nature of this publication does not allow it and because we believe that what we have said is sufficient for those who are going to the Indians in search of the truth and without preconceptions.

P
601

Sib of the same sex	(Older	(Male	- rüiko
	(	(Female	- pasi
	(Younger		- akon
Sib of the opposite sex	(Brother of a female		- pi(rika)
	(Sister of a male		- paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P [595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P M 601 171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	(Father - papai	pa-pa
	(Mother - paikõi[169]	ma-ma
General	(Father - yun	(y)un
	(Mother - san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

Marriage

58
178 Like some other customs, marriage among the Kamarakotos seems to be in course of modification in two directions: by the simplification or omission of old elements, social custom once having been both more complex and more rigid than it is now, and by a tendency, encouraged by the more "progressive" men, to approximate Venezuelan customs as far as these are known. Neither of these trends is, however, as yet strong enough markedly to have modified Kamarakoto society. Thus there is a definite feeling that polygamy and what are, by other standards, incestuous unions are not to be encouraged, but both are still common, and, as illustrating the other trend, bride-purchase as an essential requisite has been abandoned, but clear vestiges of it survive.

585 Marriage in a Venezuelan legal sense is, of course, non-existent. There is no authority or register for civil marriage and no priest for religious marriage.
581 Nevertheless it is proper to speak of marriage and not, as a somewhat stiff-spined student in British Guiana has done, merely of "the cohabitation of male
[588] and female." More casual cohabitation certainly occurs but it is clearly distinguished, even by the Indians, from marriage, a union which is by intention permanent and in which the social and economic considerations are at least as strong as the sexual. The fact that the ceremonies and formalities in vogue in civilized communities are omitted does not alter the fact that this is true marriage in all proper senses of the word.

584 The initiative in marriage may be taken by any of the parties concerned, the man, the woman, and the woman's parents. The man's parents are apparently not considered to be interested parties. Marriage does not take place without consent of the bride and normally the consent of her parents, or at least
583 of her mother, is likewise required. Presents may be given to the bride's parents,
584 and especially to her mother, by the prospective groom, but I was assured that this is by way of persuasion and to promote good feeling and not a prerequisite
[178] to the obtaining of the woman. Nevertheless, this probably is a vestige of the formerly widespread, probably universal, custom of bride-purchase. The purchase commonly took the form of personal service to the bride's father, and a typical example of this occurs in the Kamarakoto legend of Maichak, but this custom has largely been dropped. The groom, naturally well disposed toward the bride's parents, may voluntarily assist them but is never, I was told, obliged
[562] to do so. The repeated emphasis on the bride's mother, rather than her father, is also peculiar and is significant of the relatively high status of women in the tribe.

585 There are no ceremonies or formalities of any sort. When the parties are agreed, the bride and groom simply start living together.

● 595 The Kamarakotos are polygamous, that is, polygynous. There was some
177 reticence in supplying information as to numbers of wives, an indication of

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
595 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
[556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any ac-
[185] cumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances war-
[854] rant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
[404] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

P 220
M
601 Sex of parent,
171 (referred to, or the speaker).

Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.	Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).	mumu (umu)	mure
Male	(y)entsi	enji	
Female	(u)rmɛ	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	(u)rmɛ	(not given)	
Female	manon		

(u)rmɛ and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

P [597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tatamo
Grandmother	noiʔ	no, go-go

P [888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	paʔ	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[529] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
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out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
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[1 2] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
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their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

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in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
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quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

1 [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

601 [128] The following relationship words are merely listed here for completeness as it is necessary to define them in detail on a latter page.

Brother, sister:

49. pazi
50. akon
51. upi uyadeta
52. pirika
53. paruchi uyadeta
54. paruchi
55. *rüiko (see discussion below)
56. yakon

Child:

57. *manon (see below)
58. *urm (see below)
59. yentsi
60. mumun, (u)mo

Adopted child:

61. narimanga

Parent:

62. *paikõi (see below)
63. papai
64. san
65. yun

Spouse:

66. *tamupüi (see below)
67. *nopüi (see below)

Grandparent:

68. *noiʾ (see below, under nopui)
69. *tamo (see below, under nopui)

Grandchild:

70. paʾ

Nephew, niece

71. poitoru
72. patsɛ

Relatives by marriage:

73. payumu
74. payun
75. nopuyun
76. yawoiʾ-pə
77. tamõipuyun
78. yetsɛ
79. yeruiʾ

●601

80. pan̪tsi
81. pipi

Aunt, uncle (also some relatives by marriage):

82. ˈawo (see below, under wari)
83. ˈwari (see below)
84. mui
85. wani

*197 601 171 [114] Etymological notes on relationship words. Comparisons of Kamarakoto relationship words with the similar Makuchi words are given in discussing relationship concepts in general on a later page. Comparison in detail with Taurepan concepts is impossible because the only reliable source, Koch-Grünberg, is in this respect inadequate since he almost never fully defines the Taurepan words. Generally his roots are recognizably the same as those I have recorded for Kamarakoto, e.g.: Kamarakoto (u)mo, Taurepan (K.-G.) (u)mu; K. tamo, T. (K.-G.) -ta:mo; K. awo, T. (K.-G.) a:uo; K. poitoru, T. (K.-G.) poitolũ; etc. Koch-Grünberg gives a few roots in Taurepan that I have not recorded in Kamarakoto: naˈnai, "older sister," moyi, "younger brother," ukeipone, "father-in-law," wa:ˈnemule, "sister-in-law." These may possibly occur in Kamarakoto, but at most they are not the usual words to express these ideas in that language. The following are a few of the more striking verbal differences between the two dialects in this field:

Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ayikeˈ, "older brother," and a:ˈyekeˈ, "male cousin." These appear to be forms of the same word. In Kamarakoto an older brother is rũiko or pi (uyadeta), depending on the sex of the person of reference, and a male cousin is simply called "brother" if a relationship word is used at all. rui, etc., incorporated in the Kamarakoto rũiko, is a common Carib root. I do not place ayikeˈ.

Kamarakoto paikõi "mother" (in direct address). Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) a:mai. Forms like amai, mamai mama, etc., are widespread in Carib languages. paikõi, with slight vocalic variations, seems to be confined to Kamarakoto and a few adjacent groups of dubious tribal classification.

Kamarakoto (u)rmɛ, "son of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) (u)lumɛ: Makuchi (Williams) (u)-n-re. Cumanagoto (Adam) (y)-ena-r. The evident equivalence of the roots -rm- and -nr- is an interesting case of metathesis (combined with the permutation m=n). It is not apparent which is the older form; -nr- appears to be more common but -rm- appears in dialects that are generally rather archaic. This word means primarily "son," of (or with respect to) his mother, and secondarily it means "child," son or daughter, of a mother, that is, it is the word used by or to a woman in referring to her children. It is thus quite distinct from the (at least) equally widespread root mure (murɛ, mulɛ, mɔlɛ, etc.) which means primarily "child" (son or daughter) of

*197 a father and is usually used by males or in speaking of the child-father relationship but in Kamarakoto means "offspring" in general. It is not impossible that the two roots are connected in origin (in which case -nr- is probably older than -rm-), but they became differentiated at a very ancient period as they are distinct in almost all dialects. mure is also and more obviously related to mu, mumu, etc., a root that means "son" with respect to his father.[46]

Kamarakoto manon, "daughter of a female." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) ma:ˀnon, "female cousin." Makuchi (Williams) (e)-ma-non, "young, unmarried female." Here there is no question of identity or identification of the root, but the varying significance attached to it in these three dialects is interesting. Williams suggests comparison with Makuchi e-mai-non, "the first one." Despite the strong phonetic resemblance, it is hard to see a probable connection in meaning.

Kamarakoto wari. This means primarily "woman, female," but my informants also gave it as a relationship word meaning "woman's paternal aunt" or "woman's mother-in-law." Now Williams gives -awobu for "woman's paternal aunt" in Makuchi and Koch-Grünberg gives the cognate (y)auopa for "mother-in-law"[47] in Taurepan. This clearly is the special word for this particular relationship concept; lost in Kamarakoto (or at least not known to my informants — of course others in the tribe may know it as an uncommon word) and replaced by the noncommittal wari. Note, however, that the basic root-element of awobu does occur in Kamarakoto as awo, "woman's maternal uncle" or "woman's father-in-law" and in Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) as a:uo defined simply as "uncle," but doubtless here also "woman's maternal uncle." The root is widespread in Carib, see de Goeje No. 26.

Kamarakoto tamupũi (also tamõipu- in compounds), "husband." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) -ti:yemu(n). Makuchi (Williams) ni-yo, -nyo. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)tamupa. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nyo. For discussion see next word.

Kamarakoto nopũi (also nopu- in compounds), "wife." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) nopa. Makuchi (Williams) no-bu. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) nopa. Purukoto (Adam) (u)-peti. Galibi (Adam) puiti. Bakairi (Adam) (i)-witi.

In addition to a few rare and peculiar forms, there are in Carib dialects two general roots for "husband," -nyo and tamu + suffix -pu (and variants), of which the former is more widespread, and two for "wife," piti (and wide variants) and no + suffix -pu (etc.), of which the latter is more widespread. Even in languages in which -nyo and piti are used for "husband" and "wife," the roots tamu and no (without suffix -pu) generally occur and their usual meanings are "grandfather, old man" and "grandmother, old woman." For instance in Kamarakoto, itself, tamo (= tamu) and noiˀ (- no) have these meanings. Thus -nyo and piti (etc.) may be considered as primary roots for "husband" and "wife" and tamu + pu and no + pu as secondary or compound words with the

46, 47 [see footnotes on p.311, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (u)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.
*197
411

86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.
87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.
Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):
88. *upalari. Taurepan, əpalari.
89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").
90. waibakari.
91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.
92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.
93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.
94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai'. Taurepan kura', Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.
95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.
96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa'.
97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa'.
98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yɛ.
99. Container for tree-cotton — tsimui'.
100. Dart poison (curare) — kumawara.
101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa.
[177] Makuchi (Williams) a[illegible]a-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiöld, 1922).
*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi'.
*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi' yeba.
227 104. Fish-trap — muroi'.
105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — inɛ'.[48]
Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):
106. *iru'. Taurepan, kari', but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

48 [see footnote on p. 311, category 11b — Analyst]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
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Relationship Concepts

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[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

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P M 601 171

Sibs (brothers and sisters): There is no general word for "brother," or for "sister." The relationship must be more exactly specified than it is by these generalized European concepts, which specify only the sex of the person referred to. In Kamarakoto it is necessary to specify (a) the sex of the person referred to, (b) the sex of the person of reference, and (c) their relative ages. The logical and full system thus involved is as follows:

Sex of person referred to	Sex of person of reference	Relative age of person referred to	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Older	rüiko	wi, rui
Male	Male	Younger	(y)akon	moyi, akon
Male	Female	Older	(u)pi uyadetə	warathato, pipi
Male	Female	Younger	pirika	pi
Female	Male	Older	paruchi uyadetə	e-na-ru, na-na, na-nan
Female	Male	Younger	paruchi	we-ri-chi
Female	Female	Older	pasi	pa-chi, tu
Female	Female	Younger	akon	akon

In both languages yakon, akon, has also a more general use to represent a collateral relative of undefined degree and (sometimes) a close friend. Several of these words are also used for relationships, especially those of cousins, which we do not but the Indians do consider to be of the same sort as brother and sisterhood.

It is evident that neither tribe is absolutely logical or complete in its classification. The Kamarakotos do and the Makuchis can apply the same word, akon,[168] to a younger sib of the same sex, i.e. to the younger brother of a male and the younger sister of a female. The Kamarakotos, but not the Makuchis, also use essentially one word for brother of a female, pirika and pi (the essential root of pirika), and one for sister of a male, paruchi, distinguishing an older brother or sister, if necessary, by uyadetə, which means an older person generally. The modified system toward which the Kamarakotos are plainly tending could thus be shown as follows:

P 601

168 [see footnote on p.327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sib of the same sex	(Older	(Male	- rũiko
	(	(Female	- pasi
	(Younger		- akon
Sib of the opposite sex	(Brother of a female		- pi(rika)
	(Sister of a male		- paruchi

This is a system that specifies whether the parties are of the same sex or not and specifies the sexes of both except in the case of a younger sib of the same sex, but that specifies relative ages only for older sibs of the same sex.

The peculiar psychological orientation or category-formation here is fairly obvious and very interesting.

P [595] Half-sibs are naturally abundant in a polygamous society like this, but the relationship is on the same footing as if both parents were the same and no special terms or concepts are involved.

P M 601 171 Parents: In referring to a parent the sex of the person of reference (the child) is not taken into account and, as in European languages, only the sex of the parent is specified. There are, however, two forms of each word, one for direct address, used only in speaking to one's own parent, and the other general, used in speaking about any parent, including one's own.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Direct address	(Father - papai	pa-pa
	(Mother - paikõi[169]	ma-ma
General	(Father - yun	(y)un
	(Mother - san	san

There are no special words for stepparents or for the wife of a father who is not the natural mother of the child concerned — these relationships are considered as if they involved natural parenthood.

Children: In referring to children the sex of both parties is specified, that is, relationship of a parent to a male child is specified as different from that to a female child, more or less as in European languages, and, unlike European languages, relationship of a father to a child is also specified as distinct from that of a mother. Of course, the question of relative age does not arise here.

169 A [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

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Sex of parent, (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.	Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).	mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi	enji	
Female	Male	(u)rmɛ	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon	(not given)	

(u)rmɛ and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

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[597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tatamo
Grandmother	noi³	no, go-go

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[888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":

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Grandson	- pa-waraton, literally	"grandchild-male"
Granddaughter	- pa-wari, "	"grandchild-female"

Aunt, uncle, parents-in-law: Aunts and uncles may be designated descriptively, e.g. papai-yakon, literally "papa-younger brother," i.e. younger brother of father. In this case, however, the concept is of relationship between the brothers, of whom one is specified, and not really the uncle-nephew relationship. In dealing more directly with this latter relationship, special words are used which depend on the sex of all three parties, that is, of the person of reference (the nephew or niece), of the parent through whom the relationship exists, and of the person referred to (uncle or aunt).

Sex of person referred to	Sex of intermediary	Sex of person of reference	Kamarakoto word	Makuchi word (Williams)
Male	Male	Male	"father" i.e. papai, yun	intoon (not given) — papai
Male	Male	Female		
Male	Female	Male	mui	tori
Male	Female	Female	awo	awo
Female	Male	Male	wani	wan
Female	Male	Female	wari	awobu
Female	Female	Male	"mother," i.e. paikŏi, san	mamai
Female	Female	Female		

[E.g. mui means "maternal uncle of a male," wari "paternal aunt of a female," etc.]

It is seen that special words are used for mother's brother (maternal uncle) and father's sister (paternal aunt) and that these are different for male and female (nephew and niece), but that for either sex a father's brother is addressed and spoken of as if he were the father, and a mother's sister as if she were the mother. This interesting classification is not merely verbal. In a sense, a paternal uncle is a father and, for instance, if a child's father dies or is away, this uncle takes the place of the father to the child in every respect. (But in Makuchi Williams does give a separate word for man's paternal uncle.)

The relationship between any person and the parents of that person's husband or wife is considered to be of the same degree as that between a person and his or her mother's brothers and father's sisters. Thus:

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	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Father of husband - woman's maternal uncle -	awo	(Not given)
Mother of husband - woman's paternal aunt -	wari	(Not given)
Father of wife - man's maternal uncle -	mui	tori
Mother of wife - man's paternal aunt -	wani	wanə

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These words are (in Kamarakoto) those generally used in direct address. In speaking of the person to someone else, it is usual to be more specific and special adjectival phrases for parents-in-law are then usually used:

Father of husband - tamōipuyun (for tamupiii - yun)
Mother of husband - yawoiʔ-pə
Father of wife - nopuyun (for nopiii-yun)
Mother of wife - yawoiʔ-pə

— thus yawoiʔ-pə is "mother-in-law" generally and a father-in-law is called "husband's father" or "wife's father" as the case may be.

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Nephew, niece: As with "aunt" and "uncle" the words used for "nephew" and "niece" involve not only the sex of the person referred to but also of the person through whom the relationship exists, i.e. of a parent of the nephew or niece. It would be expected that the sex of the person of reference, i.e. of the aunt or uncle, would also be involved. According to my informants this is not the case. The sex of person of reference is involved in words for "aunt" and "uncle," complimentary to those for "nephew" and "niece," and it is hinted at in Makuchi, which otherwise is rather close to Kamarakoto in these respects.

	Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Male child of man's brother - "son," i.e.	mumun	Not given.
" " " woman's " - "son," i.e.	(u)rmɛ (?)	
Female " " man's " - "daughter," i.e.	yentsi	
" " " woman's " - "daughter," i.e.	manon (?)	
Male " " man's sister -	poitoru	Not given, but see below.
" " " woman's " -	poitoru (?)	
Female " " man's " -	patsɛ	pase
" " " woman's " -	patsɛ (?)	amu

Although Williams gives only the words for the daughter of a sister, they show a classification based on the sexes of all three persons involved. A root

P M 601 171 evidently cognate with poitoru occurs in Makuchi (Williams) i-(poi-to-rə̃ʔ)-be-wai, "serve (?)," which Williams compares with pai-to, son-in-law of a male, or any subordinate young man. Whether or not this rather dubious comparison is valid, it is likely that this poi-to-raʔ is connected with Kamarakoto poitoru, which seems otherwise not to have been identified in Makuchi or related languages except in Taurepán where Koch-Grünberg gives poitolę (= poitore or poitorũ) as "son-in-law" or "nephew" without the essential further specification.

P 601 Cousins: My Kamarakoto informants disclaimed knowledge of any special words for cousins. Under certain circumstances cousins would be considered as brothers or sisters and so spoken of. For instance a boy or girl calls his or her paternal uncle "father" and if the child lives with or in close association with this male's family he or she will call the uncle's children, actually cousins, "brother" and "sister," using the words appropriate as to relative age.

M 601 P 171 Of the six words given by Williams as meaning "cousin" in Makuchi, four seem to be more or less random examples of this same sort of system, e.g. a boy calls his father's brother's son (presumably younger than himself) mo-yi, which is Makuchi for "younger brother of a male." e-ru, which means "husband's sister" is also defined as a female's mother's brother's daughter. The only special word for "cousin," defined as a male's father's brother's son (for which, however, two other words are also given), given by Williams in Makuchi is -a-mi-bə̃. This word, curiously, is practically identical with that for fifth ("little") toe or finger. It seems very doubtful whether Makuchi, any more than Kamarakoto, really has a special nomenclature for the cousin relationship.

P M 601 171 If the sexes of all four persons concerned were considered, a complete system would involve sixteen classes, and if relative ages within each of the two generations were considered, sixty-four terms would be necessary. Needless to say, no Carib language really carries this to its logical extreme.

Husband and wife: No concept of relative age is here involved and the relationship automatically specifies the sex of both when one is mentioned, so the words have the same general limits as in European languages.

		Kamarakoto	Makuchi (Williams)
Husband	-	tamupũi	ni-yo, -nyo
Wife	-	nopũi	no-bu, -pə-san

Except, possibly, for adjectival differentiation when necessary, no distinction is made between the words applied to the various different wives of one man.

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601 Other relatives by marriage: In speaking of a son- or daughter-in-law, the sex of the person of reference (father- or mother-in-law) is not considered:

Son-in-law	without a child	- payunu
	with a child	- payun
Daughter-in-law		- patsɛ

payun means the actual and payunu apparently means the potential father of one's grandchild, pa "grandchild" + yun "father."

patsɛ is the same word as for the daughter of one's sister, an equivalence analogous to using the same word for mother-in-law as for paternal aunt.

M 601 In Makuchi, Williams gives pa-se (cognate with patsɛ) for daughter-in-law, but specifies that it is used by males, and he gives pai-to (related to Ma-
P 171 kuchi (pai-to-rə, "servant," and not to Kamarakoto payun) for man's son-in-law. He does not give words used by females for a son- or daughter-in-law,
P 601 although he specifies that the words given are used by males (only ?).

In speaking of brothers- and sisters-in-law the sexes both of the person of reference and of the person referred to are involved.

Husband's brother	-	pipi
Husband's sister	-	yerui'
Wife's brother	-	(y)etsɛ
Wife's sister	-	parətsi

M [60] In Makuchi, Williams does not give these words, but he does note that pi, Makuchi word for younger brother of a female, sometimes means husband's
P [171] brother. The Kamarakotos distinguish the words for woman's brother, pi, pirika, from that for husband's brother, pipi.

On the other hand, the Kamarakoto word for wife's sister, recorded as parətsi, seems to be cognate with that for a man's younger sister, paruchi, and I am not sure that they are not simply pronunciations of the same word by different persons or in different contexts, but I think not.

A man calls any woman whom he knows well but to whom he is not particularly related parətsi, i.e. "sister-in-law." A woman similarly calls male friends pipi, "brother-in-law." There is no analogous word for a man's male or a woman's female friends. yetsɛ and yerui' were specifically stated not to be used in this way, and a man cannot use the word pipi or a woman the word parətsi without ridicule.

192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vemacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near anke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mɔlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingariko and umlɛ (= -mɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

[1] [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

534 171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482 171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

●601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

123 674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

123 436 439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.[1]

[1] [For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analysis]

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P 601

168 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
● 606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

/76 cont./

584 their daughters (and the more so when they find themselves
581 older and less able to work) that they not marry an Indian who is too young, or an Indian who does not know how to weave baskets, sebucanes, guayares, etc..., or Indians of short stature; that on the contrary they prefer one who is already mature, an early riser, one who wets his knees with the saliva of the stars (dew), one who stains his arms with mud and with earthworms' feces or the flesh caught by his fishhook, one who has undergone the incisions or "oaouek" and the "eseunakipa" or indigestion /sic -- "ingestion"/ through the nasal passage of magic remedies so that he may be a clever hunter and fisher, etc.

152 Possibly the Indians are of a less violent nature than we; and there is no doubt but that they are more long-suffering and patient, they hide their feelings better, and thus they manage to have a more placid life.

576 167. Rules of etiquette. The Indians follow their rules in greetings and farewells, in their modest banquets for guests and strangers, and in discussions themselves.

576 For those who like to blame and scorn the natives, I can
593 transcribe a small detail of their daily life: The Indian asks for water from his wife, and she, if there is any, will bring him kachirí after having tried it herself. When I asked them why they did that and why they asked for it in that way, they told me that they always asked for water in case there should be no kachirí, so that the woman would not be embarrassed. And she always /77/ tries everything before serving it as a sign of union and mutual confidence.

[609] Without an order from her husband a woman will never present food or drink to any strange man.

[264] On the arrival of strangers, the women will eat apart and after the men.

512 Let it also be noted that, once the "atapontén seré" has been said, it is time to lie down; the serious and formal Indians (and I say it because there is no lack of more or less headstrong

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuíba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
61 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

/87 cont./

890 public, without their being any stable domestic life between man and woman." He continues discoursing (misleading or misled) upon "the period of transition from the promiscuous horde to the clan" with polygyny and polygamy at will, arriving (after such a long road) at the family, "which perhaps was formed parallel" with the previously described plural forms.

190. It would be very lengthy and beside the point if we were to set out to investigate the development of human organization in general /88/ or, in particular, of the Caribe Indians, to which race the Pemón belong. Let us get to the point. And the point is that these literary deliriums, which are repugnant to the senses, are rejected both by prehistory and by modern ethnography. Both of these together tell us that at the beginning was and is the family, the biological, economic, and cultural unit, the basis of all other consociations. It is possible that many races do not develop beyond the family organization, but none of them comes down from this rung or from this minimum level, which is not reached after lengthy evolutions but which was the state in which mankind was constituted.

621 This is precisely the situation of the Pemón Indians. After several centuries (who knows how many), they do not go beyond the limits of the family with regard to organization, a consociation for obtaining food (and in general the mutual aid of the consorts) and raising children; that is, the preservation of the individuals and the perpetuation of the species. They are, therefore, a horde, not in the previously mentioned sense, but as a "group of families descending from a common trunk and who live in a specific territory."

621 191. The whole organization of the Indian captains or
622 tusaué, beginning with the name, is an exotic one, imposed by missionaries or explorers (commercial or scientific), who conceived of the life of the Indians as molded like our own. Among them there only exists the epuru, a generic word derived

/88 cont./

621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
592 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
621 gather about him several other families, either in individual
622 houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
571 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two
578 plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
127 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included
162

/90 cont./

583 584 [593] 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 606 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 622 643 [651] 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization, the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 [622] And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone [264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better, [554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any 756 other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to?-esa?)	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621 622	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-mota, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba?.	Pablo Abati.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

103	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
162	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
551	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
●621 622			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

342 longitudinal ridge-pole that runs between the upright posts and projects be-
335 yond each to support also the roof-poles of the semicircular ends. The straight ridge is thus longer than (up to twice as long as) the straight part of the walls and the main uprights are only about two-thirds as high as would be necessary for a circular house of radius comparable to the ends of the elongate house. Uprights intermediate between the two central uprights and the wall are few in number (usually only four) and near the walls, keeping the center of the house relatively clear, and serve rather to support transverse rafters and storage racks than to reenforce the roof.

343 The basic plan of the wall-less shelter consists of six uprights, two sup-
335 porting the ridge pole and two shorter ones on each side supporting an eave-pole. A transverse rafter is usually run across each end between the corner poles. In the larger and more typical open work-houses, the plan is complicated by adding an upright in the middle of each side, as an additional support for the eave-pole, and a central support is also provided for the ridge-pole. In order to keep the center of the shelter free, the latter support is usually not by a pole sunk in the ground but by one rising from a transverse rafter (see Fig. 4B).

342 An imperfect smoke-vent is sometimes left just under the end of the ridge
[354] pole in the elongate houses. Otherwise there is no provision for the exit of smoke and the inside of the roof of a house that has been occupied for any length of time is heavily coated with tar and soot. The floor is simply the natural earth of the locality. The first act in building a house is to clear the grass and other vegetation from the floor area and for a meter or so beyond
[353] where the house wall is to be. There are no internal walls or subdivisions of any sort except that heavy equipment, such as the hollowed logs for casave and cachiri, is often piled between the two uprights of an elongated house, leaving a relatively free passage around this central barrier on both sides.

Windows are never provided. Doors, of less than normal adult height, always have a vertical wall-post on each side and usually a second post a few centimeters inside each of these, so that a very short passage is provided. At
[285] night a palm leaf mat (or, rarely, hewn boards) is lashed to these inner posts to close the opening.

Uruyén.

● 621 It is misleading to speak of a Kamarakoto village, since the typical inhabited place has only one family-group, which may include one to three, rarely more, adult men with their families, and seldom has more than one or two occupied dwellings. Real village accumulations with several unrelated
[101] family-groups do not occur. Uruyén, where most of my information was gathered, is here used as an example of a Kamarakoto inhabited place.

[text continues on p. 120]

342 343 824 [768]

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

342 343 The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

●621 592 342 343 [166] In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

592 768 [766] F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

1 [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such
621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-
622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called toʔ-esaʔ, but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the
[621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its toʔ-esaʔ, and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most
[578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the toʔ-esaʔ is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as
[183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no
643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective toʔ-esaʔ. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal
643 group superior to the local autonomy of the toʔ-esaʔ. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point
[191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a toʔ-esaʔ over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

/87 cont./

890 public, without their being any stable domestic life between man and woman." He continues discoursing (misleading or misled) upon "the period of transition from the promiscuous horde to the clan" with polygyny and polygamy at will, arriving (after such a long road) at the family, "which perhaps was formed parallel" with the previously described plural forms.

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621 This is precisely the situation of the Pemón Indians. After several centuries (who knows how many), they do not go beyond the limits of the family with regard to organization, a consociation for obtaining food (and in general the mutual aid of the consorts) and raising children; that is, the preservation of the individuals and the perpetuation of the species. They are, therefore, a horde, not in the previously mentioned sense, but as a "group of families descending from a common trunk and who live in a specific territory."

621 191. The whole organization of the Indian captains or
● 622 tusauá, beginning with the name, is an exotic one, imposed by missionaries or explorers (commercial or scientific), who conceived of the life of the Indians as molded like our own. Among them there only exists the epurú, a generic word derived

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621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
● 622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

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583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any
756 other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162	Name of place	Head man (to'-esa')	Number of men
551	KAMARATA:		
621	Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
622	Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
	Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
	Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
			Total in Kamarata - 11
	AKANAMUINTA:		
	Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
	Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
	Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
			Total in Akanamuinta-12
	AKANAN VALLEY:		
	Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
		(Lorenzo.[99]	3
	Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
	Maibá-mota, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel.[99]	4
	Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
	Ipupaipuñ.	Rolando.	4
	Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
	Uaikimba'.	Pablo Abari.	1
	Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

103	Benné.	Lorenzo.[99]	3
162	Amidán.	José Rangel.[99]	4
551	Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2
621			
622			Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4
		Total in Karao Valley-11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2
	Total others -	7
	Total men in central group -	78

162 The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or
125 shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming
161 another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be
[167] several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really
[119] a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957)
[101] gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

592 621 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 622 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the [621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most [578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as [183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 643 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal 643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point [191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some toʔ-esaʔ, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called toʔ-epuruʔ), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in toʔ-esaʔ, but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[124] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a toʔ-esaʔ.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

643 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does
631 not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekumas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekumas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority
[619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuma tribe, since the Arekumas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the
622 Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a
643 household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means
171 treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Ka-
601 marakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more spe-
114 cific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are
[126] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other
[128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

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Fig. 84 — Kamarakoto Adult Man.
No. 8, "Reyes," to'-esa' of Uruyén.

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5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

Fig. 88 – Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

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461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[474] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[685] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

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621 from epũ, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

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621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
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[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Makuchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Makuchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 87 34 [628] [459] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

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Relationship Concepts

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756 neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

571 The social organization among most of the Indians of this broad region
171 is very loose, with few formal offices or ceremonies. The Caribs in general
178 seem seldom to have had any very elaborate or rigid form of government and the great simplicity of the society of those of this region may be correlated with their living in small, rather isolated family groups and with the lack of necessity, in recent years, for uniting and organizing for any important cooperative undertaking, such as war.

592 The social unit is the family group, consisting of all the persons living
621 at one place. This may include more than one married man with his family and if so the two or more natural families that fall into the single Kamarakoto social family unit are frequently but not necessarily related. For instance, at Uruyén there are two adult males with families, one of whom is married to the sister of the other. They live in different houses but constitute, in the Kamarakoto sense, a single family group. Quite unrelated persons may, with

592 permission of the family head, be accepted into such a family group. Such
621 persons are not adopted in any formal way, nor are they considered to be relatives if they are not so by blood or marriage, but they are, on sufferance, integral members of the household and subject to its habits and discipline.

592 Such a group always has a single head, who is an adult, married, able-
622 bodied man. He is not necessarily the oldest man in the group, but acquires his status by natural force of character, by being the first to settle at that particular spot, or the like. There is no formal election or selection of such a group-leader, who is called to'-esa', but we could not learn that any misunderstandings, friction, or defiance had ever resulted from the informality of the
[621] system. If another male member of the group is dissatisfied with his subordinate position, he is free at any time to move away and start his own group as its to'-esa', and this occasionally happens.

The authority of such a headman or local group-leader is almost exactly analogous in form and substance to that of the male head of a family in most
[578] European societies. The family spirit is friendly and co-operative, seldom involving any friction or discipline, and in general the status of the to'-esa' is only that of a leader among equals. His opinion is the most valued and he is looked to for decisions and leadership in matters involving the family group as
[183] a whole. He is responsible for seeing that necessities are provided, and if need be toward this end he orders the labors of the others, but in general their duties are so well understood and so willingly undertaken by all that an "order" in any stringent sense is hardly necessary.

631 It is evident that many Indians of the region recognize or are aware of no
● 643 authority beyond the very local one of their respective to'-esa'. Within the central group there is, however, a chief who is formally recognized as such by all the local households and who exercises a general supervision over the tribal
643 group superior to the local autonomy of the to'-esa'. This official is called teburu (or tepuru), which may be rendered as cacique (or perhaps more nearly in accord with coloquial Venezuelan, "capitán," although from a broader point
[191] of view "cacique" is a better word). At present the cacique of the tribe is Alejo-Calcaño, a full-blooded member of the tribe although he is one of the two or three who speak Spanish and who have spent some time in Venezuelan towns.

The authority of the cacique over the various different households is almost exactly analogous to that of a to'-esa' over the members of a single household. It rests on prestige, custom, and consent rather than on force or on any formulated legal basis or religious theory. His office is not hereditary in principle, although sometimes so in fact, and rests on no supernatural designation, ordeal, or other mode of selection beyond informal consent. Tenure is for life and on the death of a cacique a new one is chosen by discussion and agreement, without any set form of election or anything resembling a tribal parliament.

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some toʔ-esaʔ, or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called toʔ-epuruʔ), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in toʔ-esaʔ, but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[124] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a toʔ-esaʔ.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

643 631 The extent of this authority, such as it is, is most ill-defined. It does not clearly and definitely extend beyond the central group of the Kamarakotos and even here many of the Indians never have practical occasion to recognize it, although none would deny it. The Kamarakotos and Kamarakoto-like Indians of the Caroní and other more remote parts are aware of the cacique only when they have occasion to visit the central group. They appear to have no cacique of their own and those that did visit the central group during our stay verbally recognized the authority of this cacique. He submits that his authority does extend widely into this outer region (with which he himself was almost entirely unacquainted until our visit) but in fact his power there is not even nominal. Even in this extremely attenuated way, it is completely false to speak of him as in authority over all the Arekunas, including those of the Gran Sabana and the Taurepánes, although this was claimed for him. The Arekunas as a whole do not have any one chief, and many of them acknowledge no authority [619] outside their own settlements. It would be improper to speak of an Arekuna tribe, since the Arekunas are not an integrated unit, either ethnically or politically, but an agglomeration of small, physically and culturally related but quite distant groups.

562 622 643 171 Schomburgk speaks of (uncommon) cases of female chiefs among the Makuchi. Among the Kamarakotos no woman is ever a chief, either over a household or over a larger group, although otherwise women are by no means treated as inferior beings.

Relationship Concepts

602 601 114 As with many primitive peoples, concepts of family relationships in Kamarakoto are more complex than in nations of European origin, are more specific, and rest on a different basis. Most vocabularies, including even the unusually fine Taurepán vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, give an imperfect idea of these relationships. This is usually because the investigator tends to seek the Indian equivalents of the words of his own language, a system adequate for obtaining names of objects and for many other purposes but quite inadequate when, as with relationships, the concepts expressed in the two languages are [128] far from being the same. The following carefully checked information was obtained in several different interviews by postulating many different sorts of family groups and asking what each individual in the group would call each other [128] individually. This is a field in which an outside investigator could probably never achieve absolutely complete knowledge, at least not without many years of actual membership in the tribe, but the following account is believed to be nearly complete and essentially correct. Comparisons are made chiefly with

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe in-
to more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right
to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no
doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not,
in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will
and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or
normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive
peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is
doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and
sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no
means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are mar-
riages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement
of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds)
and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members
of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there
was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it ap-
pears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is,
however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one
case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost univer-
sal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It ap-
parently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear
commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
316 423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
● 643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even further than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to'-esa' as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to'-esa' as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
[439] other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to'-esa' for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

173 According to present statements, the ancient penal code of the tribe, if
673 an indefinite and unwritten customary handling of the problem of crime can be
[681] so called, recognized basically only one crime, that of being hopelessly undesirable, and one punishment, death. Judgment as to the undesirability of a
[682] member of the tribe was based on the commission of antisocial actions, among
[689] which unjustified murder, violation of fishing rights, and habitual thievery
173 were specifically mentioned. A household might take matters into its own
692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty
[696] of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[157] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
[273] were violently drunk no quarreling was seen, still less any attempts at physical injury. They are, however, human and it is incredible that no crime ever is
[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
685 occasion arises. Specifically, it was stated that unprovoked murder and serious
[682] violation of fishing rights merit death and that this should be administered un-
[696] der direction of the cacique but might well be undertaken by the injured house-
[627] hold on its own initiative. Theft, on the other hand, is now considered theoretically (and probably also in practice although no specific instance could be

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[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

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[p. 214]

SOCIAL CULTURE

Organization

648 The country of the Kamarakotos is in the State of Bolívar, District Piar,
[131] of which the capital is Upata. No one disputes these attributions or the territorial and civil authority of the corresponding Venezuelan officials, the Indians themselves being agreeably submissive to Venezuelan authority as far as they
648 are aware of it. In fact, however, no effort has ever been made to extend
643 Venezuelan law or customs to them, no governmental agency is regularly in contact with them, and there are no local officials beyond the fact that Alejo
[178] Calcaño's de facto authority in the tribe is officially recognized. Since he was regularly made tribal chief, or cacique, by the Indians themselves, this flavor of legality does not alter the fact that the Indian tribal organization, such as it is, is intact and that they are still living in a state of virtually complete independence with no reference to any laws or customs but their own.

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● 648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
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465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

141

Adult Female Taurepanes: N = 11

	R	M	σ	V
Head length	169 - 183	176.5 ± 1.3	4.4 ± .9	2.5 ± .5
Head breadth	145 - 157	150.6 ± 1.2	3.9 ± .8	2.6 ± .6
Head index	81 - 91	85.4 ± .9	2.9 ± .6	-------
Stature	136 1/2 - 152	145.8 ± 1.3	4.3 ± .9	3.0 ± .6
Sitting Height	74 - 81	77.3 ± .8	2.5 ± .5	3.2 ± .7
Stature less sitting height	62 - 75 1/2	68.5 ± 1.1	3.7 ± .8	5.3 ± 1.1
Span	142 - 164	153.1 ± 1.7	5.5 ± 1.2	3.6 ± .8

141 144 The values of V in all five samples are strikingly small and uniform, especially if that for stature less sitting height be discounted as relatively unreliable because it is based on a calculated and not directly measured dimension. Even including this, all the V's are between 2.0 and 5.3 and excluding it they are between 2.0 and 3.9, a remarkably low and narrow range for such coefficients. In dealing with linear dimensions of mammals, generally, such figures characterize samples from a pure local race, and they strongly suggest that these Indians are of relatively uniform racial or genetic constitution. This is in seeming contradiction with the known fact that intermarriage with other tribes has occurred, but in the first place such intermarriage is exceptional, and in the second place, as far as known for the Kamarakotos at least, it has almost always been with Indians that were themselves almost or quite indistinguishable physically from the Kamarakotos, usually with other Arekumas, sometimes but very rarely with stocks as distant as the Akawais, who still do not differ very noticeably from the Arekumas. [582] [648]

141 All these measurements vary little, but generally speaking, sitting height, leg length, and span are more variable than the head dimensions or stature. Weight, although a value of V for it could not legitimately be compared with the others, is evidently more variable than any of the linear dimensions, as is inevitable.

Although a few individuals (among the males only) fall nominally into the mesaticephalic class, both Kamarakotos and Taurepánes are decisively brachycephalic as a whole. One individual had the remarkably high index 91, and averages for all groups are well above 80.

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai'. which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

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With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

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From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

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The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Aurí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/90 cont./

583 196. To constitute a family, in general, no other thing
584 is influential except the mutual inclination of the parties and
[593] their complete freedom; in such a way that marriages are frequently made against the will of the parents, sometimes on trips or in distant rancherias and even with individuals of a different tribe; and that the return of a son or a daughter, after a long absence, to his or her parents, introducing to them the new daughter-in-law or new son-in-law, which so often appears in stories, is a faithful transcription of real life.

583 Material interest then customarily flourishes on the lips of
606 the woman's progenitors with respect to their son-in-law, since they consider him to have benefitted (as in fact he has) through the acquisition of the daughter raised by them with so much work, and as a consequence they usually ask him to help them in their chores or in the building of houses; but from this it should not be inferred that this is a matter of purchase-sale nor of inferiority of the woman.

621 197. Concerning the lack of ultra-family organization,
622 the so often cited Juan Pimentel says in his geographic report
643 of Caracas Province the following: "There are not nor has it
[651] been possible to confirm that in all this province of Caracas there have been any caciques or lords of estate or seigniory, nor do they pay tribute to anyone."

105 And more extensively he says in Chapter 15: "The natives
[622] of this province did not have nor do they have any government or police in matters of justice nor in anything which resembles this; it is all personal independence, for as there are not, nor have there been, caciques or lords, they have not had anyone
[264] to obey, and thus Peter is as good as his master; because when they eat they get together by house or barrios, and the first to stick in his hand might be the lowest rather than his better,
[554] and the boy rather than the old man; for among them there is
[556] neither superiority nor betterness by way of lineage nor in any other respect; except that, if in some way there is some respected Indian, it is by way of being a piache, as has been said,

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[556] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

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685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
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674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[170] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

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170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

534
171 165. Panpipes are so widespread that this omission is striking, but I can find no evidence for their occurrence anywhere in this immediate group of tribes.

482
171 166. Kamarakoto women follow the universal custom of Venezuela and adjacent regions in carrying weighty objects balanced on the head for short distances, but not for long carries as when traveling.

[114] 167. Here again Nordenskiöld's generalizations are not correct as applied to our area despite his encyclopedic knowledge and general accuracy. He considers chest-straps typical of this region and head-straps as mainly or wholly western in South America.

601 168. yakon is the same word as akon. The y is not here used only in compounds, being part of a disjunctive form as well, but it is not consistently used to distinguish a male from a female relationship.

[171] 169. The Kamarakotos are aware of the fact that this word is peculiar to them and told me that the Gran Sabana Indians address their mothers as amai, but that this is not a Kamarakoto word.

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674 170. Our camp with its overflowing abundance of desirable and poorly or not guarded objects must have presented an almost irresistable temptation, but on the whole the sorely tried honesty of the Indians was equal to the test. It is true that a few small objects were stolen, or perhaps appropriated would be a fairer word — in some cases it must have been confusing to the Indians to know what desirable objects, such as spent cartridges, were fair prey and what were not. In one case application to the cacique procured the return of an appropriated object with the explanation that it had been believed abandoned. At least one valuable small object, a gold pencil, disappeared permanently.

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439 171. When we started trading with them, the Indians wanted no money except a few small silver coins to use as ornaments and they complained that a previous party had wanted to pay them in money, which was useless to them. When they eventually learned the value (to us) of Venezuelan coins and that they could spend the coins with us for goods of real value, they gladly accepted them. It was not uncommon for an Indian worker to ask for his pay in silver and then to reappear in an hour or so and spend it all for trade goods, which he could have had in the first place without using the money. This developed into a delightful game amusing to everyone but our paymaster. See Fig. 74.

[For Fig 74, see p. 228a, category 116 — Analyst]

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/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

837 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; [684] although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good." [563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions, among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
684 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it ap-
563 pears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That
[582] illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
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858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[840] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 Gregory 116 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-fed and
acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and
the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
[171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said
that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are
sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
[192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which
they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name
for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently,
although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably
since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among
the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied
Indians.

411 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used
174 wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic
[114] form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, al-
most any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for
warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere
to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these,
but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now
made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and,
[242] in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and
[423] jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember
[72] arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory
[685] at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and
poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The princi-
pal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing
arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not
now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In
fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with ar-
rows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and
more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil
[172] by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that
[439] penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a na-
tive name, kunoi* in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden
hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

462 women do rather more than half of the heavy carrying, but I have already noted that the men are really ready to assist if needed, and the men do considerable work, such as the very laborious basketwork, that might, a priori, be believed to be woman's work.

[171] The general pattern of this division of labor is typically Carib, but the details vary much from tribe to tribe. For instance planting, here done by the man, is commonly woman's work elsewhere and hammocks, here made by women, are often made by men elsewhere.

Legal Concepts

Property.

421 The Indians are not capitalists in that they have no permanent title to real property, no personal command of the means of production, no accumulated or hereditary wealth, and no property right in the labor of others. At the same time they have a very real and lively sense of personal property and in other ways also their society is decidedly not communistic. In general what an individual makes or uses is his. When he ceases to use it, it reverts to the public domain.

423 Thus it could be said that the land, in general, belongs to the tribe in common, or that it belongs to no one, but when a man clears a conuco or builds a house on a portion of land, that land is his. No one has the right to use it (or even to enter it against his wishes) as long as he is in occupation, and its products are exclusively his, free of any obligation to share or divide them. When he leaves it, however, he cannot transfer title to it. It reverts to commons and any comer can occupy it or enjoy its fruits and use. The same is true of structures erected on the land.

592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

461 would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself. Among
465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
[478] either by labor in return or by goods, such as baskets or other common objects of trade. For instance one man may definitely employ another (outside his household — those in the household are of course obligated to help freely) to help erect his house and in return will do an equivalent amount of work for the man employed or will give him an equitable amount of food, drink, or articles of trade. This practice contains the germs of definite class differentiation into employees and laborers, but such differentiation has not at all occurred as yet.
[558] Generally speaking, there is no pronounced difference in wealth between different households and no one man is much more likely to be an employer than an employee.

Crime and Punishment.

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692 hands, but this was considered undesirable and the regular, one might say the
643 truly legal, procedure was to lay the complaint before the cacique who judged
[627] its accuracy and gravity, but apparently without holding anything resembling
[696] a formal hearing or trial. If he condemned the criminal, he assigned the duty of executing him to any members of the tribe, such as the male complainants, and the sentence was carried out without further formality as soon as opportunity presented.

674 At present, the Indians say, crime is so nearly unknown that no regular
[681] system of punishment is required. It is easy to believe that serious crime is
[152] extremely rare as the amity of the Kamarakotos is amazing. Even when they
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[178] committed. From answers to hypothetical questions as to what would be done if a crime should occur, it is evident that the old code is still considered natural and just and I have no doubt that it would be, and probably is, still applied if
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170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepuru-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter [illegible] heavily in
[177] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

[756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

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465 the Indians themselves the employment of labor is not uncommon and is paid
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173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
● 192 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M.
114 Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but those that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-fed and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [192] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

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Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

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592 Such property may be said to belong to the household group or to the
423 to›-esa? as its leader and representative. Another very important special case
226 of such ownership is that of fishing rights. According to custom, which of course is the equivalent of uncodified law, a household established on or near a stream owns the fishing rights on that stream from its dwelling downstream as far as the next habitation. These rights are very rigidly maintained. Even a fish killed upstream is lost to the killer if it floats below the next household before being gathered. Of course several or many households do commonly unite in poisoning a given stretch of water and all share in the results, but this
[685] is only by invitation of the household owning the right to that water. Violation
[221] of these rights is among the most serious offenses known to the Indians, as is suggested by the fact that the last bloody war, of which they retain vivid but
[224] confused memories, is said to have arisen from such a violation. There seems, on the other hand, to be no proprietorship of hunting rights.

177 the thoroughly civilized centers, but the European elements are so much more
178 numerous that Indian culture has there quite disappeared as such.

This trend has occasionally been checked or reversed temporarily, but in
[174] the long run it seems to be inevitable. If Fray Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos were the ancestors of our Kamarakotos, they had in some respects been as much affected by European culture by 1800 as they have again now, and in the meantime reverted to a definitely more aboriginal condition. Whether true of this tribe or not, such was the history of some tribes as the conquistadors and missionaries advanced in the Orinoco Basin and then retreated again. Now another forward movement is well under way and the usual forward trend is re-established and is likely to be permanent.

000 Supposing that this trend continues, as it will unless checked by unpredictable disaster, the eventual complete "Venozolanization" of the Kamarakotos is inevitable in the usual, unguided course of social evolution, a result that means the certain extinction of Kamarakoto culture and the possible extinction of the Kamarakotos themselves, surely the loss of their identity. This final result can hardly eventuate before Kamarata is reached by wheeled traffic, of which there is already some prospect but which is not very likely in the visible future. The end may thus be slow in coming, but it appears inevitable.

Apart from any sentimental considerations, it will be deplorable, indeed tragic, if this natural process is allowed to go on without check or guidance. On humanitarian, social, and economic grounds, it is strongly desirable in the first place that Kamarakoto culture (and these remarks apply to all of the many other tribes in a similar situation) should not be uprooted faster than the Kamarakotos can adapt themselves to new ways. This uprooting is the "natural" event and it is one that the usual agencies, religious[235] and civil, often promote rather than prevent. In the second place it is no less desirable that the useful and admirable elements of Kamarakoto culture, which will in the ordinary way disappear just as completely as the undesirable elements and probably sooner than the latter, should be saved and perpetuated.

In the promotion of health, civilization has at least an antidote to offer against the new diseases that it will introduce, and it could considerably im-
[731] prove the present mortality record of the Kamarakotos. It can also guard them against famines such as are said to have occurred infrequently in the past. Aside from these points, it is hard to see how the Indians stand to gain anything by
[511] being "civilized." They are remarkably happy now, poverty is unknown, and hunger and misery are not the common lot but rare historic occurrences. The Kamarakotos already know thoroughly well how to live in their own environment. No white man can teach them: on the contrary, if white men attempt to colonize and to become self-supporting in this region they are sure to find that they can do so at present only by learning the technique from the Indians. I think no impartial observer would deny that the average Kamarakoto is now mentally

235 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 281]

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [516] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional ●732 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the sternum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[text continues on p. 286]

133
142
291
732
113

Fig. 97 – Taurepán Adult Male.

No. 10 (T.), now lives at Santa Elena and has four dead and two living children (one an idiot).

000 happier and materially more comfortable than the average man in the civilized parts of Venezuela and that the Indian would be unwise voluntarily to adopt the mode of life of the latter.

511 [235] Poverty is unknown in Kamarakoto society because each household can readily secure by its own reasonable efforts almost everything that it needs not only to sustain but also to enjoy life. Native skill and industry are such that almost none of the imports are absolute necessities, and these too can easily be [439] acquired. A household may over a period of years need a couple of knives and machetes, a dozen fishhooks, five or six meters of cloth, and a half kilo or so of beads to fill all its requirements and desires beyond what it can supply itself. There is no household so poor that it cannot obtain these few objects.

000 But when people have to buy most of what they use, poverty becomes possible and inevitable. An Indian who must wear purchased clothing, instead of making his scantier native garments, who cannot build a house without a saw, hammer, and nails, who must buy saucepans instead of making clay pots, who requires bags and chests and the like because he cannot weave baskets, who must buy a bed because he cannot make a hammock, who, in short, depends on imported substitutes for what his ancestors made for themselves — such an Indian becomes poor almost automatically. In the first place, and specifically in this region, the supply of such things is not adequate even if their purchase price were available. The Indian who depends on them must thus lower his standard of living materially below the aboriginal level if he does not have the aboriginal skills.

This is the first point on which a concrete suggestion as to the guidance of the social trend in the region can be made: not to permit an Indian to become dependent on anything with which he is not reasonably sure to be adequately supplied for the rest of his life. For instance, not to tell him that it is immoral to go without trousers, if he is not certain to be able to buy another pair when those he has wear out, or not to teach him how to build a house only with European tools, if he is going to live where he will be unable to get such tools.[236]

Even when sufficient supplies of manufactured articles are available, which is decidedly not true anywhere in this region today but perhaps will be eventually, the Indian is impoverished by their very variety. He desires more of them than he did of his own less varied products. This is supposed to raise the standard of living. It is only reasonable to doubt whether it makes for greater happiness or well-being, but this question is purely academic since the stimulation of desire does occur and can hardly be controlled in any way. In practice the result may really be not a raising but a lowering of the general standard of living, not only because relatively unnecessary objects may be obtained in preference to necessities, but also and mainly because the Indian is not now spending his labor directly and efficiently on his own scale of living, but is using it for trade in an open market against workmen of still lower standards and to pay

236 [see footnote on p. 334, category 116 — Analysis]

This is the so-called taurón, or
291 /40 cont./
789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip
302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting
484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for
● 753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that
123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

000 109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/57 cont./

784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat pauji
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the pauji has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
● 753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

/58 cont./

765 As a result of this they must withdraw from dealing with
753 others; they must not join in to eat other people's food nor offer to others food prepared for them, since they would make them sick, causing them to have stomach-aches, intestinal decomposition, and similar things. I even recall having heard them often attribute to this diarrhea and intestinal worms in children, who are weaker and of more exquisite sensitivity to feel evil influences and vibrations, to say it in one way, sympathetic.

Keep in mind that this infection is not due only nor principally to physical contact with the dead person, but to sympathetic or physio-psychological contact; so that, even at a distance and far away from the dead relative, this will influence equally all his kindred.

[302] In addition to the observances noted above, mourners shave their heads completely and paint themselves with annatto or achiote, but the women are left with a little lock of hair on top.

When one moon or more has passed, those affected by the asarakpué wash themselves, together with all of their implements and clothing, using verbasco lye. And thus they can return to common, everyday life.

[783] It would be too much to say that at present the Pemón Indians observe this with all rigor; against the natural protest of the piaches and the old people, the younger generations are losing these beliefs and customs.

800 Both practices, those of the couvade and those of the asarakpué, are quite similar to the Mosaic legal prescriptions concerning the impurity of parturient women and concerning those who touch corpses; thus it can be seen that in past centuries, when ethnology was still in diapers, there was an attempt to discover by means of these a close link between the Indians and the Jews.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

● 753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 776 [787] Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

● 753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be [755] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as [757] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers [754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical prac-
855 tices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
846 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
789 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukūiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — mūirepɔn.

240. ware.

241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i) maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

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173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some [171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent- [124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me [114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supematural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they [648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re- [171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds [551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re- [123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and 776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[224] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

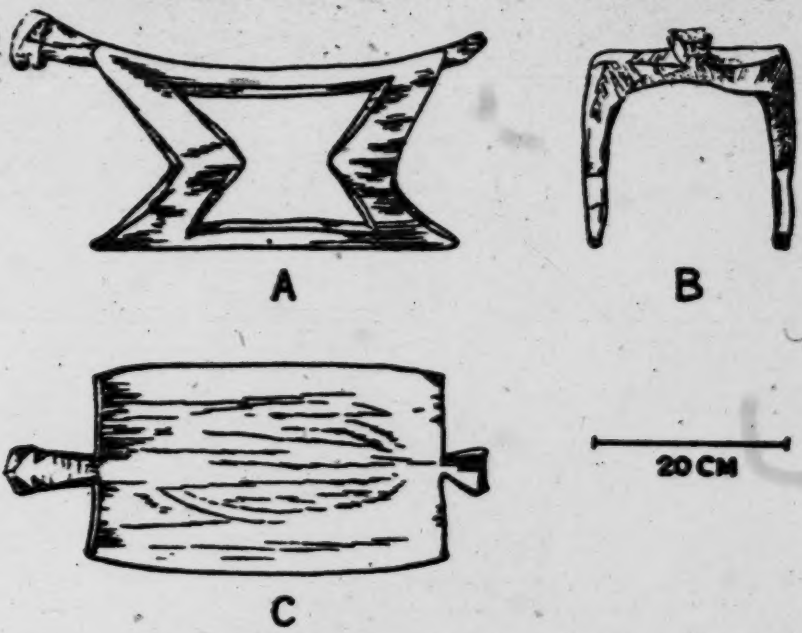

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

754 [297] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically ɛrɛmba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛrɛmba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to?-esa?) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [289] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛrɛmba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [289] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

/39 cont./

755 Therefore, the Indians, scorning natural observation, go with blind faith to their piaches or enchanters, who are considered doctors or curers and never as priests. Pliny the Elder has already made note of and written: "No one doubts that magic was born from medicine. In primitive societies the magician was, above all, a physician." Very correctly did Proodt also write that "as primitive men attribute sickness to the action of a spirit, they are not content with the simple administration of infusions or powders."

757 177 The use of a few tisanes, purgatives, and emollients, of a few shell poultices with more or less tannic acid (and as a result disinfectant), and the application of formic acid directly by means of the bite of ants or wasps, all of these almost certainly were learned from the Creoles. In any case this constitutes an exception in their medicinal regimen and in their mentality or means of conceiving of diseases and their remedies.

755 88. The typical way in which the Indians cure themselves is by means of the tarénmurú (charms or magic prayers) and the practices of the piaches, which are of the same sort. We might, perhaps, have a chance to return to the subject of these charms; for the time being let it suffice to say that they are "a short prayer addressed to a piá or pachí (trunk or head) of a certain animal, plant, or legendary being, possessor of qualities or power against the evil which it is desired to dispel, or with the ability to produce some good which is desired, or the vehicle of some disease which it is desired might enter into another." These words are pronounced over some receiving-transmitting object and in addition it is blown upon, not with the mouth but with the nose; this also gives rise to the name of blowing (tarén), which is given to the charms. These, as has been seen, can either be beneficial, tarem-bá, or maleficent, mui-má. /40/

89. For the greater clarity of what is herein said, I shall copy a Pemón charm and shall transcribe another Egyptian one,

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always
● 755 works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health) which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosug-
787 gestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies. In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth, meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation, but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
[171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

/43 cont./

755 96. The piaches do not customarily work for a fixed price, but the Indians, according to their ability to pay and their gratitude and according to the good or bad results of the cure, make them gifts as they freely wish.

756 755 The piaches believe in the obligation to abstain from certain foodstuffs, principally on the day of and the night before they must perform.

755 787 In the cases I witnessed I did not see that the piaches were /44/ real ventriloquists or that they "were talking big," as the ancients would say; they only imitated in an ordinary way different voices, with the help of the hand and quickly changing posture and place. (Darkness was a help to me in following all their tricks and illusions, both in this and when they pretended to go up in the air and down again.)

755 97. All the Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, believe themselves capable of curing by means of charms and at the same time capable of producing evil effects; but naturally they 755 756 believe the charms and magical blowings cast by the piaches are much more efficaceous and fearsome. Among the latter as well there are degrees; and they usually consider to be the wisest of those initiated in other tribes or coming from them. For this reason the piaches sometimes say that they can do nothing to cure certain diseases, because they have been caused by other piaches who live in distant regions and possess other secrets unknown by them.

538 98. In tales and legends, more than in real life, the 756 Indians consider their piaches to be diviners and miracle workers. Thus for example, they attribute to Chirikavai or Apakavai: that he carved off human limbs and put them back on as one would put together and take apart a clock; that he turned his yachí and his pana-darí (dependents) into birds; that he was able to interpret their songs as if they were conversations of people; finally, that he ascended to the sky preceded by his nephew Marité (Scorpion) and that with his equipment and his limbs he created several constellations, among them Tamuekán,

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog..., following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
● 755 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

789 /98 cont./
755 stop hemorrhages or discharges of any sort, they invoke the pia or pachí, let's call them the mother of ashes and sand, which are driers.

[221] e) Indians observe that when the wind blows, it moves away the clouds and the sky becomes clear; thus they invoke the big wind, the father of the wind, when their vision is clouded. /99/

No less than a hundred examples like these could be presented of beneficent charms, to obtain good things or health, or maleficent ones, to produce evils to enemies; but I believe that those here noted are sufficient.

400 211. From this cursory exposition which we have just made of the religion of the Pemón, it can clearly be deduced how deeply in error are those who believe that in order to teach them our Christian religion we must forcibly enter into their soul casting devils from it as one casts down idols from an altar; nothing of the sort, all we need do is get out of their heads the anthromorphization of natural forces and the magical invocation of the same in order to substitute for them the true physical concept of things and their qualities and the true application or appropriation of the same by means of medicine, whether it be by external application or by ingestion.

Nor need we make any great effort to eliminate these ideas, which can remain as adornments or threads to be used in the flowery work of the imagination, always so long as upon them we can place the true rational and Christian theology of a Creator and Savior God of all things, especially of man; the future life, not of fantasy and conjecture, but a real and eternal place after the terrestrial and temporally ephemeral one, and different, depending upon the actions taken here below, and above all things, God's love for us and that we must profess Him, and the love of charity which must always reign among all men on earth.

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 776 Piaimá, a supematural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described [787] for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supematural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supematural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be [755] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as [757] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers [754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

● 755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
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535 [289] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [289] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [See footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
● 755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101, Not worshipers of the devil.

●756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health) which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosuggestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies.
787 In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth, meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation, but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
[171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

/43 cont./

755 96. The piaches do not customarily work for a fixed price, but the Indians, according to their ability to pay and their gratitude and according to the good or bad results of the cure, make them gifts as they freely wish.

756 The piaches believe in the obligation to abstain from certain foodstuffs, principally on the day of and the night before they must perform.
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755 In the cases I witnessed I did not see that the piaches were
787 /44/ real ventriloquists or that they "were talking big," as the ancients would say; they only imitated in an ordinary way different voices, with the help of the hand and quickly changing posture and place. (Darkness was a help to me in following all their tricks and illusions, both in this and when they pretended to go up in the air and down again.)

755 97. All the Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, believe themselves capable of curing by means of charms and at the
755 same time capable of producing evil effects; but naturally they
756 believe the charms and magical blowings cast by the piaches are much more efficaceous and fearsome. Among the latter as well there are degrees; and they usually consider to be the wisest of those initiated in other tribes or coming from them. For this reason the piaches sometimes say that they can do nothing to cure certain diseases, because they have been caused by other piaches who live in distant regions and possess other secrets unknown by them.

538 98. In tales and legends, more than in real life, the
756 Indians consider their piaches to be diviners and miracle workers. Thus for example, they attribute to Chirikavai or Apakavai: that he carved off human limbs and put them back on as one would put together and take apart a clock; that he turned his yachí and his pana-darí (dependents) into birds; that he was able to interpret their songs as if they were conversations of people; finally, that he ascended to the sky preceded by his nephew Marité (Scorpion) and that with his equipment and his limbs he created several constellations, among them Tamuekán,

/44 cont./

538 or the Pleiades. The Indians also say that he converted his wife
● 756 into a little melero /"honey dealer"/ dog, his little son into a frog, and that the spawning of fish at the beginning of the period of heavy showers of rain coincides with the day when Chirikavai hit the ceiling of the sky with a great shaking, thus giving rise to the storms and showers of the winter.

Of Maichapué, another of the legendary piaches, they say that he converted little pieces of cassava and ají into a number of birds that might alert him to the nearness of his enemies, that he was helped by his yachí in the difficult undertakings to which he was submitted as a test by his father-in-law, Anhuoná or Etitó (king of the two-headed vultures), in payment for his daughter, whom he had stolen away by astutely pretending to be a decomposing corpse.

756 Not long ago the Indian, Daniel Karoi, a resident of Santa
[115] Teresita de Kavanayén and his sister Luisa, who came from the Tiriká River, told me that their grandfather had been /45/ a piache and that he lighted his pipe without needing fire and that he could rise and play the part of the murei as if he were a real monkey. I do not know with certainty up to what point the piaches' deceptions can go, but I do not believe -- from what I have seen -- that these go beyond childish and easily uncovered tricks; I deduce this from the great admiration which they manifest for our magic tricks and little tricks of combination and prestidigitation.

000 99. This brief study of the piache will once more convince my readers that when imagination replaces intelligence and phantasmagorias replace reality, among Indians they can come to be a fertile source not only of tales and legends, but also of falsified religion, falsified medicine, etc. Therefore, Coué wrote quite correctly although with obvious exaggeration: "it is not will which makes them work, but imagination." And A. Bouyssonie also wrote that "magic is a materialistic falsification of religion."

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100. The colleague who asked me the question about the piaches' arts and tricks particularly consulted me about my opinion concerning the possible conflict or the possible opposition between the piaches' ideas and Christian ones and about the correctness or not of administering our sacraments to them.

My personal opinion is that the piaches are neither more nor less fit to receive our Christian teachings than other Indians and with these teachings the sanctifying sacraments of baptism, confession, communion, matrimony, etc. I do not find any essential conflict between their beliefs and ours, which could make the sacraments invalid or illicit; I believe that all that is needed is to complete and modify some of their beliefs. I believe also that the Indians, like other simple people, do not handle ideas as do more logical and intellectual people, by comparing and analyzing, and as a result, letting some ideas lead to others; I believe rather that they proceed by stratifying ideas, that by placing them in different planes they do not seem to be contradictory, although they might sometimes really be so.

There would occur, according to this opinion of mine, in the intellectual order, what happens in matters of garments, which is, that many Indians under our clothing retain their old garters, bracelets, and loin-cloths, and of course, tattooing cannot be changed like a shirt.

101. It is clearly necessary to get rid of the idea that the piaches are invokers of Satan or the devil, that they offer /46/ sacrifices to the devil, or that they are possessed by him when they are in the trance of piachería. They can well be possessed by the spirit of tobacco or of other vegetal plants; and they can be called invokers of the devil, or better, of devils, taking this word in its etymological sense of genii or personifications of natural forces. This idea can be seen worked out more thoroughly in the chapter that we shall devote to the study of the religion of these Indians.

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●756 114 When I write this I refer not only to former writers, who wrote in the old way, but also to many modern writers who copy these old ones and continue thinking in their simplistic manner in this so important matter. I refer particularly to this definition of piache, which I accidentally found in the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Piache. Tricksters who presided at the cult of the two divinities Katchimana and Jolokiamo worshiped by the Indians of Guiana. They declared their oracles by means of a sacred trumpet."

Of the Indians of Guiana, and precisely of those who live in the very heart of this region, I am writing these pages. I shall let pass this calling the piaches tricksters, since they are (for us) something of the sort; but this matter of "divinities" and of the "sacred trumpet" and of the "oracles" are pure inventions or poor interpretations. I don't know what the Katchimana can be, but I am sure that this Jolokiano /sic/ is a transcription and erroneous interpretation of Iurok-yamá, foxes, a name whose semantic extension is not difficult to attribute to our Christian ideas learned by the Indians. One should not put new wine in old skins, but old wine must be put in new skins: old information should be classified and made to fit modern standards and methods in the sciences.

Chapter XII

What Is There to the Magical Arts of the Indians?

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102. Backward or retrogressive? 103. Opposition of magic and religion. 104. The eternal struggle. 105. Magical fear and conjury vs. reverential love and invocation. 106. The philosophy of magic. 107. Deductions about homeopathy. 108. Idem. about sympathy.

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eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujíes, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

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829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
● 756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

105 /90 cont./

[756] or that some Indian, be he a good worker and that he gets drunk
[554] often or has many women, daughters /sic/ and sons-in-law and
daughters-in-law, whence proceeds some good kinsmen and
[593] these obey him as an elder relative; or by dint of valor they
respect one who is so and in war has killed some Indian or more;
and in conformity with those whom he has killed they make
him that many crowns and give him that many names."

114 This and other simple reports, made without affectation and straightforewardly, show very clearly the exaggeration of some old chroniclers and some modern /91/ fiction writers when they describe various caciques in the style of classic histories, but very far from the plain truth and the unvarnished truth of ethnography.

Chapter XXIV

Do the Indians Have a Religion?

000 198. Religiousness, a human characteristic? 199. The difficulty in studying noncodified religions. 200. Comparison with the study of language. 201. Preconceptions of the missionaries?

198. Another of the characteristics generally attributed to mankind is religiousness. "The former Mission companion," from the way in which he asks me the question, is also among those who believe that there cannot be a race or tribe, a horde or whatever, without religion.

This is what Cicero was thinking when he said: "There is no nation either so savage or so fierce that, even when it be ignorant of which God it ought to have, does not know that it ought to have one." And thus thought and still think, doubtless, the majority of men. But in this, as in everything, there is no

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774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukiiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — miirepon.

240. ware.

241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i) maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛrɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə̱, ũ, and õ in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

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a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpũi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpũi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə̱ as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepúi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wõyõpũi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itõi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

643 When I asked what would happen if the Indians could not agree on any one per-
[57] son as cacique, my question seemed hardly to be understood. "We do agree; we are good; we do not fight." After such assertions, it was finally said that if some to'-esa', or several of them, resolutely demanded a different chief the teburu would appoint one for them (he would be called to'-epuru'), but their chief would be subordinate to the teburu. In fact no such case has arisen in recent times and there are no such subordinate chiefs at present.

645 It is, however, customary for the cacique to delegate some of his functions to a vice-cacique or sub-cacique, called teburu- (or tepum-) ɛsi-yakon (the exact meaning of ɛsi is not clear to me, compare esa in to'-esa', but yakon is "his younger brother" and gives a sufficient clue to the sense of the phrase). This is not a fixed or generally recognized office, but merely one that may be constituted if the cacique desires. The teburu-ɛsi-yakon may, for instance, be sent on official errands to convey the wishes of the teburu or may represent
[24] the latter in his absence. At present this function is fulfilled by Antonio Montesdeoca, nephew of Alejo Calcaño, who served as my interpreter during
645 most of this work. Although no such explicit statement was made, it is obvious
643 that Alejo has trained and is grooming Antonio as his successor and it is agreed that the evident wishes of the old cacique in such a matter weigh heavily in
[172] the selection of a new cacique. It was also stated that the wish for and the fact of growing contacts with the outer world make it desirable (Antonio says "necessary") to have a Spanish-speaking teburu, which at present automatically makes Antonio the only possible candidate, although Alejo is by no means an old man and his successor will probably not take office for many years, by which time the whole system may have collapsed if the present rate of change continues.

● [756] The cacique is not a shaman, or piache, at present or usually (nor is the probable successor of the present cacique) and this is neither a requirement nor
756 a recommendation for this office. The piaches, of whom there are several, are specialists in their own field, having nothing to do with the government of
[622] the tribe. Unlike so many Indian societies, the shaman is here entirely non-political and has no civil authority or influence beyond that entailed in the fact that he is ordinarily also a to'-esa'.

643 The cacique is respected and may be given first choice in the division of
[181] benefits, but he receives no emolument in labor or in goods and in the thoroughly democratic, individualistic society he is merely another, although an out-
[692] standing, individual. His duties are equally vague and light. He arbitrates what few interhousehold disputes occur, represents the tribe in contacts with others or with the Venezuelans, directs community undertakings and generally acts as the father of his people. We saw no instance when his orders were disobeyed and were told that none occur, but his orders are, in fact, hardly more than persuasive presentation of his wishes and opinions.

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Fig. 75 — Kamarakoto Piache and Family.

A piache, his wife, and her two sons. From left to right these individuals are Nos. 39, 38, 40 and 41 of our detailed records. The two boys are the woman's sons by a previous marriage, adopted by her present husband. The family lives at Benné, where the man (pseudonym "Lorenzo") is to'-eta'.

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion 771 generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic. 171

The Piache.

●756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the pro- [785] fession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The [276] latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

1 [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b - Analyst]

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 776 [787] Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be [755] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as [757] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers [754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

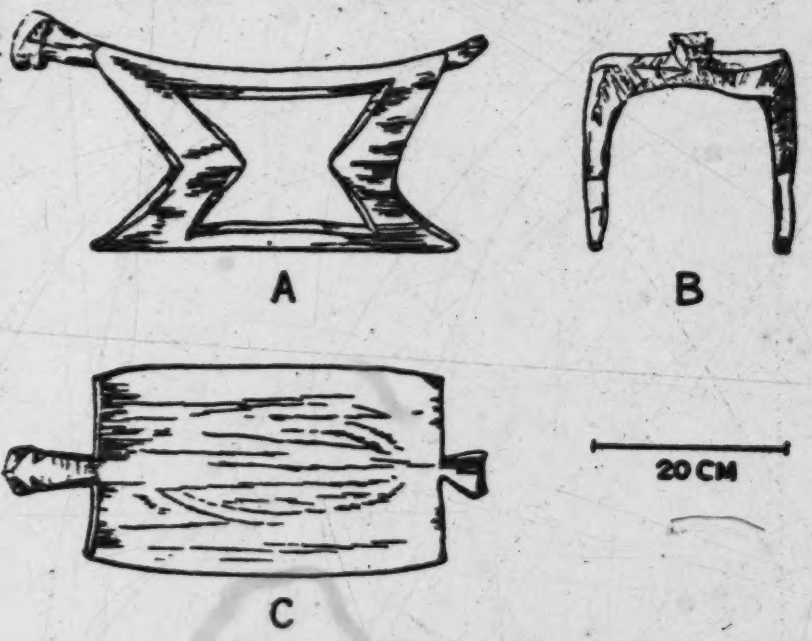

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[297] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

● 756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent toʔ-esaʔ) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[289] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[289] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukiiʔ (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots. [302] For the tukiiʔ, the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also [534] danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which [302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoiʔ dances are danced only [256] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various eremba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.

533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination 526 [223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 11b - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone
● 756 else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the
534 piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be
755 the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point.
[171] I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie
123 Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

764 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been re-
123 sented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

/39 cont./

755 Therefore, the Indians, scorning natural observation, go with blind faith to their piaches or enchanters, who are considered doctors or curers and never as priests. Pliny the Elder has already made note of and written: "No one doubts that magic was born from medicine. In primitive societies the magician was, above all, a physician." Very correctly did Proodt also write that "as primitive men attribute sickness to the action of a spirit, they are not content with the simple administration of infusions or powders."

757 177 The use of a few tisanes, purgatives, and emollients, of a few shell poultices with more or less tannic acid (and as a result disinfectant), and the application of formic acid directly by means of the bite of ants or wasps, all of these almost certainly were learned from the Creoles. In any case this constitutes an exception in their medicinal regimen and in their mentality or means of conceiving of diseases and their remedies.

755 88. The typical way in which the Indians cure themselves is by means of the tarénmurú (charms or magic prayers) and the practices of the piaches, which are of the same sort. We might, perhaps, have a chance to return to the subject of these charms; for the time being let it suffice to say that they are "a short prayer addressed to a piá or pachí (trunk or head) of a certain animal, plant, or legendary being, possessor of qualities or power against the evil which it is desired to dispel, or with the ability to produce some good which is desired, or the vehicle of some disease which it is desired might enter into another." These words are pronounced over some receiving-transmitting object and in addition it is blown upon, not with the mouth but with the nose; this also gives rise to the name of blowing (tarén), which is given to the charms. These, as has been seen, can either be beneficial, tarem-bá, or maleficent, mui-má. /40/

89. For the greater clarity of what is herein said, I shall copy a Pemón charm and shall transcribe another Egyptian one,

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 Piaimá, a supematural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first
776 piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described
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[754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supematural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Indifference to Suffering.

157 154 Indifference to suffering is popularly considered to be a universal Indian trait and is usually roundly condemned on moral and social grounds. The Kamarakotos show this (to us) rather unpleasing characteristic in considerable degree, but its basis is evident and it cannot be severely condemned if it is well understood. It seems anomalous that a tribe should be notably kind, mild, affectionate, and anxious not to inflict pain, and at the same time apparently apathetic toward the suffering of others, but the two traits are not really incompatible and are, indeed, largely different aspects of the same characteristic. They hate pain and, being sympathetic, dislike inflicting it. But sympathy means in fact (as the word does in origin) the sharing of feeling. To be sympathetic with a person in pain means in some measure to share the pain. The Kamarakotos tend to withdraw from pain, a perfectly normal psychological reaction, and the very fact that they are sympathetic makes them tend strongly to withdraw from a person in pain simply because it is painful for them not to withdraw. This, too, is a normal reaction, whether conscious or subconscious, and it is shared by most persons in our society. But in our society most of us carefully hide this reaction, partly in hypocrisy, because it is contrary to our social mores, and partly from the better motive of hoping to alleviate the pain of the sufferer. It is not contrary to Kamarakoto mores, more natural or, if you like, more primitive than ours, and according to their beliefs and knowledge, there is no good reason for attending to suffering because the ordinary person can do nothing to alleviate pain. If the pain is natural, nothing is possible but waiting for death or recovery. If it is supernatural, only a skilled piache can hope to remedy it. In either case withdrawal from the suffering person is not only perfectly proper but also the only sensible course, granting the Kamarakoto premises.

157 154 758 Despite this tendency toward withdrawal, the Kamarakotos certainly feel real sorrow for the suffering of anyone near to them and, within their own system, real consideration. The latter is well shown by the fact that when a person is ill they make every effort to do what little they believe can be done, notably to get a piache (or during our stay to persuade our doctor) to attend the victim. They do not sit by the bedside (hammock-side), prepare special food, soothe the fevered brow, and the like, because they see no benefit in these things, and they endeavor to continue their normal activities and to put the sufferer out of their minds as much as possible.

Children.

152 593 There is much and obvious personal affection and family pride. Kissing is unknown and casual embracing rare, but between husband and wife, or wives,

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

000 109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/52 cont./

[illegible]es, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

/64 cont./

829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

133 the extreme lower course of the Aichá and part of the Akanán River around
103 the mouth of the Aichá, which is tributary to the Akanán. The third area is the lower valley of the Akanán, east of Auyán-tepúi, between Akanamuintá and the confluence of the Akanán with the Karao, and the fourth is formed by sabanas bordering the Karao near this confluence, northeast of Auyán-tepúi.

131 As the name implies, Kamarata ("the place Kamara") is traditionally
361 the home of the Kamarakotos ("the people of Kamara"). At present Uruyén,
[103] which is approximately in the middle of Kamarata, is the most western inhabited place in that valley. The upper, western end of the valley, at least
[166] as suitable for habitation, is now completely uninhabited. The Indians say that it was densely inhabited until recently and this is obviously true since
[261] abandoned farm patches can be seen there and traces of houses.[97] Many of the people are said to have died from fever or spirit-possession and the rest moved away. Now there are only four inhabited places considered as in Kamarata (one of which, Aleuíba, alewi:ba, is outside the valley proper), and the center of population is in the lower Akanán valley, where approximately half of this "central group" of Kamarakotos live.

131 The inhabited area and the tribe itself are well-defined to the north and
137 to the east. No Kamarakotos live north of the Karao valley where there begins an enormous stretch of forest virtually unbroken by sabanas and therefore uninhabitable to these Indians. To the east no one lives more than half a day's travel east of the Akanán, where another lesser stretch of forest separates this region from the northern part of the Gran Sabana.

101 To the west and southwest, however, the boundaries of the tribe are ex-
612 tremely vague. Kamarata is here well-defined by mountains and forests, but
[131] at no great distance beyond these in the valleys of the Caroni and its tributaries
[139] there are sabanas which are inhabited by Indians indistinguishable from the Kamarakotos. The Indians themselves do not know how many of these people there are and are quite undecided as to whether they should be called Kamarakotos or not. Unlike what may be called the central group, in the Aichá, Akanán and Karao valleys, these Indians are not in constant touch with each other or with the nuclear group, and the authority over them claimed by the cacique is purely nominal as he does not really know who most of them are or
[184] where they live. In general they are thus more isolated and are less affected by the so-called civilizing influences centering within the nuclear group. They do frequently visit Kamarata to trade, visit, dance, and drink and are treated not quite as members of the family but still not as foreigners or outsiders. Their speech does not differ perceptibly from that of the central group. Some of them call themselves Kamarakotos, but generally they are called Arekunas by the central Kamarakotos. Except for the more attenuated influence on them of the recent expeditions, their culture is identical with that of the central
114 group. I have seen enough of them to verify these statements, but the present
101 97 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b - Analyst]

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SS16 Pemon SS16

If a *modoi* (species of a very tiny spider) hangs within the buse (spins his web) it means that a traveler will come to hang up his web or hammock. 787 82

If a flea bites an Indian it is a sign that Indians are coming to his house.

If a boy falls from a hammock, it is a sign that he is going to be crazy.

If a bat hovers above the smoke of our home, it is a sign that our hunters will find a deer.

If on the road we stumble, it means that we are going to meet travelers coming in the opposite direction.

If a *viomá* (kind of bird) whistles *kui-pi, kui-pi*, he is saying: "a deer is hidden over there."

If a rooster or a hen crows at night at unusual hours, it means that one of our acquaintances is speaking against us.

If our ears ring, it means that we are going (warning of death). In this case the Indians strike their ears as one who shoos away flies and say: *etë pai pra edai* (I don't wan to go).

When the clouds are tinged with red, it's a sign that spotted tigers are being born.

When an Indian is weaving something and his legs go to sleep, he says: "it's a sign that they are going to buy it."

When the eyelids twich (with those involuntary wormlike movements), it is a sign that some one of our relatives is dying. [763]

When a stick crackles as it burns, it is a sign that some one of our relatives is suffering.

The above is sufficient for our readers to form an idea how the *Pemón* Indians think in relation to omens.

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/For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178, pp. 273-279./

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 771 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have [264] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were [531] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

Burial.

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176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
[82] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

435 172. The literature, especially that of travel as opposed to scientific study, is full of ridicule of the Indians because they do not know the intrinsic worth of articles. These statements are usually naive because they show that it is the traveler, who did not know what "intrinsic worth" means. Except for jewelry and a few other uses unknown to the Indians, gold has no intrinsic worth. In our civilization, but not that of the Indians, it has an extrinsic worth as a token of the real value that it in itself does not intrinsically have. When an Indian picks up a nugget and trades it for a needle, he gets by far the best of the bargain on the basis of intrinsic worth: he gets something that he could not make and that is of great use to him for something that cost him no real work and that is worthless to him, and so gets something for nothing. It must not be supposed, however, that there are any Indians left, even beyond the limits of intensive exploration, who do not now have a better idea than this of the value (to the traveler) of gold, or of other articles of regular trade.

114 756 173. Koch-Grünberg, who seems to have penetrated farther than anyone else into Carib religion, gives the texts of several Taurepán magic spells, but these were apparently common property and not exclusive to the piaches.

114 534 755 [171] 174. No mention was ever made of the use of a rattle, maraka, by the piache and since this is almost universal and is indeed believed by some to be the primary purpose of the maraka, I feared that I had missed an essential point. I now learn, however, on Koch-Grünberg's unimpeachable authority that Taurepán piaches do not use the maraka, and this must be true also of the Kamarakotos.

754 123 175. The following remarkable incident was related to me by Marie Angel as having occurred during her previous visit to the tribe. One of the boys employed at the camp was seized by a kanaima and retired to his hammock to die. All entreaties to him fell on deaf ears and Mrs. Angel finally said in his presence, through an interpreter, that if he was going to die anyway she was not going to have him do so at length in her camp, that she was going to get a gun and if he was still in his hammock when she returned, she would put him out of his misery. When she approached with the gun, the boy suddenly sprang from the hammock and ran off, entirely cured. Since Indians do certainly die from such attacks, this anecdote is not to be taken as evidence that they are feigned.

● 764 123 176. But I did not open these because this would certainly have been resented and the friendship of the living was far more essential to my work than this slight additional knowledge of the dead.

/57 cont./

784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat paují
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the paují has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

/58 cont./

765 As a result of this they must withdraw from dealing with
753 others; they must not join in to eat other people's food nor offer to others food prepared for them, since they would make them sick, causing them to have stomach-aches, intestinal decomposition, and similar things. I even recall having heard them often attribute to this diarrhea and intestinal worms in children, who are weaker and of more exquisite sensitivity to feel evil influences and vibrations, to say it in one way, sympathetic.

Keep in mind that this infection is not due only nor principally to physical contact with the dead person, but to sympathetic or physio-psychological contact; so that, even at a distance and far away from the dead relative, this will influence equally all his kindred.

[302] In addition to the observances noted above, mourners shave their heads completely and paint themselves with annatto or achiote, but the women are left with a little lock of hair on top.

When one moon or more has passed, those affected by the asarakpué wash themselves, together with all of their implements and clothing, using verbasco lye. And thus they can return to common, everyday life.

[783] It would be too much to say that at present the Pemón Indians observe this with all rigor; against the natural protest of the piaches and the old people, the younger generations are losing these beliefs and customs.

800 Both practices, those of the couvade and those of the asarakpué, are quite similar to the Mosaic legal prescriptions concerning the impurity of parturient women and concerning those who touch corpses; thus it can be seen that in past centuries, when ethnology was still in diapers, there was an attempt to discover by means of these a close link between the Indians and the Jews.

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286 /For further information about changes and continuiti
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times
301 pp. 273-279./
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176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yaŋ.	maripada-yaŋ.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yaŋ.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

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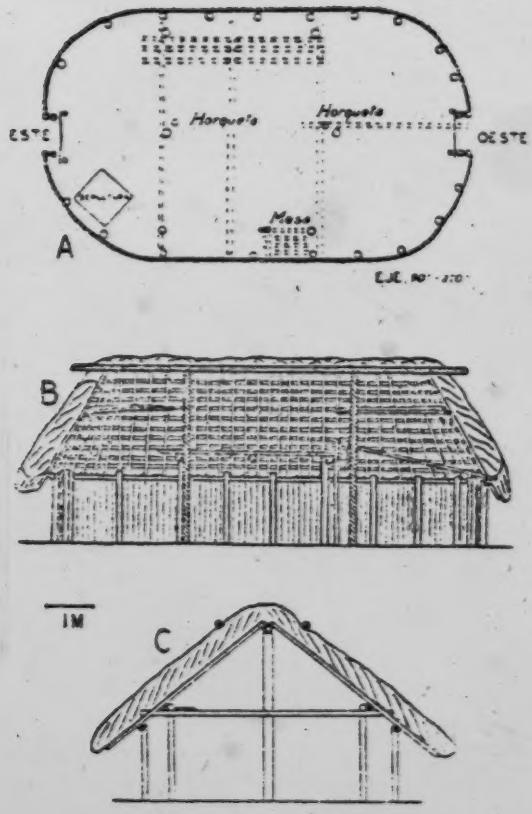

Fig. 6 — Kamarakoto Dwelling.
Building F at Uruyén (see Map, Fig. 11), a parapan. A, plan. B, diagrammatic longitudinal section, with far side in projection. C, diagrammatic transverse section showing eastern cross-member. The transverse broken lines in A are the three rafters, and poles laid on them to form a storage shelf are similarly indicated. The former head of the household is buried in the grave, shown on the plan, and the house is therefore abandoned but is otherwise entirely typical of those in use.

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[text continues on p. 123]

Burial.

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176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

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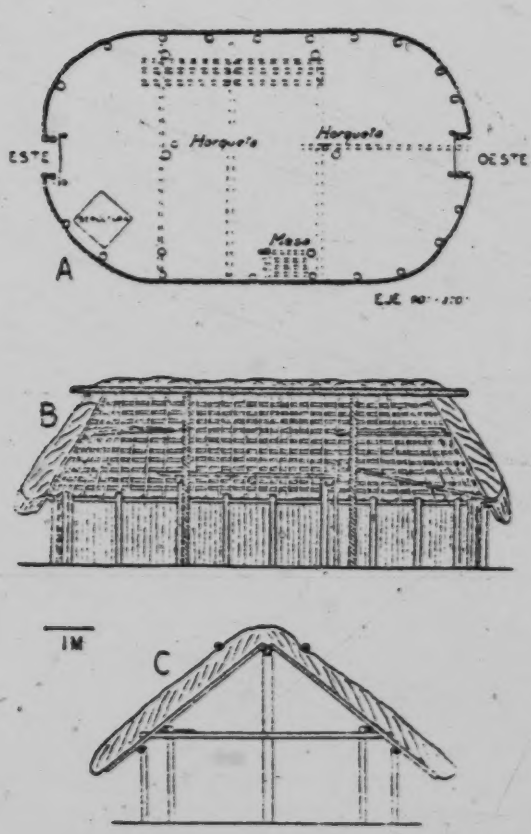

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176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

Burial.

764 Burial customs are usually very revealing regarding religious beliefs and while those of the Kamarakotos, to the extent that I know them, are less so than usual, they are best mentioned here. Since we were fortunate in that none [128] of the Indians died during our stay, my acquaintance is based on examination [124] of graves[176] and statements of the Indians, checked and weighed as to their [178] reliability. Here the "progressive" policy of a few leaders is having a definite effect and it is necessary carefully to distinguish old custom from present tendencies.

766 A to'-esa' (head of a household group) is still often buried in his house and probably was invariably so interred in former times. Thus the former owner is buried in the abandoned dwelling at Uruyén and I have indicated his grave on the plan (Fig. 6A). This grave is built up with sticks and mud so that it projects about 50 cm. above the ground and must extend about an equal depth below the surface. The exposed superstructure is rectangular and about one meter square in plan. The body inside is said to be in a crouching position on its haunches, which is concordant with the otherwise peculiar form of the grave. [268] No one but the to'-esa' is buried in a house and since the house is always abandoned when its master dies anyway, no one lives in a house containing a grave. [269] There is, however, no apparent fear of this grave (or any other) or of the house, which is freely entered if occasion arises.

764 Persons other than a to'-esa' were not buried in houses but in the open nearby, each inhabited place usually having a patch of sabana that serves as a cemetery, although nothing but the presence of the graves distinguishes it. Everyone was formerly buried in a crouching position, but not in urns or baskets. [178] Now burial in the supine position is common, but this reflects the "progressive" influence. Only one body was, or is, placed in each grave. Sometimes items of personal property are buried with the body but this is neither usual nor obliga- [268] tory. Most personal property continues in use by other members of the household or, if not immediately needed, is abandoned and may be taken by any comer. Graves outside the house, like that described in a house, were formerly lined and roofed with sticks and mud so that dirt piled on top did not touch the body, but they did not generally protrude above the ground. This lining or roofing is still sometimes provided, but is no longer invariable. Some of the old houses with graves were burned, but this seems to have been rather a casual act or a mere accident from firing the sabanas than a ceremonial duty and certainly is not considered necessary.

765 It was formerly the custom to dig up the bones after an interval of about 178 a year, clean them, and keep them in a chest or basket, but this custom is said to have been entirely abandoned long since and we saw no evidence of it.

176 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analysis]

764 177 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are ●769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

805 [177] The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two [82] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

900 194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

● 771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

/92 cont./

797 vogue: fetishistic Indians, without any religion, without family,
114 without morality, worshipers of animals, /93/ trees, rocks, anything." Only by dint of living among them and through observation did we manage to free ourselves of these bad prejudices and as many others about their language, culture, organization, etc. So that our ideas are not to be suspected of being partial.

All of us who have been there, in contact with the reality of facts and very far away from books, have on more than one occasion exclaimed that "the university teaches more of life than the life of the university," and we have quoted the saying, slightly exaggerated, of Nietzche: "Thoughts that arise when walking are the only ones of value." We do not in any way scorn books, but we do not subordinate to them the living reality, which is more varied than all invented systems, but vice versa.

Apart from this, the fundamental ideas were always before us; thus, turning to the comparison between Religion and Language, just as the majority of grammatical categories or organization turn out to be the same, regardless of variation in vocabulary, thus it will also happen in religious categories or phenomenology, regardless of the variety of shadings.

Something, and even a good deal, has been said about the religion of the Indians when dealing with their magic and their
771 moral sentiments. For now let it suffice to say that the Pemón
797 Indians are not irreligious nor areligious, they have their own native religion; further, for several generations they have been receiving the influence of our Christian religion, as we have also said about our European culture. Believe me, my dear questioner, "in verbo magistri," since you have been so kind as to call me "Doctor in Pemón"; and it shall be left to the next chapter to develop this most important and thorny question: "What is the religion of the Pemón Indians?"

/94 cont./

500 interrogators, together with the majority of those who discuss it, understand that within the word religion are included these three things: beliefs or dogmas, morality or precepts, and worship or prayers, sacrifices, etc.

204. For a long time there circulated very validly through the lands of America the humoristic saying that the Indians did not have "Dios, ni fe, ni ley, ni rey /God, nor faith, nor law, nor king/." This saying, in addition to being a mnemonic device for remembering the consonants which native languages are apt to lack, also included a satirical intent and meant to say that Indians in general lacked religious organization (God and faith) and social organization (King and Law).

In conversations upon this very subject more than once I have heard it said, making a clever play on words, that the Indians are godless /"los indios son los-sin-Dios/.

771 829 205. In the previous chapter we categorically rejected this statement and we saw, especially, that the proof that the Indians didn't know how to answer whether or not they had any religion nor how to define or explain it is of no value in this matter, since these are theoretical questions for theorists.

To answer directly the question under study there exist two obvious and simplistic answers:

778 782 a) The negative one, which consists of saying: That the Indians do not have idols or images, nor sacred places or buildings, nor offerings or sacrifices, nor persons consecrated to religion.

771 b) The positive one, which runs on a par with the former one and is, like it, simplistic (and into which I confess to having fallen at times through a fondness for synthesis and brevity and through trying to make myself understood by those who are not very versed in these matters), which consists of saying: That /95/ Indians believe in the devil (ancient thesis) or that they are animists (modern thesis).

C /95 cont./
114
771 Both answers are included in the Pimentel's statement relative to the Caracas Indians: "They have neither acts of adoration, sanctuaries, house, nor any place dedicated for this; they only have their belief in the devil." In another chapter of this small work, in which we spoke of the piaches, we insisted upon clarifying the point that only in a certain sense could these people be called invokers of the devil.

? 206. My answer, making a tacit comparison between the
● 771 religious organization and the social organization, is: "That the Pemón Indians have some religious elements or rudiments, but they are disconnected and not interrelated and are little developed." Their organization has not climbed, we have said, above the family level; but neither has it descended from the same. Their religion, we here say, has not arrived at a complete development, but neither is it lacking in the basic or essential elements: a concept of our personal soul, which does not die; our finiteness and dependence; the concept of morality.

To further clarify, using another comparison which is very familiar to me and of which I am fond, I say: That the Pemón Indians have of religion what they have of clothing. It is well known that their garments are limited to a miniscule loincloth /perizoma/ or guayuco, the necessary minimum to protect or cover the modest parts. Well then, their religion, in this aspect, is limited to the natural concept of morality or immorality of certain actions of greater transcendancy in life.

And with regard to dogma, what are the beliefs, legends and stories of the Indians? They are what their necklaces, earrings, bracelets, anklets, garters, wristlets, halos or crowns, feathers, rattles, and paintings are with respect to clothing: "A lot of noise and few kernels"; much beauty, but little protection and utility.

207. Examining now each of the three essential elements, following common opinion, of every religion, I answer:

/95 cont./

776 a) The Pemón do not have an autochthonous idea of a God Creator and Savior of each of his creatures, nor particularly of man. I believe very apt Joubert's statement: "Seeking words, ideas are found," and from it I deduce that, since the Pemón lack any word of their own to say "God," they also lack this concept. And I do remember with no little laughter that the "pra man, there is none," with which /96/ they answered someone who was interrogating them about this, was interpreted as the equivalent of "Brahma."

771 577 b) Their moral code, although it is known, is not made dependent upon a supreme will, nor is it thought that moral actions might have the sanction of a reward or a positive punishment, external and not inherent to the action itself either in this life or in another one, although this life is clearly admitted with regard to its existence but very confusedly regarding its form and manner.

Those who state flatly that "there neither exists dogma without morality, nor morality without dogma," should explain this anomaly. I believe simply that they ought not to exist logically; but from this it cannot be deduced that they do not exist in fact.

782 c) No acts of worship are known of: neither of love and adoration, nor of sacrifice and placation. Neither are images or idols seen, nor anything, in general, of what makes up the external demonstrations of respect to God and his saints.

208. And in lieu of these three essential elements, they have the following:

776 a) A belief that each one of the species of animate and inanimate beings, which exists in the world, has its progenitor or its own primogenital ancestor, endowed with specific qualities, from whom individuals derive their faculties, of whom he is the protector and avenger in a purely physical order. These are the imá, the piá, said in generic form, and the potorí and the pachí, according to whether these ancestors or genealogical trees are considered masculine or feminine.

/98 cont./

•771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
955 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

/99 cont./

291 Returning to the comparison with clothing, it can be seen quite clearly that it is not necessary to deprive the Indians of their beads and rustic adornments in order that they may adopt our ways of dressing, which are more useful against the inclemencies of the seasons and biting insects; nor is it necessary that by force we oblige them to dress and to wear footwear; their own need and their own desire stimulate them sufficiently 771 toward it. Thus, neither more nor less happens to them with religion, since they scarcely have the rudiments of it, they are desirous of completing them with our explanations and teachings.

And to want us, as some would have it, not to give them any religious instruction whatsoever, is like wanting us not to give them clothing for their bodies, nor to explain physics to them, nor that we assist their agriculture, nor give them medicine. Could it perhaps be that life is not worth more than nourishment and the body more than clothing? /100/

Conclusion

Now, to end our ethnographic notes, here is an anecdote of something that happened to me on a certain occasion and at a certain place, the name of which is of no matter. Besieged and roasted by questions on the most varied matters regarding Indians, after I had run out of explanations, I chose to answer everything with the aforesaid "more or less like ourselves." Then one of my questioners, half in jest, struck me this blow: "Father, however much you may say, the most that we shall concede you is that Indians are the animal most similar to man."

I hope that my patient readers will have gotten a slightly higher idea of the Indians in the course of the chapters in which I have tried to study their soul and present it just as I have seen it during my years of living happily among them.

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion 771 171 generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking [785] only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The [276] latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some [533] hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

1 [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 116 - Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
●771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
● 77 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[282] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not
● 771 significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have
[769] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one
[581] in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

/37 cont./

83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by armchair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live
826 looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians
165 are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went
538 on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

*192 *193

563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."

564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pɛ. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pɛ. "like an animal."

565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one," i.e. eleven.

566. Method, means of me — (it)ɛtsera.

567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 227) — wairi.

101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.

569. Arekuna.

570. — Pabanaton. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101 773 The following names are given in the legend of Maichaᵗ as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakoiᵗ — "from Lnepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.

572. Karoxiai — from the Gran Sabana.

573. Nungakoi — from Brazil.

574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.

575. Name of legendary hero — Maichaᵗ.

576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Atito.

Grammar

*193 114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of [192] Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Noun.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

They use the rattle for
534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
● 773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[273] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

774 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
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[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

●773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[128] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[124] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe daiʔ, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

● 773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʔ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[834] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

/13 cont./

181 guayere /sic/ laden with fruit or with a deer across his back,
155 he comes also with his soul impregnated by nature, which later the magic of his imagination transforms in a thousand ways during the shadows of the night and which he later gives birth to in the form of tales and legends, saturated with phantasmagorias.

155 To understand well the great assimilation of the Indian with nature, we must bear in mente that metamorphosis, anthropomorphism, and animism form, to put it one way, the basis of his mentality, more imaginative than logical.

30. Wise ethnologists have already noted that primitive peoples, who live in an environment of wild and untamed nature, as yet not in the domain of mankind, undergo an extraordinary development of the imagination. And, therefore, if of all it is said that imagination is "the madwoman of the house," when we speak of the Indians we must say that imagination is "the mistress and absolute owner of their soul."

From this great predominance and overflowing of the imagination onto the other intellectual and volitive faculties, I believe to be derived all the moral defects and aptitudes previously listed as being of the Indians: inconstancy, short-sightedness, moral weakness, good humor, simplicity, brotherhood.

●774 The imagination of the Indians, in its facet of fear,
155 sometimes terror and panic, populated the clouds with uaranapí, the hills with mauaritón, the mountains with piaimá, the waters with rató and tuenkarón, graves with orodán, hollow trees with amariuak, plains with seipán, and subterranean cavities with tiripuení.

776 Another of the great creations of the Indians' imagination is the Kanaimá, which we shall have to discuss in particular in another section of this work.

Here is complied with, to the letter, the famous phrase of the Latin poet, in which he says, "Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit," for men's fear when faced with great natural

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarily and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

/51 cont./

000 present-day world, just as it was not possible in the past." All of this, adds Msgr. LeRoy, comes as a result of the portrait which frequently has been given us of savages, which is a portrait of pure fantasy, made by innocent or malevolent a priorists in defense of preconceived theories. "The most savage savage is a man like any other, who has his theory of life, his philosophy, his civilization, and his ways of life in conformity with the environment."

Thus, before answering the question categorically, we must remember among ourselves, spiritualism, trying to supplant not only religion but even medicine and other sciences; necromancy or the invocation of the dead; astrology; oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams, so frequently practiced by those who play lotteries and which still is one of the uses of playing cards; moths fluttering about candles of old or modern light bulbs, which foretell the arrival of letters; a humming in the ears, a sign that they are talking about us; and a hundred other things.

787 111. Having written this occasional composition and having undergone this /52/ examination of conscience, I say that, of the many means used for attempted divination, I only find three used by the Indians:

1) Invocation of the dead; 2) Augury, or the interpretation of natural events as presages; 3) Oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams (or fantasies) as omens or premonitions.

775 Individuals are convinced that the spirit survives and that
787 this spirit can return among them. To this it must be added that hallucinations were (and are) very frequent among primitives and among ignorant people and among those who live in isolated areas. There in the loneliness of the countryside, far from the noise and distractions of the great concentrations of the cities, there occurs what was noted by B. Dupiney de Vorepierre, that "under the emotion of the loss of a being who was beloved by us, exalted imagination often shows so vividly the person mourned, that we believe we see him before our eyes, speak to him, and hear him."

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

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General Religious Ideas.

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In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

● 775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

775 anything about such things," or "I never have thought about that." One informant said that the "wild, ignorant Indians," i.e. those unlike himself, used to believe in the surviving souls both of men and of animals and that the souls lived in the house of God, but that "intelligent Indians," i.e. those like himself, do not know whether this is so or not. The pseudo-Christian idea of survival in the house of God probably indicates that this is not a reliable statement of indigenous belief, even though it was disclaimed by the speaker and ascribed to the savages.

177 771 There are some slight traces of Christian influence, but these have not significantly affected the thought or life of the people and cannot be considered as the cause of the degeneration of native belief. The two or three Spanish-speaking Indians have acquired with that language a knowledge of the existence of the Christian religion and they show some tendency to wish visitors to believe that this doctrine is known and revered here, mainly because they think it an indispensable adjunct of civilization and dislike being considered uncivilized. One or two individuals claim to have been baptized, which is probable since they have lived in Venezuelan towns, and even to have baptized children themselves, which is not probable. They were, however, unable to explain any item of Christian doctrine, even the meaning of baptism, and I could not learn that this knowledge extends beyond the superficial aspects of that sacrament and recognition of the cross as a Christian symbol. At least one woman has a holy medal, which she wears as others do silver coins and which seems to have [769] no more meaning for her. Several crosses have been erected on graves and one in front of the abandoned house of a dead man. In one place crosses were [581] scratched at random on a mud wall, along with various profane sketches. There seems to be a receptive attitude toward Christianity and certainly no hostility, but this certainly is largely due to lack of any realization of how antagonistic that religion is to their present mode of life and habits of thought. For instance, at least one of those who expressed himself as most anxious for the introduction of Christianity is happily married to several wives.

771 As will by now be apparent, their own religion is almost completely non-ritualistic. It involves no true cult, no sacrifices or offerings, no religious buildings or altars, no images or other sacred objects, nothing in the nature of primarily religious services or ceremonies, no real worship, and no propitiation except as a few of the piache's activities might be so considered in a very broad sense. The contrast with the highly ceremonial and theistic Indian religions of the Andes, of Mexico, and of many other parts of North America is almost as great as can be.

/13 cont./

181 guayere /sic/ laden with fruit or with a deer across his back,
155 he comes also with his soul impregnated by nature, which later the magic of his imagination transforms in a thousand ways during the shadows of the night and which he later gives birth to in the form of tales and legends, saturated with phantasmagorias.

155 To understand well the great assimilation of the Indian with nature, we must bear in mente that metamorphosis, anthropomorphism, and animism form, to put it one way, the basis of his mentality, more imaginative than logical.

30. Wise ethnologists have already noted that primitive peoples, who live in an environment of wild and untamed nature, as yet not in the domain of mankind, undergo an extraordinary development of the imagination. And, therefore, if of all it is said that imagination is "the madwoman of the house," when we speak of the Indians we must say that imagination is "the mistress and absolute owner of their soul."

From this great predominance and overflowing of the imagination onto the other intellectual and volitive faculties, I believe to be derived all the moral defects and aptitudes previously listed as being of the Indians: inconstancy, short-sightedness, moral weakness, good humor, simplicity, brotherhood.

774 The imagination of the Indians, in its facet of fear,
155 sometimes terror and panic, populated the clouds with uaranapí, the hills with mauaritón, the mountains with piaimá, the waters with rató and tuenkarón, graves with orodán, hollow trees with amariuak, plains with seipán, and subterranean cavities with tiripuení.

776 Another of the great creations of the Indians' imagination is the Kanaimá, which we shall have to discuss in particular in another section of this work.

Here is complied with, to the letter, the famous phrase of the Latin poet, in which he says, "Primos in orbe terrarum timor deos fecit," for men's fear when faced with great natural

/47 cont./

780 Every religious concept presupposes or includes within itself these three motivations: reverential love, supplication, and gratitude. Magic, by contrast, hides beneath its cloak these three opposites: fear or dread, imperative conjury, and selfish material interest. For this reason magic has been called a vain religion, that is, hollow, empty, with only an outward appearance, a mere hull or husk. "Magic," says Grandmaison, "is nothing but formulism, pure self-interest. Science without a basis, falsification or corruption of true religion, deals with its object without respect and without love."

104. Fundamentally, thus, religion and magic represent the eternal struggle between the spiritual and material, soul and body, sincerity and hypocrisy, formulism and realism: worship in spirit and in truth as opposed to worship in this or that exact /48/ place and with many artful words, to rend the heart as opposed to rending clothes, to offer a contrite and humble heart as opposed to offerings in the spirit of ransom and bribery, to avoid hypocrisy and not pharisaic lightness, to fear not that which kills the body but that which demoralizes the spirit, to avoid not the legally impure contact with certain things or others, nor eating with unwashed hands, but the action, the word, and even the intimate evil desire, etc., etc., according to the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

•776 782 105. The result is that the Indians do not love but fear the disembodied spirits or orodán and mauarí, as possible agents of purely physical ills; neither do they invoke them with submission or reverence; they try to disarm or bribe them with material things, which they desire or fear the same as we do; finally, these spirits are not offended by immoral actions but by physical actions, nor do they take over the evil person, but the weak, the sick, etc.

789 The sorcerer does not supplicate, properly speaking, any superior being; he believes that he knows a means by which some things or natural causes work upon others or find themselves obliged to work. As a certain author states, magic is the art

/56 cont./

846 121. On top of these and other theories, the Pemón Indians,
who practice the couvade, themselves have explained to me
829 the reason and extent. Therefore, as far as they are concerned,
there is no doubt that the reason for this is the following. They
say that: /five plates appear here/ /57/ a) "every alteration
of the health of the father or of the mother, any work which
might lead to tiredness, any fatigue or disturbance of the pro-
genitors, etc., has repercussions on the newborn, who are a
part of them." They believe, thus, in sympathetic influence,
to which they suppose children to be extremely sensitive and
which has repercussions on the child, as a part of a whole,
from the parents.

Men as scientific as Alexis Carrel believe that there is
ome truth in this and thus there is an explanation of certain
phenomena of telepathy, prescience, etc.

b) The Pemón add to this another reason and this is that,
846 according to them, the potorí or piá, each of them the en-
776 genderer of a definite species of animal and plant, on being
cut down or destroyed, take vengeance on human sprouts or
offspring. Another thing is that the mauarí and other spirits
are bothered by certain actions of men, such as, for example,
by the rolling of stones down hills, and then they also take
vengeance on their little children, who are easier prey for
their anger and their evil influences. This second cause is,
thus, belief in the harmful influence of invisible spirits and of
the progenitors and, for this reason, defenders of living beings,
whoever they may be /sic/.

843 It will suffice to transcribe a few precautions, among the
784 very many taken down from their dictation, so that the two
principles which have been stated may be quite clear:

1. A woman who is enceinte must not eat cassava which
has been returned to the house from which it came, so
that, when she gives birth the child may not turn back
to the breast.

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

/64 cont./

600 142. Peace to men of good will. 143. Cases and more cases. 144. A very significant story.

776 137. The Indians have the notion of Kanaima up to the marrow of their bones, and there is no reason, however convincing it be, capable of persuading them to the contrary. And when one wishes to convince them that there are no such Kanaimas, nor such things, and that it is all imagination and fear that they have, they propose so many cases and with such circumstances that they are capable of convincing anybody who is not really up on things.

When traveling along the road they see its footprints -- the Kanaima walks on tiptoe or on the heel so that its path may not be recognized --; just the other day an Indian who was in the field grabbed Kanaima and then his spine began to hurt; a certain Indian woman, going for water to the ravine, saw Kanaima and got sick; another man, while hunting, heard its whistles and its cries like those of a child; finally, the Indians in a certain village had to move their dwelling because of the abundance of Kanaimas, and those in another one killed two or three Kanaimas with machetes. Such conversations on this subject are the daily bread of the Indians.

776 829 138. And although their ideas on this matter may not be very unanimous nor very logical, in general they state the following:

That the Kanaimas are Pichaukok Indians; they are not mythological beings or demons, but Indians of another, pre-existent race in these regions.

That the Kanaima are many; that toward the Venamo, Iru-tepui, Kama, etc. -- more remote and uninhabited regions -- they live in stone houses or under stones.

That the Kanaima generally does not attack Indians when there are several of them but when meeting someone alone who is straggling behind.

/64 cont./

829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

/65 cont./

140. Up to here we have said what the Indians think; later my readers will see what the missionaries think. First, allow us this question: Could it be true, as some assert, that the Indians with these and other ideas intimately rooted in their being are happier believing in the piaches and not in the Fathers, in Kanaima and not in Jesus Christ, living in a religion of pure fear and not in the love of Christianity? We do not yield the point to him who says such a thing; and it seems to us that those who so state know the Indians only on the outside, like students who know books by the back, or by the cover, as others say.

776 141. He who knows how to read between the lines will easily agree with us in these ideas, which have let themselves be glimpsed in the very statements that the Indians make, although incoherent, as though based on imagination.

1. The Kanaima is reminiscent of the more or less remote battles that these Indians sustained with those of other /66/ tribes, or perhaps internal wars, and in which they frequently made use of ambushes, disguises, etc.

2. The Kanaima is a typical case of the psychology of fear or of hysteria, which makes them see and hear what does not exist and to believe in their own lies and to be frightened of fictitious creations, like a certain type of animal which is frightened of its own shadow.

3. Frequently the true Kanaimas are the Indians themselves, the most evil and immoral of them, who take advantage of the fear that the others have of this scarecrow in order to take vengeance, to rob and to kill; then they say that it was Kanaima and thus they are free from punishment and have no responsibility in the eyes of the others.

So that these three causes: the stories of bloody fights, perhaps not very far in the past; the great imagination and innate timidity of the Indian; and a few real cases of treacherous attacks, have come to create this phantom of the Kanaima, which obsesses the Indians and of which it would be difficult to free them even over a long period of time.

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

/67 cont./

159 himself in the field. But this time playing Kanaima did not
776 serve him any purpose, since his companion recognized him
578 and, far from being frightened, fell upon him with blows of a stick, so that, going for wool, he came back fleeced and, with his back redder than annatto, ran off to hid his sad fate.

538 144. The Indians themselves, for whom it is easier to let the imagination run to create a tale than to tie together the
776 ends of various facts and ideas to form a well-reasoned out argument, have in their folklore this extremely significant story:

In a certain place there lived two Indians, each one married to the other's sister. During the night they heard Kanaima's whistle, who, or so it seemed, was going around the house with the intention of catching someone. One of the women with the greatest secrecy got down from the hammock and began to spin cotton. The Kanaima whistled again: Soé, soé. The Indian woman opened the door as though to throw out the seeds, and she saw the Kanaima hiding behind a tree. Then speaking in a loud voice in order to cover her intention, she said to her husband: Here is a rat which is eating up my cotton seeds, come shoot it with an arrow. Her husband leaped out of the hammock, picked up his bow, and approached his wife; she said in his ear: The Kanaima is there behind that pole, shoot it. The Kanaima was watching, fooled, to see what would come of that scene, when all of a sudden he received a blow with an arrow on his forehead. Protected by the darkness of the night, he went running to his rancho; to hide what had happened he told his mother that he was shooting at a toucan and that the arrow had come back and wounded him on the forehead.

When day came the Indian woman went to her mother's house and found her brother sick; her mother explained to her that in trying to shoot a toucan he had wounded himself. She returned to her house and told this to her husband. He suspected

/67 cont./

538 that he could be the Kanaima of the night before and went to
● 776 see his brother-in-law; he wanted to see the wound but he resisted showing it to him; then he was even more suspicious and by force he tore off the bandage. The arrow was still stuck in; then he recognized that it was his own and, pulling it out of him violently, he said:

"This arrow is mine; you were not shooting toucans, /68/ you were trying to act like Kanaima, and this happened so that you will learn a lesson."

And let what has been said suffice, since the proverb warns us that "intelligentibus, pauca."

Chapter XVII

Are the Indians Shameless or Modest?

100

145. Clothing and virtues, modesty and morality. 146. Individual morality. 147. Modesty seeks clothing. 148. Nudists and Freudians. 149. Accidental morality. 150. From the word to the act. 151. Knowledge of morality or ethics. 152. Polygamy. 153. Negative and positive morality.

145. This question, asked perhaps in a merely physiological sense, gives us the basis for dealing at the same time with the morality of the Indians, since, according to what St. Paul said, clothing is the image of internal virtues and modesty, of moral decency.

156 146. In the first place, it is clear that one cannot talk of the Indians in the plural without making any distinction, as one can about mice, since for them, as for everyone else, there is value in the saying that "not even the fingers of the hand are the same." Every individual among them, simply because they

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868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged
538 more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

/95 cont./

776 a) The Pemón do not have an autochthonous idea of a God Creator and Savior of each of his creatures, nor particularly of man. I believe very apt Joubert's statement: "Seeking words, ideas are found," and from it I deduce that, since the Pemón lack any word of their own to say "God," they also lack this concept. And I do remember with no little laughter that the "pra man, there is none," with which /96/ they answered someone who was interrogating them about this, was interpreted as the equivalent of "Brahma."

771 b) Their moral code, although it is known, is not made
577 dependent upon a supreme will, nor is it thought that moral actions might have the sanction of a reward or a positive punishment, external and not inherent to the action itself either in this life or in another one, although this life is clearly admitted with regard to its existence but very confusedly regarding its form and manner.

Those who state flatly that "there neither exists dogma without morality, nor morality without dogma," should explain this anomaly. I believe simply that they ought not to exist logically; but from this it cannot be deduced that they do not exist in fact.

782 c) No acts of worship are known of: neither of love and adoration, nor of sacrifice and placation. Neither are images or idols seen, nor anything, in general, of what makes up the external demonstrations of respect to God and his saints.

208. And in lieu of these three essential elements, they have the following:

776 a) A belief that each one of the species of animate and inanimate beings, which exists in the world, has its progenitor or its own primogenital ancestor, endowed with specific qualities, from whom individuals derive their faculties, of whom he is the protector and avenger in a purely physical order. These are the imá, the piá, said in generic form, and the potorí and the pachí, according to whether these ancestors or genealogical trees are considered masculine or feminine.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukiiʔ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — müirepon.

240. ware.

241. katoiʔ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroʔ.

247. skirt — (i)maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 ● 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first
● 776 piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described
[287] for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be
[755] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as
[757] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers
[754] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not succeed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
● 776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and muffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi', being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

● 774 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
77/ Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 539 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).‡ He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should ● 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

‡ [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Plaimá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians, and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character, but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."-223
[197] Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
[266] terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Motilones, have not been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians. On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto," the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

223 [see footnote on pp. 332-33, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 263]

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
827 so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/94 cont./

500 interrogators, together with the majority of those who discuss it, understand that within the word religion are included these three things: beliefs or dogmas, morality or precepts, and worship or prayers, sacrifices, etc.

204. For a long time there circulated very validly through the lands of America the humoristic saying that the Indians did not have "Dios, ni fe, ni ley, ni rey /God, nor faith, nor law, nor king/." This saying, in addition to being a mnemonic device for remembering the consonants which native languages are apt to lack, also included a satirical intent and meant to say that Indians in general lacked religious organization (God and faith) and social organization (King and Law).

In conversations upon this very subject more than once I have heard it said, making a clever play on words, that the Indians are godless /"los indios son los-sin-Dios/.

771 205. In the previous chapter we categorically rejected
829 this statement and we saw, especially, that the proof that the Indians didn't know how to answer whether or not they had any religion nor how to define or explain it is of no value in this matter, since these are theoretical questions for theorists.

To answer directly the question under study there exist two obvious and simplistic answers:

●778 a) The negative one, which consists of saying: That the
782 Indians do not have idols or images, nor sacred places or buildings, nor offerings or sacrifices, nor persons consecrated to religion.

771 b) The positive one, which runs on a par with the former one and is, like it, simplistic (and into which I confess to having fallen at times through a fondness for synthesis and brevity and through trying to make myself understood by those who are not very versed in these matters), which consists of saying: That /95/ Indians believe in the devil (ancient thesis) or that they are animists (modern thesis).

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

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776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
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● 778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

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174 [see footnote on p.328, category 116 - Analyst]

/64 cont./

829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

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776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
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174 [see footnote on p.328, category 11b - Analyst]

/47 cont./

890 Every religious concept presupposes or includes within itself these three motivations: reverential love, supplication, and gratitude. Magic, by contrast, hides beneath its cloak these three opposites: fear or dread, imperative conjury, and selfish material interest. For this reason magic has been called a vain religion, that is, hollow, empty, with only an outward appearance, a mere hull or husk. "Magic," says Grandmaison, "is nothing but formulism, pure self-interest. Science without a basis, falsification or corruption of true religion, deals with its object without respect and without love."

104. Fundamentally, thus, religion and magic represent the eternal struggle between the spiritual and material, soul and body, sincerity and hypocrisy, formulism and realism: worship in spirit and in truth as opposed to worship in this or that exact /48/ place and with many artful words, to rend the heart as opposed to rending clothes, to offer a contrite and humble heart as opposed to offerings in the spirit of ransom and bribery, to avoid hypocrisy and not pharisaic lightness, to fear not that which kills the body but that which demoralizes the spirit, to avoid not the legally impure contact with certain things or others, nor eating with unwashed hands, but the action, the word, and even the intimate evil desire, etc., etc., according to the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

776 105. The result is that the Indians do not love but fear
782 the disembodied spirits or orodán and mauarí, as possible agents of purely physical ills; neither do they invoke them with submission or reverence; they try to disarm or bribe them with material things, which they desire or fear the same as we do; finally, these spirits are not offended by immoral actions but by physical actions, nor do they take over the evil person, but the weak, the sick, etc.

789 The sorcerer does not supplicate, properly speaking, any superior being; he believes that he knows a means by which some things or natural causes work upon others or find themselves obliged to work. As a certain author states, magic is the art

/94 cont./

500 interrogators, together with the majority of those who discuss it, understand that within the word religion are included these three things: beliefs or dogmas, morality or precepts, and worship or prayers, sacrifices, etc.

204. For a long time there circulated very validly through the lands of America the humoristic saying that the Indians did not have "Dios, ni fe, ni ley, ni rey /God, nor faith, nor law, nor king/." This saying, in addition to being a mnemonic device for remembering the consonants which native languages are apt to lack, also included a satirical intent and meant to say that Indians in general lacked religious organization (God and faith) and social organization (King and Law).

In conversations upon this very subject more than once I have heard it said, making a clever play on words, that the Indians are godless /"los indios son los-sin-Dios/.

771 205. In the previous chapter we categorically rejected
829 this statement and we saw, especially, that the proof that the Indians didn't know how to answer whether or not they had any religion nor how to define or explain it is of no value in this matter, since these are theoretical questions for theorists.

To answer directly the question under study there exist two obvious and simplistic answers:

778 a) The negative one, which consists of saying: That the
● 782 Indians do not have idols or images, nor sacred places or buildings, nor offerings or sacrifices, nor persons consecrated to religion.

771 b) The positive one, which runs on a par with the former one and is, like it, simplistic (and into which I confess to having fallen at times through a fondness for synthesis and brevity and through trying to make myself understood by those who are not very versed in these matters), which consists of saying: That /95/ Indians believe in the devil (ancient thesis) or that they are animists (modern thesis).

/95 cont./

776 a) The Pemón do not have an autochthonous idea of a God Creator and Savior of each of his creatures, nor particularly of man. I believe very apt Joubert's statement: "Seeking words, ideas are found," and from it I deduce that, since the Pemón lack any word of their own to say "God," they also lack this concept. And I do remember with no little laughter that the "pra man, there is none," with which /96/ they answered someone who was interrogating them about this, was interpreted as the equivalent of "Brahma."

771 b) Their moral code, although it is known, is not made
577 dependent upon a supreme will, nor is it thought that moral actions might have the sanction of a reward or a positive punishment, external and not inherent to the action itself either in this life or in another one, although this life is clearly admitted with regard to its existence but very confusedly regarding its form and manner.

Those who state flatly that "there neither exists dogma without morality, nor morality without dogma," should explain this anomaly. I believe simply that they ought not to exist logically; but from this it cannot be deduced that they do not exist in fact.

782 c) No acts of worship are known of: neither of love and adoration, nor of sacrifice and placation. Neither are images or idols seen, nor anything, in general, of what makes up the external demonstrations of respect to God and his saints.

208. And in lieu of these three essential elements, they have the following:

776 a) A belief that each one of the species of animate and inanimate beings, which exists in the world, has its progenitor or its own primogenital ancestor, endowed with specific qualities, from whom individuals derive their faculties, of whom he is the protector and avenger in a purely physical order. These are the imá, the piá, said in generic form, and the potorí and the pachí, according to whether these ancestors or genealogical trees are considered masculine or feminine.

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[273] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
777 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[282] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
● 793 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

000 109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/58 cont./

765 As a result of this they must withdraw from dealing with
753 others; they must not join in to eat other people's food nor offer to others food prepared for them, since they would make them sick, causing them to have stomach-aches, intestinal decomposition, and similar things. I even recall having heard them often attribute to this diarrhea and intestinal worms in children, who are weaker and of more exquisite sensitivity to feel evil influences and vibrations, to say it in one way, sympathetic.

Keep in mind that this infection is not due only nor principally to physical contact with the dead person, but to sympathetic or physio-psychological contact; so that, even at a distance and far away from the dead relative, this will influence equally all his kindred.

[302] In addition to the observances noted above, mourners shave their heads completely and paint themselves with annatto or achiote, but the women are left with a little lock of hair on top.

When one moon or more has passed, those affected by the asarakpué wash themselves, together with all of their implements and clothing, using verbasco lye. And thus they can return to common, everyday life.

[783] It would be too much to say that at present the Pemón Indians observe this with all rigor; against the natural protest of the piaches and the old people, the younger generations are losing these beliefs and customs.

100 Both practices, those of the couvade and those of the asarakpué, are quite similar to the Mosaic legal prescriptions concerning the impurity of parturient women and concerning those who touch corpses; thus it can be seen that in past centuries, when ethnology was still in diapers, there was an attempt to discover by means of these a close link between the Indians and the Jews.

/56 cont./

846 121. On top of these and other theories, the Pemón Indians,
who practice the couvade, themselves have explained to me
829 the reason and extent. Therefore, as far as they are concerned,
there is no doubt that the reason for this is the following. They
say that: /five plates appear here/ /57/ a) "every alteration
of the health of the father or of the mother, any work which
might lead to tiredness, any fatigue or disturbance of the pro-
genitors, etc., has repercussions on the newborn, who are a
part of them." They believe, thus, in sympathetic influence,
to which they suppose children to be extremely sensitive and
which has repercussions on the child, as a part of a whole,
from the parents.

Men as scientific as Alexis Carrel believe that there is
ome truth in this and thus there is an explanation of certain
phenomena of telepathy, prescience, etc.

846 b) The Pemón add to this another reason and this is that,
according to them, the potorí or piá, each of them the en-
776 genderer of a definite species of animal and plant, on being
cut down or destroyed, take vengeance on human sprouts or
offspring. Another thing is that the mauarí and other spirits
are bothered by certain actions of men, such as, for example,
by the rolling of stones down hills, and then they also take
vengeance on their little children, who are easier prey for
their anger and their evil influences. This second cause is,
thus, belief in the harmful influence of invisible spirits and of
the progenitors and, for this reason, defenders of living beings,
whoever they may be /sic/.

843 It will suffice to transcribe a few precautions, among the
784 very many taken down from their dictation, so that the two
principles which have been stated may be quite clear:

1. A woman who is enceinte must not eat cassava which
has been returned to the house from which it came, so
that, when she gives birth the child may not turn back
to the breast.

/57 cont./

784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat pauji
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the pauji has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

/60 cont./

881 b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;
[302]

881 c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no
841 one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she
521 wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of
[593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba? and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the to?-esa?, Reyes, in an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted casave[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 11b - Analyst]

121 collective, and priestly, and, on the other, as animistic, non-ritualistic, individual, and shamanistic. The former are religious in a more limited sense while the latter are predominantly magical as opposed to strictly religious. A given tribe usually shows a mixture of the two general types, sometimes in a single inseparable system with the same individuals acting as priests and shamans, and sometimes in a dual system with the priestly and shamanistic functions differentiated and delegated to different individuals. The Carib religion generally and that of the Kamarakotos specifically are almost purely shamanistic.

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The Piache.

756 Like most other Caribs, the Kamarakotos have only one sort of mediator with the supernatural and he is technically a shaman, a medicineman, not a priest. I shall call this individual the piache, the common Venezuelan Spanish name, derived from the Carib word which in Kamarakoto is piatsan. There are at least three piaches in the central group of Kamarakotos and there are said to be several more among the more outlying Indians loosely affiliated with this tribe. In their daily lives the piaches are hardly distinguishable from anyone else (see Fig. 75).[1] Their supposed supernatural powers give them no particular additional prestige in civil matters and unlike most Indian priests (as distinct from shamans) they are not powerful political forces in the tribe.

The function of the piache is primarily and almost exclusively medical, but the medical system is spiritualistic or religious and not material. As a physician the piache derives his power not from any actual knowledge of diagnosis and physical treatment but from his ability to commune with and in some degree to control, or at least to influence, the supernatural world. To fulfill these functions, the piache requires knowledge of certain physical tricks, not unlike those of spirit mediums elsewhere, and rote memory of various charms and spells, mostly songs, that are not known to the layman.

To learn this trade the apprentice must be accepted as a colleague by a piache already established and by him be initiated into the secrets of the profession. He is required to fast for a long time, two or three months, drinking only water and eating only as much as is absolutely necessary to sustain life, so that he becomes extremely thin. After this preparation, a definite initiation occurs in which apparently only the initiate and his sponsor are involved. The latter gives the former an infusion of green tobacco in water, which is taken through the nostrils. The initiate becomes unconscious and remains so for some hours, normally about half a day. The piache then sings to the initiate, who, still unconscious or in a trance, eventually sits up and starts singing also. When he returns to normal, he is a piache in his own right. The exact details of this and other procedures and the texts of the songs are closely guarded secrets

[285]
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1 [For Fig. 75 see p. 228b, category 11b – Analyst]

171 escape the clear evidence that many Caribs did eat human flesh and hence, in
266 any acceptable definition of the word, were indeed cannibals. It is evident that this was seldom or never a regular item of diet but took place under definite, ritual circumstances, and it is probable that it was never a universal practice common to all the highly diverse Carib tribes. The question is academic here, since the Kamarakotos and their closer allies certainly never eat human flesh now and have no memory or legends of such a practice.

15 224. This and the contrary statement regarding the Indians are supported
114 by the expert opinion of my wife, Dr. Roe, who is a clinical psychologist.

155 225. It would not be proper to expand or to argue these statements here,
171 but it should be added as confirmatory evidence that among allied Indians who
158 have been in close contact with missionaries of various sects there are occasional clearly neurotic tendencies and cases.

364 226. We later saw Taurepanes, under much stronger "civilized" influence,
177 living in dirt such as would not be tolerated by a Kamarakoto.

122 227. Kamarakoto women did our washing during our stay and got it as
296 clean as a laundry would, although with some extra wear. That their own clothing was usually rather dirty may, indeed, have been due in some degree to their spending so much time on ours.

273 228. It seems, moreover, certain that the sexual excesses said to accom-
● 288 pany Indian drinking bouts among other tribes do not occur here.

202 229. The Kamarakotos use no means of signaling, by drums, fire, or
[101] otherwise. They told me, with evident admiration, that traveling parties of
[484] Arekunas (i.e. any of the Indians closely related to the Kamarakotos but not recognized as belonging to this tribe) communicate advance notice of their number, destination, and time of arrival by setting fires, but that they do not know this art. Travelers confirm the use of fire-signals among allied tribes, although the Kamarakotos may have exaggerated the extent and explicitness of such messages.

171 230. This practice of burning the sabanas is as common in northern
372 Venezuela as it is in Kamarata and is pursued even in Caracas, where it is a
311 source of much annoyance and some real loss and danger. Is it possible that this very unfortunate Venezuelan habit is another heritage from the Indians? In the cattle country it is rationalized by saying that it improves the pasturage (but Pittier has shown that the exact opposite is true) and reduces the number

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

• 787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/43 cont./

787 conversation with them, discovers the cause of the illness,
755 takes away from them the spirit (energy, vigor, or health) which they had taken from the Indian, and returns it to the sick person, who should begin to improve.

756 There is no doubt that the piache is a subject of autosug-
787 gestion, an hallucinated person who believes in his own lies. In order to understand this better we must bear in mind that the ingestion of the said tisanes and others such as peyoth, meczal, yagé, miguarano, etc., produce not only inebriation, but also hallucinations and imaginative illuminations, even in distinct colors, by which some name these illusiogenic substances. And as the soul is for Indians with respect to the body, blood and vigor, and in with respect to the spiritual the interior eye or imaginative faculty, which is the most vigorous and vivid, the result is that he has the imaginative lucidity
[171] for spiritual illustration. These customs and beliefs have already been observed with regard to the Mexican Indians by López de Gómara, Pedro Mártir, and Lafitau, and other colonial writers.

755 95. It is necessary to have attended piachería seances --
787 I call them this because of their similarity to the seances of spiritualists-- in order to understand the bewitchment or hyponotization that can be produced in sick persons and even those who are not sick. Three or four times I managed to attend and I retain the memory of this grandiose and impressive aesthetic and psychological phenomenon; I still seem to hear the resonance of the various songs of the piache in the deep silence of the night and inside the round huts; I can still hear the cadence of the sheaves, which now would be rustling like a forest in a hurricane or now would sound like a grove of trees stirred by a gentle breeze; I can still hear the imitation of birds or animals, the remarkable imitation of noises that go off or come close, of spirits who went up or down, beating on the ground with force, of a multiplicity of persons who were conversing, and a thousand other things, some of which made one drowsy and others which made one's hair stand up.

/43 cont./

755 96. The piaches do not customarily work for a fixed price, but the Indians, according to their ability to pay and their gratitude and according to the good or bad results of the cure, make them gifts as they freely wish.

756 The piaches believe in the obligation to abstain from cer-
755 tain foodstuffs, principally on the day of and the night before they must perform.

755 In the cases I witnessed I did not see that the piaches were
● 787 /44/ real ventriloquists or that they "were talking big," as the ancients would say; they only imitated in an ordinary way different voices, with the help of the hand and quickly changing posture and place. (Darkness was a help to me in following all their tricks and illusions, both in this and when they pretended to go up in the air and down again.)

755 97. All the Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, believe themselves capable of curing by means of charms and at the
755 same time capable of producing evil effects; but naturally they
756 believe the charms and magical blowings cast by the piaches are much more efficaceous and fearsome. Among the latter as well there are degrees; and they usually consider to be the wisest of those initiated in other tribes or coming from them. For this reason the piaches sometimes say that they can do nothing to cure certain diseases, because they have been caused by other piaches who live in distant regions and possess other secrets unknown by them.

538 98. In tales and legends, more than in real life, the
756 Indians consider their piaches to be diviners and miracle workers. Thus for example, they attribute to Chirikavai or Apakavai: that he carved off human limbs and put them back on as one would put together and take apart a clock; that he turned his yachí and his pana-darí (dependents) into birds; that he was able to interpret their songs as if they were conversations of people; finally, that he ascended to the sky preceded by his nephew Marité (Scorpion) and that with his equipment and his limbs he created several constellations, among them Tamuekán,

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical prac-
tices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives.
The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade,
which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors
and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three
years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in
ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on
the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences,
etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

/51 cont./

present-day world, just as it was not possible in the past." All of this, adds Msgr. LeRoy, comes as a result of the portrait which frequently has been given us of savages, which is a portrait of pure fantasy, made by innocent or malevolent a priorists in defense of preconceived theories. "The most savage savage is a man like any other, who has his theory of life, his philosophy, his civilization, and his ways of life in conformity with the environment."

Thus, before answering the question categorically, we must remember among ourselves, spiritualism, trying to supplant not only religion but even medicine and other sciences; necromancy or the invocation of the dead; astrology; oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams, so frequently practiced by those who play lotteries and which still is one of the uses of playing cards; moths fluttering about candles of old or modern light bulbs, which foretell the arrival of letters; a humming in the ears, a sign that they are talking about us; and a hundred other things.

787 111. Having written this occasional composition and having undergone this /52/ examination of conscience, I say that, of the many means used for attempted divination, I only find three used by the Indians:

1) Invocation of the dead; 2) Augury, or the interpretation of natural events as presages; 3) Oneiromancy, or the interpretation of dreams (or fantasies) as omens or premonitions.

775 Individuals are convinced that the spirit survives and that
787 this spirit can return among them. To this it must be added that hallucinations were (and are) very frequent among primitives and among ignorant people and among those who live in isolated areas. There in the loneliness of the countryside, far from the noise and distractions of the great concentrations of the cities, there occurs what was noted by B. Dupiney de Vorepierre, that "under the emotion of the loss of a being who was beloved by us, exalted imagination often shows so vividly the person mourned, that we believe we see him before our eyes, speak to him, and hear him."

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

/53 cont./

787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

/53 cont./

787 coincidences. But even these latter, being mindful of "just in case" and "precaution is not cowardice," in practice act as if they were believers. Especially concerning dreams, which sometimes are so vivid and impressive /54/ all stick to tradition and it can be said of them what someone said of simple people in general: "It doesn't matter to them what they see by day and they are so preoccupied with what passes through their heads during sleep at night."

Chapter XIV

What Is This about Couvade and Asarakpué?

116. The word and the custom. 117. False observations. 118. The four degrees of the couvade. 119. The custom is general. 120. Proposed explanations. 121. What the Pemón say about this custom of theirs. 122. The practice of asarakpué.

846 116. This exotic (French) word couvade or covada has come into our language and now all ethnologists commonly use it; other words invented to replace it, such as empollamiento /"incubation"/, simply do not fit. Foreign in its origin, this word speaks to us of a custom strange and even ridiculous when studied only superficially.

The couvade consists of the special cares which a father and a mother must take to assure good procreation (eugenics) and development of their infant children. As the Pemón say: Mure yun-pe, mure dam-pe enan dau, esenman naua ("When one is the father or mother of a child, one must be careful in the following things"). And to this is added a long and detailed list of precautions.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
● 787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1934. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

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If a *modoi* (species of a very tiny spider) hangs within the buse (spins his web) it means that a traveler will come to hang up his web or hammock. 787 82

If a flea bites an Indian it is a sign that Indians are coming to his house.

If a boy falls from a hammock, it is a sign that he is going to be crazy.

If a bat hovers above the smoke of our home, it is a sign that our hunters will find a deer.

If on the road we stumble, it means that we are going to meet travelers coming in the opposite direction.

If a *viomâ* (kind of bird) whistles *kui-pi, kui-pi*, he is saying: "a deer is hidden over there."

If a rooster or a hen crows at night at unusual hours, it means that one of our acquaintances is speaking against us.

If our ears ring, it means that we are going (warning of death). In this case the Indians strike their ears as one who shoos away flies and say: *etë pai pra edai* (I don't wan to go).

When the clouds are tinged with red, it's a sign that spotted tigers are being born.

When an Indian is weaving something and his legs go to sleep, he says: "it's a sign that they are going to buy it."

When the eyelids twich (with those involuntary wormlike movements), it is a sign that some one of our relatives is dying. [763]

When a stick crackles as it burns, it is a sign that some one of our relatives is suffering.

The above is sufficient for our readers to form an idea how the *Pemón* Indians think in relation to omens.

756 unknown to any of my informants and the piaches themselves are quite unapproachable on the subject.[173]

756 776 [287] Piaimá, a supernatural being or spirit, is said to have initiated the first piaches into their mysteries by exactly the same procedure that I have described for the earthly piache's initiation of an apprentice. He is also said now to be corporeally visible to a piache (but to no one else) and to converse with and advise the piaches. Although I lack specific information on the point, it therefore seems highly probable that the initiation involves the invocation of Piaimá and that some, at least, of the various curative procedures also involve his presence and co-operation. However this may be, it is definite that the piaches are in rapport with Piaimá and that he is for them co-operative in some degree but that for other Indians and without the intervention of a piache he is exceedingly dangerous and may appear in the guise of a savage killer. He is thus essentially evil, a devil in fact, and the piaches derive much of their power through personal acquaintance with this devil and through their ability to temper his wrath or to direct his activities into desirable channels.

The Theory of Disease.

753 Although I shall not go into detail on this subject, the Kamarakoto theory of disease is so inextricably linked with magic and religion that it must be briefly summarized. It is not now true of the Kamarakotos, as has been stated for various Indian tribes, and probably was never true that they considered quite all ailments to be supernatural in origin. The manifest relationship between insect and snake bites and their immediate effects (but of course excluding malaria and other secondary effects) is naturally recognized. All swellings and ulcers are ascribed to such causes, even when this is not correct. It is not clear to me whether an ulcer, for instance, is supposed to be due to an actual bite, unnoticed at the time, or to the bite of a supernatural insect or snake. Although there is no clear recognition of their cause, colds, constipation, indigestion, and the like (but not the fever that may arise from these) are also now considered usually to have natural causes, although in this case one cannot be [255] sure that such an opinion is not relatively recent. For these ailments believed to be natural in origin spiritual remedies may nevertheless be applied, such as [257] remedial dancing for ulcers. Physical remedies, including various herbs and infusions, are, however, in common use for them and this purely medical subject is outside the scope of my report.

Diseases for which there is no obvious physical cause, particularly fevers [254] of any sort, are considered to be wholly supernatural in origin. These are usually caused by kanaimaton (plural; singular — kanaima).

173 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 — Analyst]

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[382] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[387] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

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/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went
538 on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

This is the so-called taurón, or

291 /40 cont./

● 789 charm for sandals or for face paintings before going on a trip

302 so that Amariuak will not see us, for he is the spirit of fainting

484 spells, epileptic attacks, etc.

(Written down in Pemón by the same person.)

000 The Egyptian magic formula against burns says as follows: "Thy son, Horus, burns upon the mountain. -- Is there water there? -- No, there is not. -- There is water in my mouth, the Nile is between my legs. I am going to extinguish the fire. (These words are said over the /plate appears here/ /41/ milk of one who has given birth to a child, over seeds, over sheep's wool. It is applied to the burn.)"

126 Many of the times when I was collecting their charms for

753 study, they would tell me with all innocence and candor that

123 these were the remedies that God had provided them with. And when I put it to them how was it that we, thanks to a moderate life and to medicines, were healthier than they, they replied that this was not due to medicines but to the many prayers which the Fathers knew.

90. Indian mothers, extremely loving and as devoted as any woman to their children, on several occasions attributed the coincidental illness of their children to the evil influence of paper (karetá) or the slips of paper on which they saw us writing their names; either because they considered the paper itself to be mysterious, or perhaps because they believed that the tender soul of the children might become stuck to the paper. Others, by contrast, attributed the well-being of their newborn to blowing, salt, crosses, and other baptismal ceremonies.

All this that I say is naturally now coming to be understood, since, thanks to God, these false impressions are gradually being set aside, founded as they were in the paralogisms of magic, and the distinction between spiritual religion and corporal medicine is coming to be understood.

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/47 cont./

Every religious concept presupposes or includes within itself these three motivations: reverential love, supplication, and gratitude. Magic, by contrast, hides beneath its cloak these three opposites: fear or dread, imperative conjury, and selfish material interest. For this reason magic has been called a vain religion, that is, hollow, empty, with only an outward appearance, a mere hull or husk. "Magic," says Grandmaison, "is nothing but formulism, pure self-interest. Science without a basis, falsification or corruption of true religion, deals with its object without respect and without love."

104. Fundamentally, thus, religion and magic represent the eternal struggle between the spiritual and material, soul and body, sincerity and hypocrisy, formulism and realism: worship in spirit and in truth as opposed to worship in this or that exact /48/ place and with many artful words, to rend the heart as opposed to rending clothes, to offer a contrite and humble heart as opposed to offerings in the spirit of ransom and bribery, to avoid hypocrisy and not pharisaic lightness, to fear not that which kills the body but that which demoralizes the spirit, to avoid not the legally impure contact with certain things or others, nor eating with unwashed hands, but the action, the word, and even the intimate evil desire, etc., etc., according to the teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

776 782 105. The result is that the Indians do not love but fear the disembodied spirits or orodán and mauarí, as possible agents of purely physical ills; neither do they invoke them with submission or reverence; they try to disarm or bribe them with material things, which they desire or fear the same as we do; finally, these spirits are not offended by immoral actions but by physical actions, nor do they take over the evil person, but the weak, the sick, etc.

789 The sorcerer does not supplicate, properly speaking, any superior being; he believes that he knows a means by which some things or natural causes work upon others or find themselves obliged to work. As a certain author states, magic is the art

/48 cont./

789 of subduing the forces of nature by certain acts which only affect it in appearance. And thus we have among these Indians the fact that the charms never use deprecative or desiderative formulas, but the aseverative present with exaggerating and emphatic particles multiplied to the extreme.

000 106. But the world of magic also has its philosophy or its principles, true or false, since in every human mind there exists innately the idea of causality, belief in a link of effect or cause, in constant succession and in permanent laws. In the matter which concerns us, Frazer's theory to explain the phenomenon or the world of magic is based upon the supposition that in the mind of those who practice it, whether privative /sic/ or not, the following two notions exist:

a) That which is similar produces that which is similar; an effect is similar to its cause; that which is similar influences that which is similar.
b) Things which have been in contact continue to influence each other mutually even after having lost the physical contact; the part influences the whole.

789 This theory has a complete and perfect application among the Pemón Indians.

These two principles, true only in appearance, are extremely fertile in true, undisguised conclusions; /plate appears here/ /49/ they should be kept very much in mind, since they are still dominant in many minds -- both of natives and of non-natives -- in all of the fields of human activity. The belief that that which by operating upon the image, the name, the part, etc., operates upon what they represent or the whole is so deeply rooted in humanity that it maintains itself at the side of religion and despite all of its prohibitions.

107. From the first of the principles stated come the magical practices of homeopathy, mimetic or imitative.

/49 cont. /

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

800

109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/53 cont./

787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

/57 cont./

784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat paují
846 meat, because it will make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the paují has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the asarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

/96 cont./

774 Correlative to this belief there exists among these Indians animism, which, like all the other -isms, more than a theory or elaborate doctrine, is a mental tendency which consists, as Grandmaison says, "of imagining everywhere, behind perceptible objects, life, activity -- by extension, will, powers, passions -- more or less traced from the human type, anthropomorphic." Thus also Mons. Valbuena says of animism, that it must be considered "not as a religious factor, at least in principle, but as an intellectual conception, as a general mentality."

776 b) These piá or -imá (call them genii, godlets, or numbers) are neither offended nor pleased by moral or immoral actions, but by physical actions -- sometimes substances -- which are damaging or pleasing to them or to their descendants.

753 To the native mentality true good things are this life and that which is related to it, health especially, food, etc.; and the bad things also true are illnesses /two plates appear here/ /97/ and pains and, especially, death, the most terrible and most feared evil, not so much because it is the unknown which opens into the beyond, but principally because of the loss of the good things and family so loved here.

775 To the Pemón there is no doubt but that the soul survives,
787 although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation.

756 c) Finally, we have in place of acts of worship various
788 observances, based on a belief in the afore-mentioned numbers
778 or potorí; in place of priests, the piaches; in place of prayer, the charms which we have already defined in another place, and, in lieu of the supernatural, the magical.

789 We would say once more that magic, although dealing with spiritual influences, is not religion; it does not deal with morality, but with physical acts, corporally maleficent or beneficent, psychic only insofar as the soul is united with the

/97 cont./

789 body; consequently magic is more medicine than religion with regard to its intent, though in appearances it may well resemble the latter more than medicine.

And the charms, we have said, are not prayers or supplications, but conjurations. A. Condamin says that "the mere praising of the Gods without ulterior intention (interest) does not exist in Assyrian-Babylonian worship." We can say this much more about the Pemón Indians. The charms do not employ a deprecative form, but a positive one, and they do not use the active voice, but the reflexive, for example, esesati, e-taremba, e-puirema, to be asked /ask itself/, to be charmed /charm itself/, to be prayed /pray itself/, etc.

209. To know whence the Indians may have got this mentality, it would suffice to recall what we said at the beginning of this work about the imagination of the Indians. Throughout the course of these dissertations there appears most clearly this truth: That the road of religion and of science, as the truths that they are, is a narrow and hard way (ratiocination and syllogism); by contrast, the road of magic with all of its ramifications is a broad and easy way (imagination and paralogism). We ask with E. Hello: "What is it that characterizes the savage state?" And with him we answer: "It is the fantasy of the individual, it is the absolute license given to that fantasy ... the license overflows on every side just as liquid escapes from a broken glass."

When speaking of imagination, we also emphasized the facet of terror. And we would now say with Grandmaison that "fear mixed with respect, which is the beginning of adoration, could thus be attached to the great natural /98/ celestial or meteorical forces: the sky, sun, and moon, the stars and planets, the hurricane and lightning, the rain and fire. With no difficulty is worship directed toward these elevated, terrible or beneficent powers -- regular and regulating or instantaneous and disturbing." We could apply this fully to the Pemón if we expect the fact that they do not render any adoration.

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
955 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

789 /98 cont./
755 stop hemorrhages or discharges of any sort, they invoke the piá or pachí, let's call them the mother of ashes and sand, which are driers.

[821] e) Indians observe that when the wind blows, it moves away the clouds and the sky becomes clear; thus they invoke the big wind, the father of the wind, when their vision is clouded. /99/

No less than a hundred examples like these could be presented of beneficent charms, to obtain good things or health, or maleficent ones, to produce evils to enemies; but I believe that those here noted are sufficient.

211. From this cursory exposition which we have just made of the religion of the Pemón, it can clearly be deduced how deeply in error are those who believe that in order to teach them our Christian religion we must forcibly enter into their soul casting devils from it as one casts down idols from an altar; nothing of the sort, all we need do is get out of their heads the anthromorphization of natural forces and the magical invocation of the same in order to substitute for them the true physical concept of things and their qualities and the true application or appropriation of the same by means of medicine, whether it be by external application or by ingestion.

Nor need we make any great effort to eliminate these ideas, which can remain as adornments or threads to be used in the flowery work of the imagination, always so long as upon them we can place the true rational and Christian theology of a Creator and Savior God of all things, especially of man; the future life, not of fantasy and conjecture, but a real and eternal place after the terrestrial and temporally ephemeral one, and different, depending upon the actions taken here below, and above all things, God's love for us and that we must profess Him, and the love of charity which must always reign among all men on earth.

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[797] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okōyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to'-esa') suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[289] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[289] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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114 and malicious silence on the part of the Indian. Quite the contrary, Fr. Armellada is a witness to the facts, he studies, compares, arrives at practical conclusions, and then offers them to the reading public, which is so much interested in the life of those Indians.

* * *

797 Until the Capuchin missionaries penetrated into those remote regions of the Venezuelan nation in 1930, little or nothing was known about them; nobody was interested in its natives, much less their language, which no one understood, and their customs, totally unknown to all. Scarcely a chance explorer or amateur went thither upon a daring tourist trip, in search of adventure; he passed like the bird through the air, without leaving a trace behind him. The Capuchin missionaries made the Gran Sabana their field of operations, to carry out the task that the Divine Master had set them, and to fulfill a sacred obligation to the National Government: to bring to the breast of the Church and into the pattern of the civilized world those authentic Venezuelans who still lived on the margin of religious and national events.

797 But the Capuchin missionaries of today have not wished to
114 abandon the way of yesteryear nor have they swerved from the glorious tradition of their elders. Therefore, together with the knowledge, culture, and civilization that they have carried into those regions, they have known how to avail themselves of time in the study of the language, of autochthonous customs, making an abundant collection of linguistic and ethnographic knowledge, to later offer them, as Fr. Armellada is doing, to the Nation and to the scientific world.

Proof is clear that they have not wasted time and that they have not spared any effort to carry on their work: religious work, patriotic work, cultural work, and scientific work. Whence once again are being proven correct those statements

/XVI cont./

797 114 made by Don Arístides Rojas: "To the missionaries are to be credited the first work, not only upon the ancient history of America, but also the first rudiments upon geography, hydrography, and natural history, as well as the introduction and cultivation of the native products of Europe. The missionaries were the first teachers in the teaching of the peoples of the continent, and also the 'first ethnographers' of America. Without the philological lucubrations of the /XVII/ missionaries, modern science would not have been able to study the divers languages of the New World, nor to establish their scientific inter-relationship. In the study of the languages and races which populated America, the works of the missionaries form the indispensable and necessary base for the ethnography of a large portion of the human race." (5)

5. Arístides Rojas. Obras escogidas /Selected Works/. Paris, 1907. P. 201.

With consummate correctness the notable Mexican indigenist, Mr. Manuel Gamio, said: "How grandly in the historical perspective of Mexico stands out the work of those most worthy colonial investigators who, like Sahagún, Gante, Motolinía, and others, studied native groups from points of view which we today call ethnographic, sociological, psychological, etc, when the principles and methods of the social sciences were as yet just appearing, this work being of such importance that without it our knowledge of the social evolution of the Mexican people would be incomparably more defective and incomplete than it is now. The success obtained by such wise men (6) is

6. It is proper to clarify that Sahagún, Gante, and Motolinía were Franciscan religious and the first missionaries who came to Mexico.

/XVII cont./

797 114 due in great measure to the fact that, with logical judgment, they had first learned the languages and dialects of the autocthonous groups with whom they were in contact and they carefully made corresponding grammatical texts which, despite the understandable deficiencies which are evident in the light of modern knowledge, are indisputably the basis and point of departure of contemporary linguistics." (7)

[113]

7. Boletín indigenista. Vol. V. Mexico, D.F. December, 1945. No. 4. "La lingüística y el conocimiento de los indios monolingües /Linguistics and the Knowledge of Monolingual Indians/." P. 294.

The same could be said by us of the work carried out in the same way by the first missionaries who worked in Venezuela, as can clearly be deduced from a study by Arístides Rojas (8)

8. Arístides Rojas, Op. cit. "Las lenguas indígenas en Venezuela /Native Languages in Venezuela/." P. 230.

and from some biographic and bibliographic notes of P. C. de Carrocera (9) even though some pusillanimous souls have wanted

9. Venezuela Misionera, Year VII, 194[illegible]. P. 5ff.

to take this glory away from the Franciscan and Capuchin missionaries in Venezuela.

* * *

/XVIII/

000 When we hear speak or see the writings of certain modern amateurs, about the natives, without their having bothered to take one step outside of the big cities in order to study the facts at the source, we cannot understand the confidence that this implies, inasmuch as in these writings and those discourses there is said only what has been read in authors, perhaps overesteemed or of confused imagination, so that in a single act, or simply in a simple statement of an Indian, they have tried to discover a rite, a religious ceremony, a divinity, a malignant spirit of vengeance, when the fact has simply been nothing but a simple joke or a mocking trick, poking fun at the simplicity and the stubborn curiosity of the investigator. These are indigenists such as we would call those of the desk or the classroom, who have never been in contact with the Indian nor even seen him other than on paper and in their ardent fantasy.

797 114 By contrast our missionaries, who have spent years and more years in communication with the Indians, will not dare to lay down principles nor throw out assertions, without first weighing them on the scale of honest, calm, dispassionate judgment. We venture to say more; that they will gather in council, they will discuss the observed fact as seen on several occasions, in very different circumstances, in order to draw practical conclusions, or perhaps, as has happened on more than one occasion, to leave judgment pending, awaiting another more propitious occasion and seek new data; because the Indian, sometimes crafty, often suspicious, and always withdrawn, did not wish to talk nor let himself be surprised in fraganti by the missionary observer.

These Ethnographic Studies that we present have the exceptional merit of long observation on the part of the author, who, without biases of any kind, without any predisposition of spirit, and without animosity against the defenseless natives, came to them, speaking their own language, and by this behavior as easy as it is secure, was able to project himself into

/XVIII cont./

●797 the soul of those he wished to teach, favoring them with his
114 confidence and affection and expecting the same from them. Did Fr. Armellada attain his goal? We can assert that, in general, he did indeed, for he succeeded in winning the confidence of the aborigines; whence the many and interesting data that he was able to collect and that he now offers to the reading public.

Perhaps someone less well acquainted with the matter might find exaggerated certain assertions by the author of this work; perhaps someone less scrupulous might rigorously find other established principles concerning the Indians; but we must always /XIX/ bear in mind that the Indian, as a people, is a child, the eternal minor, and that in addition he has to this date lacked religious principles, a cultural base, education and affection /afectos/ and as a result his works and his actions correspond to the isolated and sylvan life that until very recently he has led, and that it is not so easy as some would believe to change the nature and the life of the Indian overnight.

On the other hand, the fondness which Fr. Armellada professes towards the natives makes him diminish their natural defects and deficiencies that are found in them. And, in summation and conclusion, we could add, that he has wished to hew to the standards given by the Sacred Congregation of Propagation of the Faith in dealing with great prudence and maximum charity with native affairs, whether by word or through writing.

The author of this work has been most heedful of this standard, and rather has he preferred to sin by addition than by omission in his evaluations of certain customs of the Indians, trying to defend them and cover them with the cloak of benevolence.

Otherwise, the work answers a need and a question. To a need, in that up to date little or nothing has been known concretely of these Indians of the Gran Sabana, the Capuchin missionaries being the first to offer to the Nation and the world at large these interesting studies with technical comments

/XIX cont./

797 on the customs and their way of life. The work answers a
114 question, since throughout the Nation the Gran Sabana is spoken of, and every aware citizen feels the very natural desire to know what those aborigines are like, how they live, what they do, and where they come from.

114 Many of the questions the author deals with here have been put to him by curious observers who knew something or had isolated reports through the press about those unknown regions; others the author has put to himself and he resolves them effectively after diligent study and no little observation.

We repeat, this is not a complete and perfect treatise of the ethnography of the Pemón Indians of the Gran Sabana; they are serious and conscientious studies, which have close cohesion in themselves and which demand a later work to be published in time. Would that it may be thus, and that, saving economic difficulties, Fr. Armellada may be able to allure us with some more studies /XX/ from those he has in preparation. Meanwhile, we shall wait (10).

[13]

10. There have previously been published some works dealing with the Gran Sabana. Here are noted the principal ones:
a) "Tres años de Misión en los confines de Guayana /Three Years in a Mission within the Borders of Guiana/," by Fr. Baltasar de Matallana. Bol. Ven. de Ciencias Naturales, Vol. IV., No. 29, 1937.
b) La Música Indígena Taurepán /Taurepán Native Music/, by Rev. Fr. Baltasar de Matallalla /sic/, Caracas, 1938.

2:Armellada--11a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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The author of this work goes into the malocas /houses/ and into the soul of the Indians.

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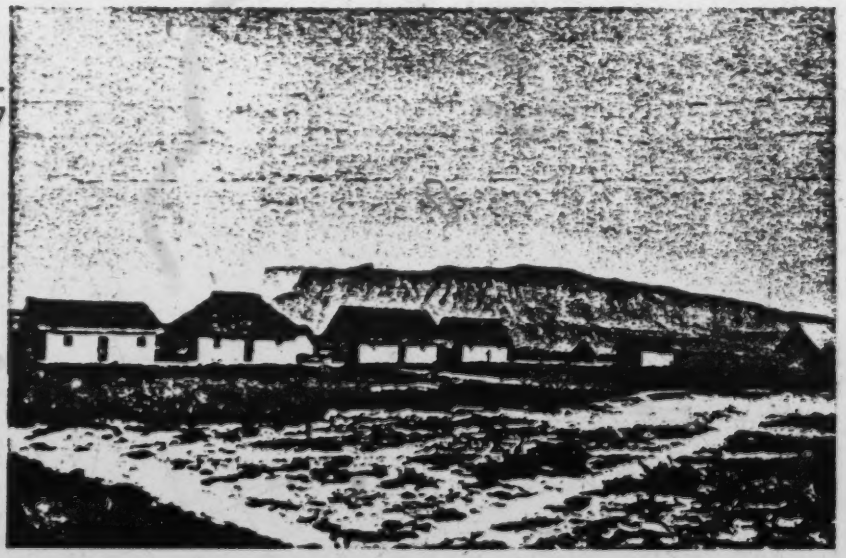

Settlement and town a building at Kavanayén, formed by the Capuchin missionaries.

2:Armellada--22b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Authentic type of native girl educated at the Mission with the Franciscan sisters.

•797

Straw hut which served as a house for the missionary and as a chapel where he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in Kavanayén.

2:Armellada--32a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Mission natives happy and satisfied on a holiday.

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The missionary breaking ground to make it produce.

/28 cont./

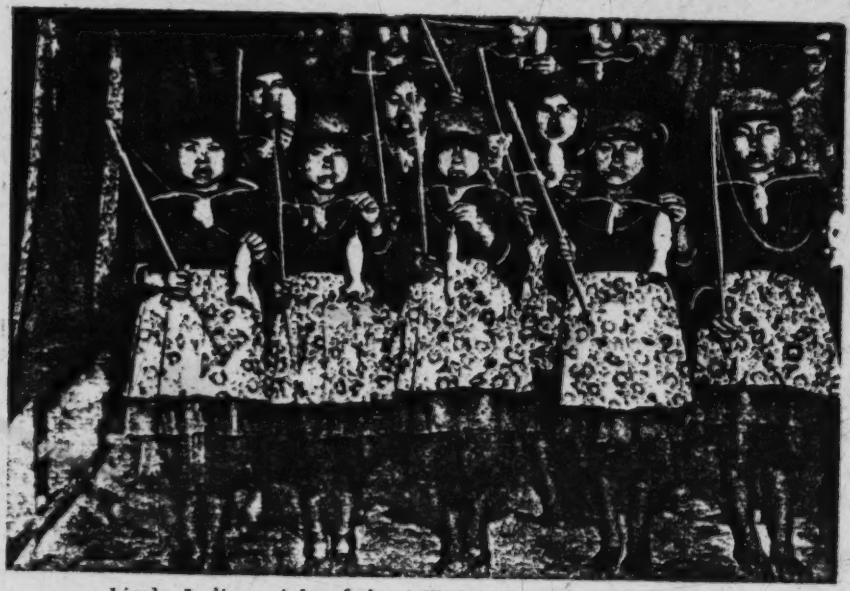
262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 535 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 273 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant 171 propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

2:Armellada--42a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16



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Little Indian girls of the Mission in a dramatic performance.

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One of the many rivers which run through the Gran Sabana and a beautiful grove of moriche palms.

2:Armellada--53a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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With the greatest confidence does the missionary come into the presence of the natives, since they see in him their great benefactor.

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100. The colleague who asked me the question about the piaches' arts and tricks particularly consulted me about my opinion concerning the possible conflict or the possible opposition between the piaches' ideas and Christian ones and about the correctness or not of administering our sacraments to them.

My personal opinion is that the piaches are neither more nor less fit to receive our Christian teachings than other Indians and with these teachings the sanctifying sacraments of baptism, confession, communion, matrimony, etc. I do not find any essential conflict between their beliefs and ours, which could make the sacraments invalid or illicit; I believe that all that is needed is to complete and modify some of their beliefs. I believe also that the Indians, like other simple people, do not handle ideas as do more logical and intellectual people, by comparing and analyzing, and as a result, letting some ideas lead to others; I believe rather that they proceed by stratifying ideas, that by placing them in different planes they do not seem to be contradictory, although they might sometimes really be so.

There would occur, according to this opinion of mine, in the intellectual order, what happens in matters of garments, which is, that many Indians under our clothing retain their old garters, bracelets, and loin-cloths, and of course, tattooing cannot be changed like a shirt.

101. It is clearly necessary to get rid of the idea that the piaches are invokers of Satan or the devil, that they offer /46/ sacrifices to the devil, or that they are possessed by him when they are in the trance of piachería. They can well be possessed by the spirit of tobacco or of other vegetal plants; and they can be called invokers of the devil, or better, of devils, taking this word in its etymological sense of genii or personifications of natural forces. This idea can be seen worked out more thoroughly in the chapter that we shall devote to the study of the religion of these Indians.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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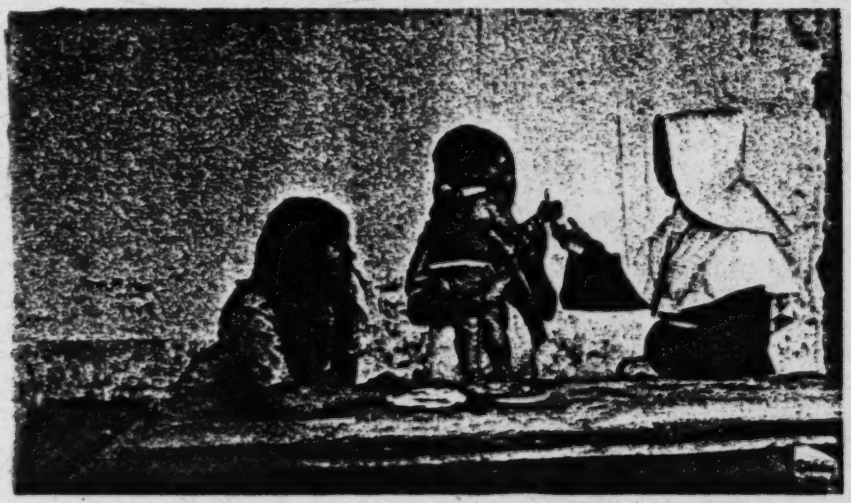

Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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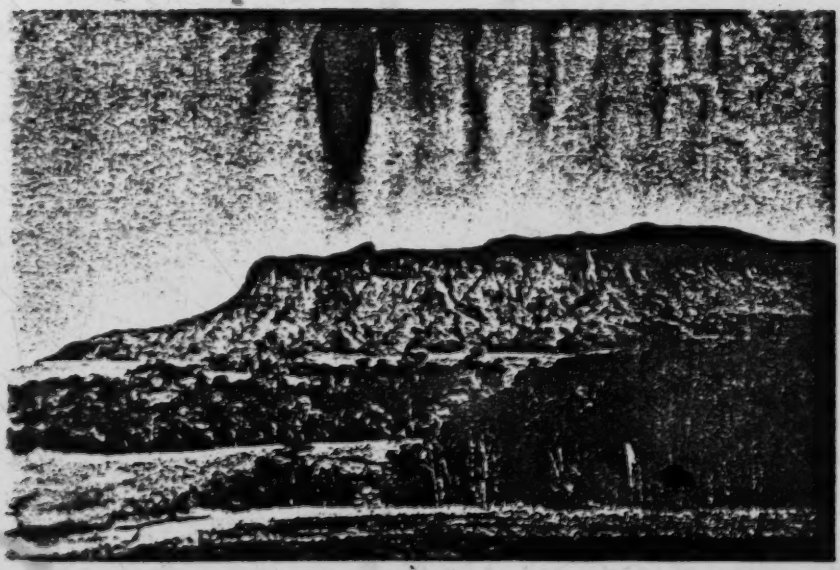

This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

/66 cont./

142. Upon dealing with this subject, we have accidently had come to mind the story of that first fratricide, who was not satisfied with the promise of God that he would not die a perfidious death and thus lived an errant and fugitive life on earth, persecuted by the voice of blood.

And although we said at the beginning that the Indians are thoroughly imbued with the concept of Kanaima, it is hoped that little by little they will be abandoning it, since if they were at one time perfidious and bloody in their vengeance, now we have redeemed them from their barbarism, they have the right to enjoy that peace promised to men of good will.

143. To convince the Indians, and those who may read this, of the ideas here expounded, we are going to relate a few facts that we know with certainty.

797 a) On a certain occasion a missionary, who was inspecting
123 their agriculture, thinking exactly about this matter of the
776 Kanaima, tried to imitate the whistle that the Indians attribute
781 to him, with such success and with such bad luck that an Indian who happened to have gone to get water, dropping the camaza, took off running like a buck, and crying in a loud voice got into the hammock shaking with fever.

123 b) Some travelers, camped near the Kamá waterfall and
776 who were accompanied by Indians, out of idleness got the idea
781 of shouting "Kanaima, Kanaima," and then, however hard they tried to persuade the Indians that it had been a joke, it was not possible to do so, since the Indians swore that they had seen him and they spent the rest of the night in painful vigil. /67/

159 c) A few years ago there in Akurimá lived two Indians,
776 called Joaquín and Alberto; the first, who had a very bad pre-
578 vious history, since with other companions he had killed three civilized persons while they were sleeping, wanted to wreak vengeance on the second, with whom he had had a strong altercation. For this purpose he put on the clothing in which his mother had given birth to him, painted himself up well with annatto and other cosmetics, and in this strange form presented

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful, as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the
829 missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/77 cont./

169. Principles. Those who are interested in the education of the Indians and in elevating them in culture and assimilating them to us should remember as incontrovertible pedagogic axioms: /78/

1) that "nature does not go forward by leaps and bounds" and that therefore it is very natural that the goat runs back to the mountain and the savage to the forest;

2) that "like seeks like," and therefore, when trying to form a family in an orderly way by means of marriage, it is natural that they seek their relatives;

3) that "it is better to be a mouse's head than a lion's tail," and that therefore when they feel themselves masters of themselves and ready for the burdens of life, they wish to live in their own land rather than in a strange one.

797 170. Conversions. We are all in accord that a man must be prepared for the struggle for life for his environment and ordinarily in his own environment. The natives (individually or collectively) ought not to be extracted or transplanted permanently from their lands. From this results the failure of many of the ancient reductions /conversions/, a method which unfortunately still has its proponents and not entirely among missionaries. This is a case of the application of the theory of the least resistance: what is desired is that the Indians come to us so that we won't have to go to the Indians.

Many propose that collections of Indians be made (if not raids) and that artificial colonies be built like so many zoos.

By contrast the national laws of the Missions, and the missionaries with them, affirm that the Indian should be educated in his environment and that only transitorily can he be authorized by the Director of the Mission to visit civilized centers. Therefore the Most Excellent Señor Apostolic Vicar of the Caroní writes in his official report of 1944: "Someone might be able to advocate that they be removed into civilized towns so that the contact and living together with civilized people might work toward the completion of the work of the

/78 cont./

797 missionaries. But experience has taught us that none of those whom we have removed from the Missions has gained in morality, respect for property, sense of responsibility, and love of work." Educators should go live among those being educated and there in the face of the reality of facts and in the face of concrete difficulties, they should try to raise the level of their own and others' lives. And there is no doubt that, in a sea of difficulties, in a hostile geographic environment, etc....they will learn (as is said of the Supreme Missionary, Jesus Christ) benignity, patience, obedience, etc....Let the educators go in among them.

And even when educated in their environment, in their own lands, the Indians ought not to be deprived of their ancestral ways of life and of their own instruments (either intellectual or physical), but only slowly and to the degree that their adaptation to our ways and the acquisition of our instruments become possible to them.

Humboldt particularly affirms this when speaking of language as an intellectual instrument, best for conserving /79/ the psychology of the race itself and the best agglutinative agent for relating families together. And Simpson warns very correctly this same thing about physical cultural means, since there exists the danger that the Indians may forget or scorn their own arts and not learn ours, and this makes their life difficult with the anxiety to acquire what they see in others. Thus, for example, it is preferable that the Indians live naked but well fed, rather than well dressed but lacking food.

171. Practical cases. It is better (and there are examples) that the Indian use moriche sandals and tend to his chores rather than that he attempt to buy shoes at the expense of prolonged absences from his fields and his home. It is better that the Indians live dispersed, each one on his hilltop with an abundance of water, fish, and agriculture, than to live on a beautiful plain, with well lined-up houses, but lacking proper means of life. Such is the practical case of the Goagiro /Goajiro/ settlement called "Ziruma" at the doors of Maracaibo.

797 /79 cont./
[177] The Indians have very good dispositions; they do not resist our civilization, nor do they refuse to learn our language; nor are they systematically opposed to exogamy or matrimonial union with those of other areas. But they ought not to be educated for our benefit, but for their own; we should not seek our own well-being in them, but to dedicate ourselves in truth to procuring for them their own physical and moral well-being.

172. Maternal love. One of the causes which, in the native oral literature, appears as the most frequent reason for their flights, is that attraction which in our language is called patriotic love and maternal love. And it is quite clear that, far from being a reprehensible feeling, this is on the contrary a most noble feeling and one worthy of all praise. And this is what those who would like to always keep next to them the Indians whom they have educated should think of, without thinking about what greater rights the mothers who bore and nursed them have.

A short time ago an employee today attached to a Venezuelan embassy abroad said to me (without realizing that I was a missionary) that all work carried out on behalf of the Indians was useless, that missionaries were wasting time and energy and the Government its money. I replied to him that I was a missionary and that we missionaries had a higher opinion of his Indian compatriots, and that far from wasting time and energy, the fruit gathered both in former times as well as in the 20 years of this second stage of the missions was sufficient.

[113] 173. Results. Today I can refer to Cuaderno 42 of the Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura, entitled Labor de los Padres Capuchinos de la Misión del Caroní /Labor of the Capuchin Fathers in the Mission of the Caroní/, by /80/ the Reverend Father Baltasar de Matallana. I recommend the reading of this, particularly pages 73-80, since they expound clearly and simply our mission methods and their effects.

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797 I also recommend the reading of the official report of the Most Excellent Señor Apostolic Vicar of the Caroní, previously cited, concerning "Results obtained from the natives with regard to their incorporation into national life."--(Memoria de Relaciones Interiores/Memoirs of Interior Relations/, Year 1945, p. 355.)

And the final conclusion of all is our emphatic and energetic affirmation that the Indians are, in effect, regenerated, and against facts no theoretical arguments are of any value. And if their regeneration is slow, this is due to the fact that the economic means of which we dispose are minimal. And if there were invested in the Missions what is invested in Frontier Guards or what is invested in Foreign Colonists, and if preference were given to the aid of internal immigration of the native races rather than the expensive protection of foreign immigrants, by this date a different rooster would be crowing for us and there still would not be crowing to us the "poor man in his hut asked for liberty."

174. Proverb. A popular proverb says: "He who makes one basket makes a hundred, if he is given material and time."

Give us missionaries good economic aid; not a few miserable pennies drop by drop; set forth lavish budgets for the Indians and not just a few crumbs from the national wealth, and they will see how we missionaries, who formerly built towns along the whole length and breadth of America, will build them now as well, and they will see how the Indians will come forth "to where there is and to where they are giving."

To hope that we might attract the Indians with good words is as though we were fishing with a hook that had neither lure nor bait.

Finally, it is necessary to calm our impatience and remember that "Zamora was not won in an hour," and that the total regeneration of the Indians is a great work and undertaking involving much time and several generations. Time does not pardon what is done without it; what is done too fast rapidly goes to pieces; what is slapped together does not last.

/80 cont./

797 175. N. B. Reading the Memoiria y Cuenta del Ministerio de Relaciones Interiores /Memoir and Account of the Ministry of Interior Relations/, I find that the budget of only one year of the work colony "El Dorado" is as high as 400,000 bolivares, a quantity which was not given to the mission of the Caroní in 13 years. /Four plates appear here./

/81/

Chapter XXI

What Material Culture Do the Indians Have?

176. Culture and civilization. 177. Material culture. 178. A brief enumeration. 179. The influence of European civilization. 180. The division of arts and labor between the sexes. 181. The fool knows more in his own house....

176. The question, such as was asked us by a "lover of the Indians," went as follows: What material civilization do these Indians have? We have changed the word civilization to culture in order to avoid confusion of words, which necessarily engenders confusion of ideas.

Civilization is a word which should be reserved to indicate the higher degrees of complete material and spiritual culture, obtained by means of organization into cities, a complete and perfect society within itself, from the union of which come forth State and Nation and will eventually come forth the International Human Community, a goal as yet not reached. By contrast, culture means culture, a dominion over nature or of the faculties themselves by means of reflection and instruments, a personal thing of man among all the beings of creation and which (at least in its lowest degrees) no man is lacking, whatever he may be and to whatever subrace he may belong, since every man is homo faber, maker and artisan.

2:Armellada--107b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

● 797

First buildings covered with roof built by the Mission of Santa Elena.

/84 cont./

797 a case and despite the value of this aid, during the first days
122 all will seem to him /85/ confused and tangled, and in those strange cries, which break his eardrums, he will not make out sentences, words, nor even syllables. And nonetheless it is necessary to make a grammar! Days pass, the months, and years... and happily the time comes when the grammar is done. And that language which once seemed a heap of inarticulate cries, now appears with the parts of speech, with its system, its rules, its philosophy, and its beauty. The natives themselves, who speak it with surprising correctness, are incapable of saying how it was formed. This is another task which the missionary must carry out with ingenuity and reasoning."

797 185. It would seem that we missionaries and true indigenists must still fight hard in defense of the Indians in this and other matters and to refute what imperceptive writers say against the Indians, whom they only know by references or by a hasty glimpse, without a long stay among them nor daily, unhurried study.

000 First it is denied that the Indians have a well-formed language; at most they are conceded to have a tiny vocabulary without any logical grammar. And then, when they have been convinced of the falsity of these assertions, with the vain pretext of unitarianism (not to say totalitarianism), they want the native languages, whatever may be their intrinsic value, their literary productions, and the number of natives who speak them, to disappear by degrees or by force. The North Americans confess that they even went so far as to apply punishments to the children; but they confess their error and they are now on the way back while others still are going to bring punishment upon their own heads. There will come, God willing, a coexistence of Spanish with the native languages (since the Indians are neither rebellious nor incapable of learning our language); then there will come the disappearance of the latter

2:Armellada--118a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Rudimentary loom on which the Indian woman of the Sabana makes her clothes.

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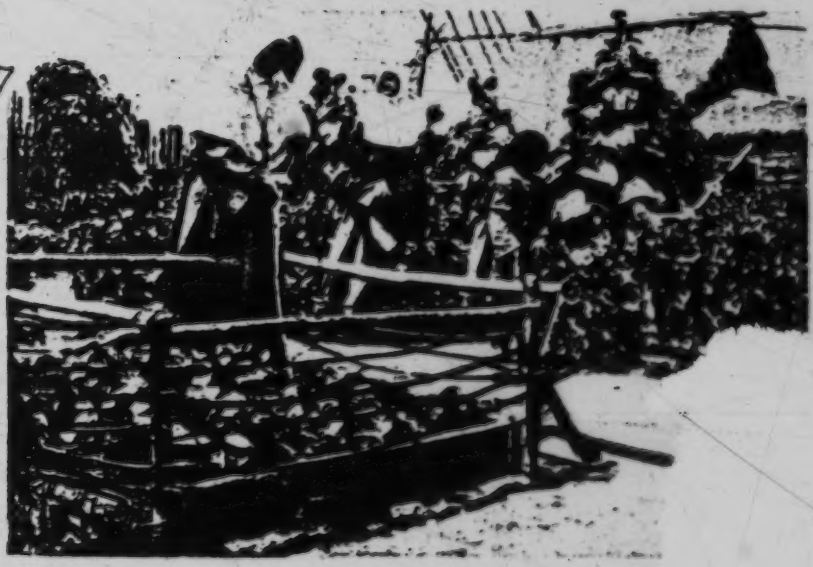

Beautiful plantings of greenery at the Capuchin Missio...

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lack of those who chant "extra chorum": and as a small sample read what I now transcribe: "One of the characteristic qualities of man is, as has been said, religiousness....But what is certain is that many individuals, even among the most civilized, do not have this belief nor this impulse, and are content to live without any care for what they do not understand, lacking fear, admiration, and gratitude, which are the three motives for every religious concept....In this man is inferior to the dog, whose abnegation and fidelity to the person who gives him his daily bread knows no limits and whom he considers as a God more than as a master. This animal certainly believes in some thing superior to himself." (Topinard)

Thanks for that about being inferior to dogs, and let us continue, since it can quite clearly be seen that, when he tells us that "some individuals" do not have religion, it is implicitly conceded that "many" do have it.

199. Upon attempting to study noncodified religions not compiled into a body of doctrine; that is, without Creed or Confession of dogma, without Tables or Decalogue of morality, and without a regulator of the form of worship; upon studying religions whose elements are found diluted in practical life, one must have a very watchful eye, a great genius for observation, and a long period of living among /92/ the natives. For lack of this last element Dr. G. Gaylor Simpson fell into such a grave error as to deny all religion to the Pemón Indians.

He asked them (or rather, he asked one or two of the semi-civilized ones, with whom he was able to communicate) what they thought about God, the soul, the other life, etc. They answered (to the consumer's taste) that some Indians talked of those things, but that the rest did not concern themselves with such. Conclusion, even flimsier than the premises: the Indians do not have any religion nor do they concern themselves about this and those who have received instruction from the missionaries live in a pained and sad state and are even neurotic.

/92 cont./

114 200. Had the Doctor asked the same Indians, when he was trying to make the grammar of their language, what they thought about the verb, the noun, and the other parts of speech, they would have given him the same answer; that they knew nothing of this nor did they worry themselves about it. Had he asked them, when he was trying to describe their houses, what was a circle and a cone, they would have answered him that they knew nothing about this. Had he interrogated them about the musical scale, they would again have answered that they didn't even understand what he was asking them. And he would have concluded, following the same logic, that the Pemón Indians had no parts of speech, nor houses with a circular base nor with a conical roof, nor did they have any melodies; and that only some ex-pupils of the missionaries had any very clear ideas of such things. That is not the method.

The Indian speaks his language and from it one must deduce its grammar; he lives his life and from it one must deduce his moral code and his beliefs; he sings his song and from it one must deduce his music; he weaves his baskets and from them one must deduce the type of weaving and the designs he executes.

It is clear, and very well do I understand it, that the study of beliefs and customs, as a very intimate and at times even reserved matter, needs much time and patience to be studied, very much more than the study of their language and their manual arts; but for this very reason it is a matter and a terrain closed to lightning-explorers, who want to come and kiss the Saint without standing in line.

797 201. It will be said to me that we missionaries come
114 prejudiced in favor of the Indians, inclined to praise and defend everything which is theirs and to see in them primitive man, only just come from the hands of God. To this I answer with the same frankness as Mons. Le Roy in the prologue to his so often cited book, La Religion de los Primitivos: "When I arrived at the mission I also had the ideas which were then in

/92 cont./

797 vogue: fetishistic Indians, without any religion, without family,
114 without morality, worshipers of animals, /93/ trees, rocks, anything." Only by dint of living among them and through observation did we manage to free ourselves of these bad prejudices and as many others about their language, culture, organization, etc. So that our ideas are not to be suspected of being partial.

All of us who have been there, in contact with the reality of facts and very far away from books, have on more than one occasion exclaimed that "the university teaches more of life than the life of the university," and we have quoted the saying, slightly exaggerated, of Nietzche: "Thoughts that arise when walking are the only ones of value." We do not in any way scorn books, but we do not subordinate to them the living reality, which is more varied than all invented systems, but vice versa.

Apart from this, the fundamental ideas were always before us; thus, turning to the comparison between Religion and Language, just as the majority of grammatical categories or organization turn out to be the same, regardless of variation in vocabulary, thus it will also happen in religious categories or phenomenology, regardless of the variety of shadings.

Something, and even a good deal, has been said about the religion of the Indians when dealing with their magic and their
771 moral sentiments. For now let it suffice to say that the Pemón
797 Indians are not irreligious nor areligious, they have their own native religion; further, for several generations they have been receiving the influence of our Christian religion, as we have also said about our European culture. Believe me, my dear questioner, "in verbo magistri," since you have been so kind as to call me "Doctor in Pemón"; and it shall be left to the next chapter to develop this most important and thorny question: "What is the religion of the Pemón Indians?"

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In the midst of weaving under the supervision of the Missionary Sister.

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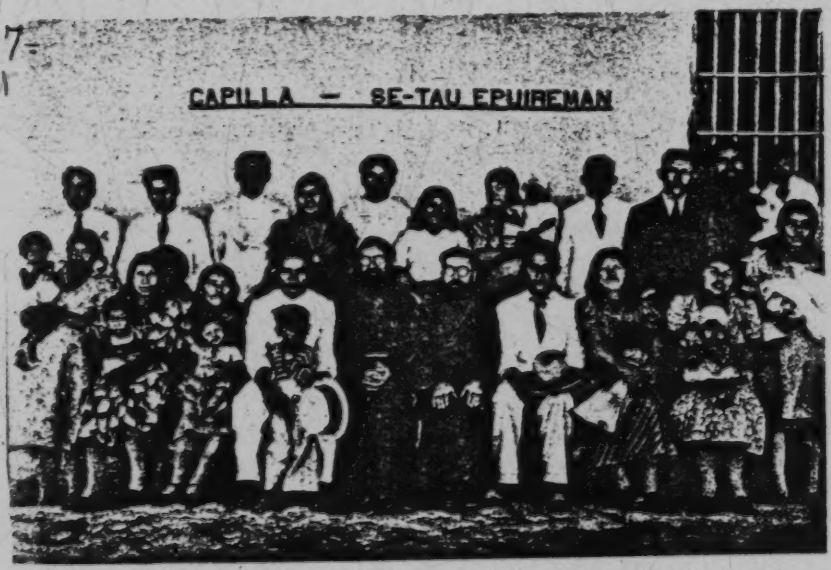

Next to the Mission Chapel these married couples of Venezuelan Sabana aborigines pose with the missionaries so that the public may recognize the work for country which is being carried out among them.

173 Any interpretation of this legend must be labeled conjecture and hardly
101 even scientific inference, let alone fact. Nevertheless, it could mean more
[131] or less this: That there was a tribe called Kamarakoto living somewhere north of the Cuyuní and east of the Caroní in colonial times; that some members of this tribe fled before the attacks of other Indians (cf. Ramón Bueno) or from the missionaries and other white invaders (the present Kamarakoto belief; the dislike of the Indians for the missionaries can also be read between the lines of Ramón Bueno) and settled down in or near Kamarata; that they were there absorbed into an Arekuna population already present or one that drifted in from the east, and that the resultant mixed tribe eventually became wholly Arekuna
[144] in speech, culture and physique. A weak point is that the "ancient Kamarakotos" must themselves have been physically identical with the Arekunas, because the Kamarakotos are so today and would hardly be if they were mixed with another tribe of different physical character.

173 More recent events are usually treated with equal vagueness. The most
192 definite is the memory of a great tribal war, more than two generations ago, between the Kamarakotos and surrounding tribes, particularly the Mwerwan, a tribe said to have lived on the Caroní and now to be extinct. A dispute over fishing rights between normally friendly tribes led to a general and bloody war. There has been no warfare within the last two generations.

173 The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, told me that a "bishop" (i.e. a priest or
● 797 missionary of some sort) visited this region some thirty years ago, in Alejo's life-time, distributed presents, but did not preach or teach, and forthwith disappeared never to be seen again. I have not been able to find any record of such a visit. Other Indians mention brief visits of missionaries (the same, or others?) which they place at anything from a generation to five years ago. The recently established missions of the Alto Caroní have not yet come in contact with the Kamarakotos.

Basis of This Study

101 The materials for the present study were gathered during several weeks'
114 residence in Kamarata, the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, early in 1939 with the Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana of the Ministerio de Fomento of
122 the Venezuelan Government. I cannot too heartily thank all the officials concerned for their generosity and their splendid co-operation in making this work possible for me, and I wish particularly to mention the Minister of Fomento, Dr. Manuel Egaña, and my companions and the leaders of the expedition, members of the Servicio Técnico de Minería y Geología, Drs. Victor M. Lopez, Santiago Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado, and Carlos Freeman. Thanks
114 to them and to the excellent equipment and organization of the expedition, I

551/177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names 551 at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, [123] when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly [829] have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least [123] known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would [177] have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essential- [797] ly as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. [553] The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. 551 The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and 553 the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

103, 104 [see footnotes on p 319, category 116 - Analyst]

*285 176 [128] As regards baskets, this classification is based on that of Roth (1924) with some modification and omission of a few non-Kamarakoto minor subdivisions.

Allied Indians, including the Taurepánes, make a wide variety of mats, trays, and sack- or bag-like baskets by plain plaiting, especially from separated strips of one or two moriche leaves, left attached to the midrib (Fig. 54). Koch-Grünberg illustrates typical Taurepán specimens and Roth illustrates many from British Guiana and gives exhaustive details of their construction. Such basketry, the materials for which are everywhere and require almost no preparation, is very quickly and easily made and can serve almost any purpose to which basketry is put among these tribes (the only important exceptions are presses and sieves), but it is crude, relatively impermanent, and esthetically unsatisfactory and has only speed and ease of manufacture to recommend it. It is the lazy man's basketry and it speaks well for the Kamarakotos that they make almost no use of it. They are, of course, capable of such plaiting and *285 can produce it on order, but they do not like it or ordinarily use it. Aside from large door mats, for which this is the best material and technique, I saw no pieces of plain plaited work actually in use among them and only one, a wakawa', that had been made by them for their use, and this had been aban- [178] doned. In marked contrast, the Taurepánes, at least in the vicinity of the [297] mission where native skill seems to be rapidly degenerating, make and use much plain plaited basketry.

The large mats used primarily to close doors at night and secondarily as floor mats and even as sunshades are plaited from two pinnate leaves of palms such as the kunwada. The midribs are laid together to form one edge of the mat and the pinnae are plaited together, usually by single one-over-two twilling, and their small ends braided into an edge for the other side.

The one really native plain plaited Kamarakoto basket seen was a wakawa', which is used in exactly the same way as an akai'. It is made of two split moriche (kwai) leaves, the stems projecting at the upper corners of the back. Back and sides are plaited in one-over-two twill and the ends of the strands braided into loops at the lower corners, then into a lower rim and finally into a median braid up the front (part away from the person carrying), end- [482] ing freely (see Fig. 55). A back thong is tied to the stems as a head strap.

Turning to more elegant types of basketry, the common mat, o. olori (Fig. 56 C), is made of manare, the commonest basketry fiber, and notwith- [171] standing its simplicity is usually carefully and handsomely made. They are square and are identical with what Roth calls the Akawai fan (indeed he notes that these occur among the Arekunas and are by them also used as mats). They are of closed twilled woven plaiting, constantly one-over-three except at points on the diagonals, edges, and center where variations are required by the pattern. Their peculiarity is that the strands in the two directions are really the same, each strand doubling at the edge and returning into the

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

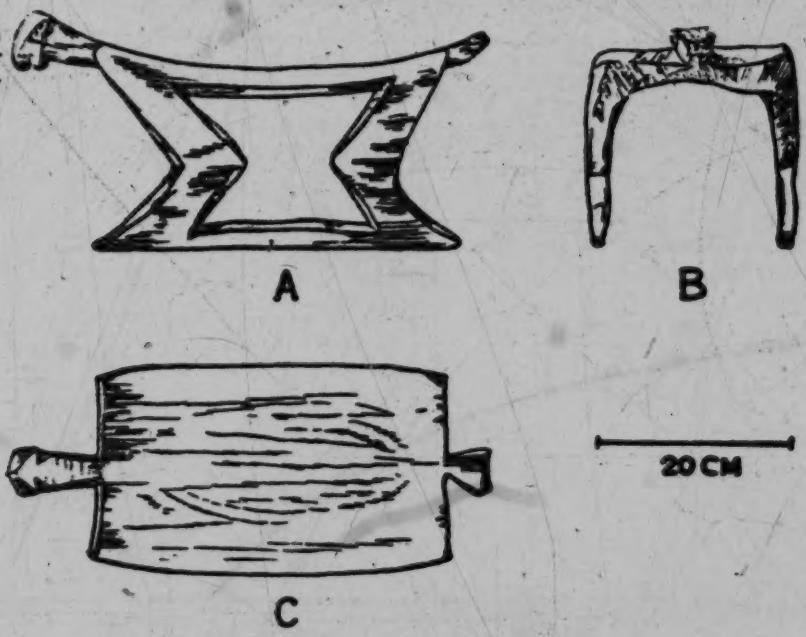

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

754 and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was
[297] at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to
[128] the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáñes. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler
535 spells and are called generically ɛremba. The most common is the okõyima-ɛremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

756 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by every-
535 one but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to'-esa') suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they
[289] did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara
[533] songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-
[224] day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the ɛremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kama-
[289] rakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout Baltasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə?" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retorata, from "retratar" which they often heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not use among themselves.

181 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[103] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[79] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several different Arekuna dialects.

? Y 648 439 P [131]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Y 241 174

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

Y 114 192 194

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

Y 114 Y [648] [177] Y [197]

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Y 167 648 Y [131] P 131 [167] P 177 797 161

Casapare
Auake 555
Pemon 55 16

P 177 /184 cont./
799 expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they
161 number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y 177 648 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y 101 619 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y A 101 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A 241 433 439 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A 501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Mõnongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A 582 A 101 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Numbers.

802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are seldom used. During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dialects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

[177] *192 *197 802

1. One — taukin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsagaŋ'. Taurepan, tsagane, sa:kane. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ga-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= atsan(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seuluane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e) tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsakə-leũla'-nɛ'. Taurepan, tsakurõlanɛ. (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-rə-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) asagoro-ne, asagore-nan. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) yuspe. Kalina (de Goeje) aka-bane (first two a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosaka. (Isaacs, cited by Jahn) kosa(k)taka. With the exception of Cumanagoto and perhaps Motilon, all these words consist of the root for "two" plus a suffix, as if to say "two pairs," "two doubled," or the like. The suffix is not the same in all cases. The root for "two" in this word, although recognizable, is seldom quite the same as in the word for "two." Note especially Ingariko and Akawai in which the gutteral, which was doubtless part of the original Carib root, is preserved in this word but lost in the word for "two."

5. Five — pɛ-ẽnato-pɛ. Taurepan mia:toikin, toikin. Makuchi (Williams) moi-ya e-tai-kin, mi-ya toi-kin. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) miatamunautonkon (= mia - ta-munau + tonkon). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raroe pukin. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-tone. Kalina (de Goeje) oinatoni. Motilon (Jahn) omapo. All these words contain the root for "hand," followed by that for "one" or, as in Kamarakoto, otherwise set off by numerative affixes, the sense in every case being that "five" is a hand (i.e. its full set of fingers). In Kamarakoto the word used for "hand" in this connection is the same as the ordinary separate word, but in other dialects it is often different. Thus in Taurepan "hand" is (it)ena, but mia in mia:toikin is a Carib root for "hand" otherwise absent in Taurepan. Likewise toikin in this dialect is the same word as taukin, "one," but is pronounced differently, so that even with mia omitted toikin is understood as "five," instead of its real root meaning. In Makuchi toikin and etaikin are more archaic forms of this same root than is their word for "one," tiwin.

6. Six — eñato-pona taukin. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le mia-pona tumo tanesi. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win mi-ya po-na tɔ'-mo-tai. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina-mia-raroe Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehu-y-pona (probably for tewi-pona). Kalíña (de Goeje) awin tyaima (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) onkora. (Ingariko word not recorded). Except for the dubious Motilon word, these all convey the sense of "one added to a hand." In Taurepan and Makuchi this is fully expressed, in Cumanagoto with

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñlaʾ-nęʾ.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wəʾ-rə. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) teknankon (= tekman + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kaliña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teukim-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wəʾ -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin kariña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

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When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuma, "his nose" = iteuma, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

● 802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 1/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

1/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

114 before and subsequent visits by the Venezuelan explorers Cardona and Heny,
101 but none of these men published an account of the discovery, as far as I know.[7] Undoubtedly some unlettered Venezuelans had visited the region even earlier, but the wanderings of such individuals do not result in discovery in any true sense. Wandering Kamarakotos had also discovered Venezuela by that time, but this did not lead to Venezuela's discovering them. The expedition to which I was attached in 1939, as specified below, was the first to devote any attention specifically to the Indians and it may be said that virtually nothing of any particular value has been published about them before the present monograph.

173 The Indians themselves have short memories, practically no time sense, and extremely scanty historical legends. Nevertheless, a few scraps of historical information, evidently thoroughly unreliable, were gathered from them. In the last part of the myth of Maichak, published on a later page, they represent themselves as being the descendants or successors of a man named Kamarakoto who lived in Kamarata, their present home, and whose gigantic "petrified remains" still exist there. This myth is the usual answer to any question as to where they came from, and it includes no hint of their ever having resided elsewhere. There is, however, a second and less miraculous legend that is known to fewer members of the tribe and that has more the ring of historic possibility, although I would place no definite reliance on it either. According to this legend the original Kamarakotos were the descendants of an Indian (presumably with his family) who fled from the region of Tumeremo in the days of the conquistadores. Ideas of geography being vague, "the region of Tumeremo" may mean almost anywhere in the area, far to the north and east of Kamarata, between the Caroní, the Cuyuní, and the Sierra Imataca. There were Catalán Capuchin missions in this region and to this extent the legend curiously agrees with the statement of Fray Ramón Bueno. "In the days of the [805] conquistadores" may mean almost any time more than two generations ago. It was before the time of the father of anyone now living and beyond that dating is of no value. These "original Kamarakotos" are said by the legend later to have been joined by a man from Luepa. The "man" may be taken to represent a whole family or even a general population drift such as is still going on, and "from Luepa," as was noticed also in other connections, means not specifically from that settlement, which had no importance until a mission was recently established there, but simply from the Gran Sabana or even from farther eastward through the Gran Sabana. The descendants of this man are [101] said to have intermarried with those of "the man from Tumeremo" and the present Kamarakotos are said to be the resultant mixed group. The "ancient" or "real" Kamarakotos, i.e. those said to have come from Tumeremo, are further said to have had a different language, and a few scraps of this are even remembered, as given on a later page.

7 [see footnote on p. 305, category 116 – Analyst]

824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

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*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wüi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Sky — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*197 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
823
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa'
*197 (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kooméya'.
● 805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

*192 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekũi' or bekwi' (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

●805 [211] [823] There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakõ, wakõrə. "Handsome man" — wakõr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikõyin, ikõina.

484. Cold — komi'.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher. [165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

125 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more
162 were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other
163 close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females
589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is
165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are,
[165] however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain-
[824] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none
165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

Notions of Time

●805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

There is probably no recognized unit between the day and the year. Our interpreter spoke sometimes of months, but I could not observe that the Indians really kept any track of the phases of the moon or used them to reckon time, although I might be mistaken in this. They do, of course, recognize the year as a succession of one rainy and one dry season and within each of their two
[82] seasons they are usually well aware of relative position. For instance, they can predict rather accurately when the season is due to change and they know at about what time various fruits will ripen, flowers bloom, birds lay eggs, and so on. No continuous record of years is kept and there is almost no perception of long spans of elapsed time beyond such expressions as "when I was young," "in my father's time," "when so-and-so built his house," and so forth. No Kamarakoto has any real idea of his own age or of that of his children. Even for young children the birth of whom was still vividly in mind, statements regarding age were often manifestly absurd.

In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. Z/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

Z/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

*193 This is so thoroughly a part of Kamarakoto psychology and indeed of
●811 Carib psychology in general that it is difficult for them to think of things that are normally possessed simply as objects at large without regard to possession, an instance of the specificity often characteristic of primitive languages in general. In some dialects this goes so far that one cannot say, for instance, "a head" but must say "the head of someone or something," an unpossessed head appearing to these Indians as an impossibility and possession requiring expression. The Kamarakotos, however, do use unpossessed forms even for parts of the body but in this case the lack of possession must be indicated. "A head," not specified as possessed by someone, is not pupai but pupai-to and -to is used with virtually all words for parts of the body to indicate lack of possession.

*193 In a few exceptional cases the possessed form of a noun instead of dropping a suffix acquires one, e.g. mari:a, "knife," but umari.arõ "my knife," waka, "ax," but uwakari, "my ax."

In other cases there occur changes that perhaps have arisen in simple ways analogous to the above but that nevertheless are now true stem changes indistinguishable in type from those of the inflected forms of Indo-European languages, e.g. mumun, "son," but umo, "my son," kami, "hammock," but ukaimi, "my hammock." Analogous examples are given in Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán vocabulary, in which he gives possessed forms of many nouns.[84]

The Kamarakoto noun is without gender. Natural sex is expressed for human beings by the use of different words for the two sexes (see "Vocabulary" and "Relationship Concepts and Words"). There do not appear to be any animals with different names for the two sexes or for the young, but the words waroto, "man," wari', "woman," and murę, "child," can be suffixed if the distinction is essential, e.g. kõroitoko, "domestic fowl," kõroitoko-warato, "rooster," kõroitoko-wari', "hen," kõroitoko-murę, "chick."

The Adjective.

Except as may be inherent in the meaning of the word, there is no clear distinction between nouns and adjectives in Kamarakoto. Thus "red" is an adjective, because there must always be something modified, the object that is red,[85] but the same word can mean "fish" and "fishy," or "strength" and "strong," etc. Aside from forms that are best translated as adjectives but that really are parts of verbs, I did not encounter any special adjectival suffixes or any stem changes between a noun and its corresponding adjective.

The adjective normally precedes the noun modified, as in English and unlike Spanish, but they may also follow, particularly words of quantity or size, e.g. waratokon tukango', "many men" (literally "men many"), tuna kaipun, "large stream" (literally "water-big").

84, 85 [see footnotes on p. 316, category 11b - Analyst]

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mada, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

● [811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960
SS16 Pemon SS16

VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletin*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarily and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [92]

[R 72 contains no English TEXT -- Analyst]

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960

SS16 Pemon SS16

If a *modoi* (species of a very tiny spider) hangs within the buse (spins his web) it means that a traveler will come to hang up his web or hammock. 787 82

If a flea bites an Indian it is a sign that Indians are coming to his house.

If a boy falls from a hammock, it is a sign that he is going to be crazy.

If a bat hovers above the smoke of our home, it is a sign that our hunters will find a deer.

If on the road we stumble, it means that we are going to meet travelers coming in the opposite direction.

If a *viomá* (kind of bird) whistles *kui-pí, kui-pí*, he is saying: "a deer is hidden over there."

If a rooster or a hen crows at night at unusual hours, it means that one of our acquaintances is speaking against us.

If our ears ring, it means that we are going (warning of death). In this case the Indians strike their ears as one who shoos away flies and say: *etē pai pra edai* (I don't wan to go).

When the clouds are tinged with red, it's a sign that spotted tigers are being born.

When an Indian is weaving something and his legs go to sleep, he says: "it's a sign that they are going to buy it."

When the eyelids twich (with those involuntary wormlike movements), it is a sign that some one of our relatives is dying. [763]

When a stick crackles as it burns, it is a sign that some one of our relatives is suffering.

The above is sufficient for our readers to form an idea how the *Pemón* Indians think in relation to omens.

764 Although the body thus came to be left in the grave, no attempt was
177 made to mark or maintain the site until very recently. Now a cross is sometimes erected — there are two in the cemetery at Uruyén and one grave (a prone burial) has a light cane railing around three sides. These are evident attempts to copy burials seen in Venezuelan villages, as reported by the two or three traveled individuals who have seen them. Of course no inscriptions are
769 used and no care is taken of the plots. There is no cult of the dead and no offerings are placed on the grave.

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805 The few relatively sophisticated, Spanish-speaking Indians are aware of
[177] the European calendar and system of reckoning time and will sometimes speak of months, hours, and other decidedly non-Kamarakoto concepts. It is evident, however, that even they have no definite means of telling what time it is and do not accurately know the hour or month or date. These foreign concepts are as yet quite unknown to the bulk of the tribe and of no practical use to the few who realize that they exist. The Kamarakotos have no definite time system. They recognize and designate the time of day by the height of the sun, and speak of dawn, morning, evening, early or late in the day, and so on, as we do when deprived of timepieces, but have no fixed subdivisions of the day. They reckon days for rather short intervals that are important to them, but keep no permanent or continuous record. They seem, for instance, to have no idea of how many days there are in a year and usually are quite unable to tell how many days have elapsed since an event more than a week or two in the past.

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In summary, the Kamarakotos appear to be about as completely devoid of any chronological sense, system, terminology or records as rational beings can be.

789 /98 cont./
755 stop hemorrhages or discharges of any sort, they invoke the pia or pachí, let's call them the mother of ashes and sand, which are driers.

[221] e) Indians observe that when the wind blows, it moves away the clouds and the sky becomes clear; thus they invoke the big wind, the father of the wind, when their vision is clouded. /99/

No less than a hundred examples like these could be presented of beneficent charms, to obtain good things or health, or maleficent ones, to produce evils to enemies; but I believe that those here noted are sufficient.

440 211. From this cursory exposition which we have just made of the religion of the Pemón, it can clearly be deduced how deeply in error are those who believe that in order to teach them our Christian religion we must forcibly enter into their soul casting devils from it as one casts down idols from an altar; nothing of the sort, all we need do is get out of their heads the anthromorphization of natural forces and the magical invocation of the same in order to substitute for them the true physical concept of things and their qualities and the true application or appropriation of the same by means of medicine, whether it be by external application or by ingestion.

Nor need we make any great effort to eliminate these ideas, which can remain as adornments or threads to be used in the flowery work of the imagination, always so long as upon them we can place the true rational and Christian theology of a Creator and Savior God of all things, especially of man; the future life, not of fantasy and conjecture, but a real and eternal place after the terrestrial and temporally ephemeral one, and different, depending upon the actions taken here below, and above all things, God's love for us and that we must profess Him, and the love of charity which must always reign among all men on earth.

824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — made.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

*192
*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wūi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Sky — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*192 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
823
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa'
*197 (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koemiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomeya'.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

*192 805 [211] [823] 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi' or bekwi' (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ro:liua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakō, wakōrə. "Handsome man" — wakōr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikōyin, ikōina.

484. Cold — komi'.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

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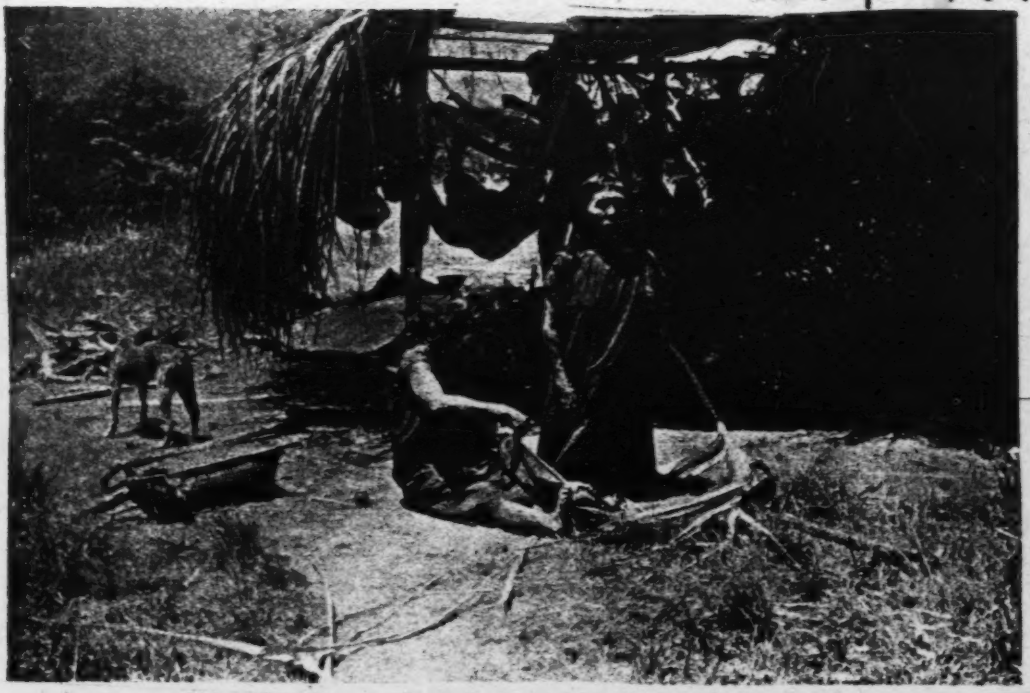

Fig. 31 – Kamarakoto Female Europeanized Costume.
Both women are wearing typical, bright red dresses made by themselves (the woman on the right is kneeling). The woman on the left is sewing a seam in characteristic fashion, holding the cloth with the toes and sewing toward the body.

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]
[122] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[153] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-akaːmüi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p 322, category 11b - Analyst]

301 Women usually, but not always, wear tight bands around arms and legs. At most there are four pairs of these, but three, two or none may be worn. One pair, perhaps the most common, is around the upper arm above the biceps and another, perhaps the least common, around the wrist. On the legs, one is [28] just below the knee and another around the ankle. These bands are woven (or knitted in the same way as a pakara, see "Textiles") of cotton string, alone or with a bead border, or sometimes are all beadwork. They are seamless and are made on the limb so that they cannot be removed without destroying them. 301 Girls often start to wear them shortly after they are able to walk and as they 304 are very tight they produce permanent deformity, particularly on the leg where they cause the calf to be swollen between a slim ankle and slim, or grooved, place immediately above the calf, an effect that is much admired. The upper arm band also tends to produce a definite groove, and these slight deformations are usually visible even on women who do not happen, at the moment, to be wearing armlets or leglets.[134] These bands naturally require replacement from time to time and this is sometimes delayed, or a woman who is past vanity may leave them off for good, but all women apparently wear them at times.

301 Aside from the bands, which might almost be considered part of feminine clothing, by far the commonest ornaments are necklaces, which are worn by practically all girls and women, many small boys, and a few men. A distinction is made between a necklace, properly speaking, usually of beads, prega:nsa, "necklace," or kasu:ru-prega:nsa, "bead-necklace," and a cotton string around the neck, yaichiʔ, to which ornaments are attached. They also wear long paired strands of beads which go around the neck and under the arms, crossing in front between the breasts and in back between the shoulders:

● [822] The beads used are usually white and blue, as in the mosa, and white seems to be preferred for necklaces. Simple single strands are seldom used, the most common types being bands six beads wide and a series of loops or festoons of beads (Figs. 33 B, D). There are also special ways of stringing the beads in pairs or in patterns, such as the okōi-yeupə ("snake-bone") pattern and others (Figs. 33, 48, 49). Single strands are also used, but are almost always multiple. Flat, somewhat quadrate, brown seeds, called tsiriruka, are also strung, alternating with white beads, producing a very attractive effect (Fig. 33 C). These seed necklaces are also called kasu:ru-prega:nsa. Necklaces are often further complicated by the addition of streamers to which knitted balls, cotton tassels, puffs of down, bell-like seedcases, etc., are attached.

301 The yaichiʔ is even more varied than the prega:nsa because of the great 177 variety of objects that are tied to it. Almost all the small shiny or colored odds and ends left by previous expeditions have been carefully gathered and tied into yaichiʔ. Small discharged rifle and revolver shells are especially popular and make a really pleasing effect when tied in series. One small boy had a yaichiʔ in which were tied five .22 shells, two capybara hooves, a pocket pencil

134 [see footnote on p.322, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p.154]

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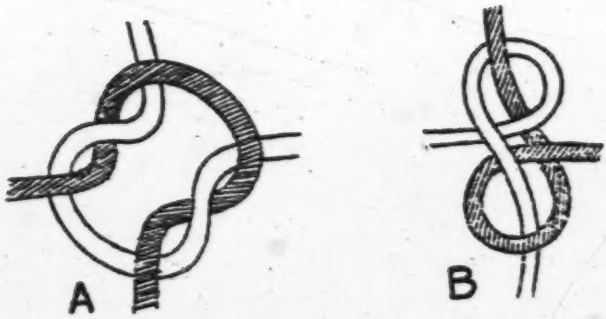

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [17] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 413 177 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be
435 amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders
171 and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles, [822] and beads. Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians
437 in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all [123] familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analyst]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi', being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛrɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə, ü, and ö in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

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a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpüi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpüi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepüi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wöyöpüi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itöi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tuʾrita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tōʾ. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tō, təʾ. Makuchi (Williams) təʾ.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in everyday use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: benā, tuná-benā. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

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the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

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b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-tə̃pũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-tə̃pũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-tə̃pũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-tə̃pũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-tə̃pũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-tə̃pũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

*824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

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*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wũi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, warga, (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*192 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not
● 823 distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa'
*197 (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kooméya'.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

*192 805 [211] 473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi⁹ or bekwi⁹ (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

●[823] There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124] a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.
475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.
476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).
477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.
478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) rœliua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."
479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakõ, wakõrə. "Handsome man" — wakõr warato moine.
481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.
482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.
483. Hot — ikõyin, ikõina.
484. Cold — komi⁹.
485. Strong — merundə.
486. Weak — apaumun.
487. Sick — ene:(pe)

[p.107]

LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling, (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361/103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Orná, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 103 which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Enuarapaimá-tepúi, 96 [823] drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 11b – Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).* He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [65] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

* [see p 2628, category 116 - Analysis]

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Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

/41 cont./

Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human [192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional. [173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large [824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai [273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachí (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/53 cont./

787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

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This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

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181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

[824]

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-mn-te. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

[824]

183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

[439]

184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302]

185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f.
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Thread, fiber, etc.

186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei. a.

*[197]

188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei. a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

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189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) manaːle (= manaːre). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "casava sifter" (called pangaiʾ in Kamarakoto and pangaʾ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"). "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiʾ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoʾ. Compare tsimuiʾ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaʾ -epichaʾ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

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g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-kaːlimi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — etseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiʾ. Taurepán, apono, ponoʾ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — pakaːri.

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198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaʾ. gatsaʾ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[see footnote on p. 312, category 11b - Analyst]

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awa:kepalu. "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai. (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu. cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakau, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsán-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku. (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatę?.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timi›.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kösera. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kösę. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlücha. (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish.[79]

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp 815-16, category 116 — Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — sigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaimg.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

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but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

[128]

So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

241 403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

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404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anaiʔ.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakaiʔ

407. Small, yellow variety — adamakaːyena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupaiʔ

*197 p24 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:ˀ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

p24 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛˀ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). Tree names usually have -yɛˀ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question. [193]

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiˀ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛˀ, gwai-yɛˀ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛˀ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛˀ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛˀ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaˀ-yɛˀ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛˀ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

● P24 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛ' (for ura:pa-yɛ', "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛ'.

428. Canjilón — pori:tadɛ' (for pori:ta-yɛ').

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoi' (-yɛ').

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛ'.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛ' (for purwei-yɛ' cf. purwe-yɛ', above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛ', but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛ' (i.e. "flute-wood").

*[197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaɛdɛ, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛ' (for tsimaran-yɛ').

437. Cedro[80] — kopei-dyɛ' (for kopei-yɛ').

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛ' (for yuma-yɛ').

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛ', waidawaurai-yɛ'.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛ'.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paunɛdɛ' (for paune-yɛ').

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

*[197] 444. Grass — wana'. Taurepán, wana'.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛ'. The wood is used for the fore-shaft of arrows.

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Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits:-

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

80 [see footnote on p. 316, category 11b – Analyst]

824 451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
262 452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — abaʾ.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.
(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

*192
*197 456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wũi, wei.
821 457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuriʾ. Taurepán, katuʾruʾ.
462. *Shy — kaʾ. Taurepán, kaʾ.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — konoʾ. Taurepán, konoʾ.
*192 465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
*197 466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
823
467. *Gold — oro, woroʾ. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woroʾ appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
*192 468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesaʾ
*197 (wei = "sun"). See next word.
821 469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesaʾ (konoʾ = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
*192 470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
*197 471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomɔyaʾ.
805 472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

342 402 252 352 313 118 It almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun. [171]

342 [171] The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakęn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabozo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases. [131]

Construction and Materials.

335 342 343 [124] The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyę being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

342 343 [124] Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarę. Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarę. Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarę. Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarę. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes [171]

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]
2 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 — Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 — Analyst]

321 Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the mid-
103 dle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a ter-
133 race, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, [138] joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén 361 to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is 311 now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are 342 completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:
343
824

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Principal dwelling, Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kunwada-yarɛ.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kunwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakɛn.	kunwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kunwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A),[1] and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11).[2] No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

[1] [see pp. 115 and 122, Category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every
[85] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys
[82] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę), Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting
[224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical-
[263] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with
[237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[82] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood
[824] (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped
[237] with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter,
[224] with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string
[284] and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and
[224] its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered taran.

411 The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the
171 most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p 320, Category 11b - Analysis]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out, and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of
[237] the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mōiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiɔ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiɔ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114 A, 115 A [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 [42] For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumatsa?, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosa?, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [23] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
000 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [314] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iruʔ, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iruʔ (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iruʔ (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroiʔ, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimoʔ), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is inɛʔ.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 136]

4/2 177 precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

4/2 177 178 No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The [324] working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

4/5 [4/2] [252] The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles [P24] (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawan-yɛ and kopei-yɛ (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

[268] Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

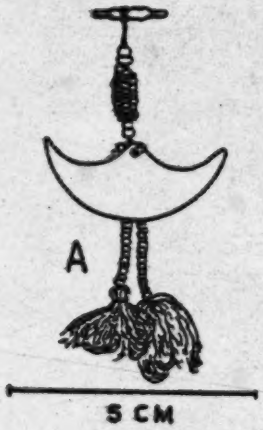
323 [252] [531] The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

301



291

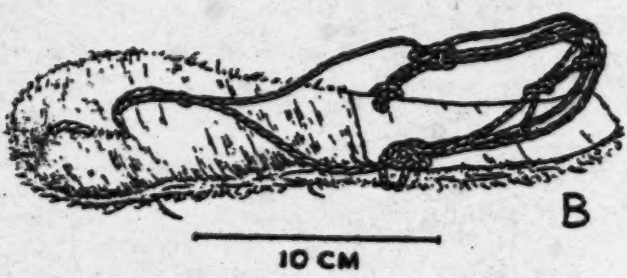


Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 11b - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[203] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[461] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and
[531] dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.

174 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
114 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
291 Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under
[177] European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [164] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuma tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black ●824 paint, karōi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

302 Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa
386 tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is
824 also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil.
[439] From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.
302 The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

28 The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

28 Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the
101 most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana
[114] tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

138, 139 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

286 *III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai, of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarɛ, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarɛ. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimo?, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

289 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analysis]

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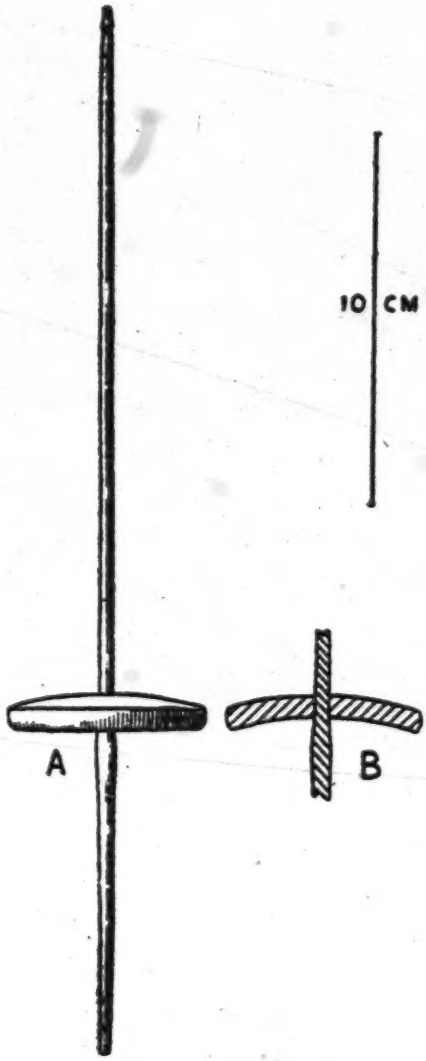

Fig. 35 — Kamarakoto Spindle.
A, side view of spindle. B, partial cross section showing fitting of whorl on spindle.

[824] The whorl is discoidal, undecorated, and usually is a thick but light piece of calabash with the convex side up. It is considerably nearer the lower than

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Prödin and [171] Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

● [829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p.323, category 116 — Analyst]

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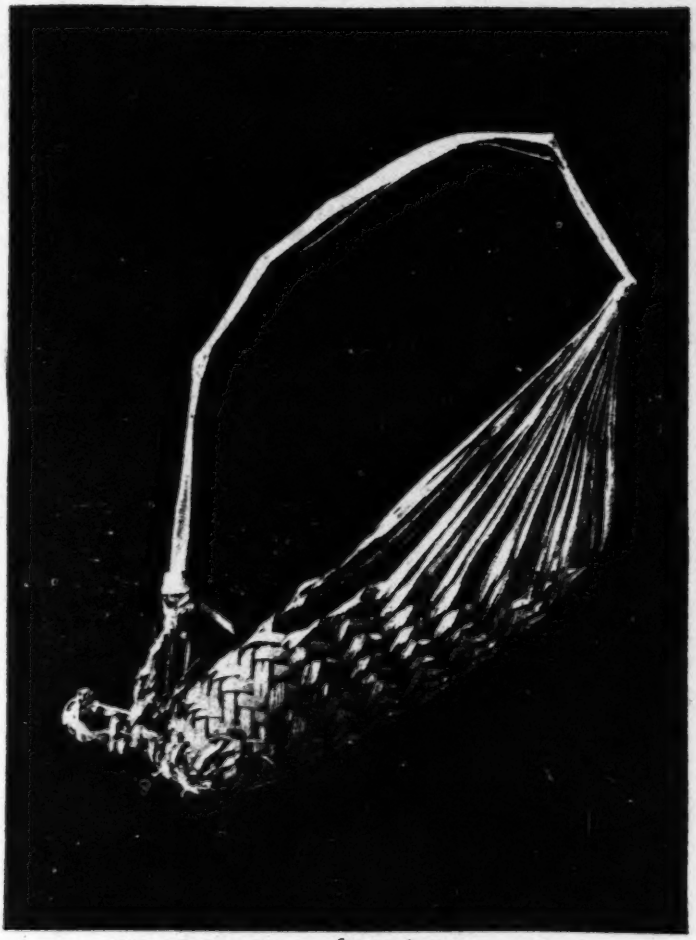

Fig. 54 — Taurepán Basket.

[824] A worokopɜ, variety of pakarama, made by plaïn plaiting of a single moriche palm leaf.

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●824
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Fig. 55 — Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa', made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 197 202 [535] Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish word "cacho" (kacho).

534 171 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute, called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepánes (von [128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute [124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo- [237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears. [535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiii[3] (not the parichara), and, unlike [533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 171 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are especially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes al-
though these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those fre-
487 quented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as
permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There
are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares,"
that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran
Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of
vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and per-
fectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level
[488] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only
fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single
file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the
trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that
even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On
484 521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other with-
out turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over
to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them
deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking
and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with
[412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and
branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always
possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges
491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yĉ)
499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com-
[824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction,
so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are
not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried
logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be
used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all
the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but
even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over
small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always
provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is
simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole
is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of
484 these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some
491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map,
171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[40] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called
[104] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[829] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[text continues on p. 212]

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[407] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekumas use bark canoes, the so-called
[104] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).

[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[829] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawan-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near 501 171 the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nor- [114] denskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʔ and koataiʔ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai , is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʔ (or koataiʔ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʔ and koataiʔ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 213]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the raftens. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponot', being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

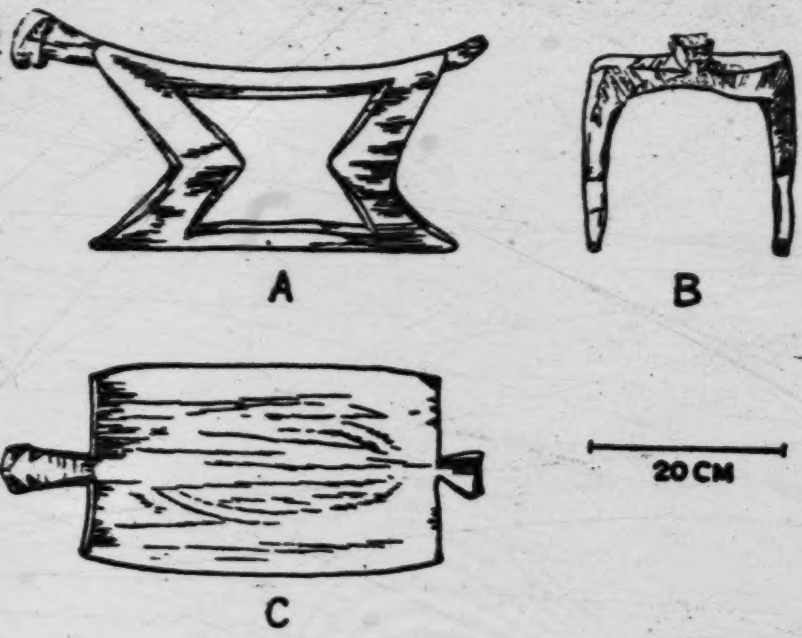

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

Typical hunting magic with a
224 maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page
[773] (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typically Carib
[824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
776 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[282] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[287] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouaxou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

● 824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
[197] less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mə̀da, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to⁹-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumɛ, "their daughter," but enji and lumɛ are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
114

101 101. These particular Arekumas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekumas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
● 824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant koegra, the root kōsę, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipõla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 237 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ing' can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg [114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 824 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves
114 innumerable doubtful points.

226 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South
271 America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and
263 that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the
177 crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to
401 devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa
407 Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the
123 fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have
124 the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently ex-
531 plained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by
415 soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual 184 cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or 302 tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown 114 or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians ●824 on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the cassave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized 283 Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is 286 made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually 352 factory-made, is of cotton.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [17] [226] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 ● 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

539 584 583 marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kurñata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pemon SS16
Makiritare SS20

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontòn, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *sehe* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

/36 cont./

356 But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons,
[372] houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down
177 by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

789 Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm
538 bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún,
825 which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

285 Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá
789 is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave
538 manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

773 Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-
291 lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small
789 child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the
538 case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

●825 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig,
789 or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca;
755 from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American
789 monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large
755 quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 transfer between the name of a favorite
● 825 game animal and that of animals in gen-
197 eral. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

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CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupirisi*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

[p. 5-A]

[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

CHIROPTERA

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825

tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripai*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*aliki* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas?*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:rë*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

[p 5-B]

192 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and
197 gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third
825 kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremā*. Taurepán *waremā*. Makuchi (Williams) *tama:nowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremā* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:-pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

[p. 6-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

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192 *tyla*") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremā* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

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Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *mu:ru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimā*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

[p. 6-B]

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192 Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have
197 variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto
825 and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'?*). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

[p. 7-A]

192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, certainly use the same word only
197 for the spiny rats.
825 Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mōmbē*. Taurepán *mōmbē*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mómbo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulūya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pē* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mōmbē* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mōmbē*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mōmbē* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mōmbē*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulūya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pē* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsã*. Taurepán *kaikusã*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:zi*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimöraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

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records of native nomenclature of the otters are otherwise very confusing. See *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of

[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

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Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the

[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in

[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p. 9-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 9-B]

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

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early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatĕ*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusa:ri*, *usa:ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usa:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukĕ*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

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192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "cháchara," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

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192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga*, *piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolivar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletin*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see. 787 [192]

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

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Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
3. Streams and rivers		
Aicha	Aichá	Haicha[61]
Yuruan	Yuruán	Urullén[62]
Akanan	Akanán	Acanan
Karoni	Karoní, or Caroní[63]	Caroni
Karao	Karáo	Carrao[64]
Kuana	Kuaná	Uana
Kapin	Kapín	_____
4. Regions, sabanas		
Kamara-ta	Kamarata	Camarata[65]
Akanamüin-ta	Akanamüin-ta	_____
Uruyen-ta.i	Uruyén-tai	_____
Yuruan-ta.i	Yuruán-tai	_____
Chikoroka-ta.i	Chikoroká-tai	_____
Kumba-ta.i	Kumbá-tai	_____
Taba-munen-ta.i[66]	Tabá-munén-tai	_____

Animals.

825 a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

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269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i.e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i.e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. [Arawak (de Goeje) yawali].

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters). Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may [illegible] rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

61-66 [see footnotes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analysis]

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species of fish-otter, but Williams gives it as a kind of frog. Taurepán aparōwa seems to be the same word but here too, it is uncertain whether the water opossum or an otter is meant. Koch-Grünberg also gives awa:lipoka in Taurepán and calls it a fish-otter.

272. Bat, Spanish "murcielago," all genera and species — Kamarakoto record lost.[67] Taurepán, mariba, given by Koch-Grünberg as mali:pa. He also gives Ku]ɛdnan mali:pa as "vampyre," but, as he notes, this means "large bat" and it is description, not nomenclature. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) ma:lupa'. Makuchi, (Williams) marapa.

273. Monkey, Spanish "mono," mainly Cebus spp., some others probably included — ibarga. Taurepán ibarga. (Koch-Grünberg) iwa:leka. My informants distinguished only two monkeys, this and the following, and probably included a variety of small monkeys under this name. Other tribes, as shown especially by Williams and by de Goeje, distinguish five or ten kinds of monkeys, and it is possible that there are Kamarakotos who know other names for particular sorts of small monkeys.

274. Howling monkey, local Spanish "araguato," Alouatta sp. — arauta. Taurepán, arauta. Makuchi (Williams) a-rau-ta. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) arahuata (i.e. arawata). Kalina, and others, (de Goeje) aluata. The same root appears in various non-Carib languages, but apparently by borrowing from the Carib. This word, in some form like the Cumanagoto, is the origin of the local Spanish name, and, in some form like the Kaliña, of the scientific name.

275. Three-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Bradypus tridactylus, — kwaran. Taurepán, kuaran, kuwaran. Makuchi (Williams) ku-wa-ran, defined as Choloepus, but with the note that Schomburgk defined it as Bradypus. There has been much confusion in the European use of these native names, but there is no question that the Kamarakotos use the names as here given, and it is likely that these are the correct Carib usages in general.

276. Two-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Choloepus didactylus, — nupi. Taurepán, nupi. Makuchi (Williams) te-nu-pi.

277. Great anteater, local Spanish "oso palmero" ("palm bear"), Myrmecophaga tridactyla, — waremɛ. Taurepán, waremɛ. Makuchi (Williams) ta-ma-no-wa. Variants of this latter root occur in several Carib dialects but

67 [see footnote on p. 314, category 116-Analyst]

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probably are borrowed from Tupi (or "Lingoa geral") tamandua.[68] There is some confusion in the linguistic literature between this and the next species, but the Kamarakotos and Taurepánes certainly apply wareme only to Myrmecophaga.[69]

278. Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero" ("ant bear"), Tamandua tetradactyla. — woiwo. Taurepán, woiwo. Makuchi (Williams) woi-wa.[70] This may apply also to Cyclopes, which we did not see and which the Indians did not recognize from descriptions but which must occur in this region.

279. Nine-banded armadillo, local Spanish "cachicamo," Dasypus novemcinctus. — atsi:gamo. Taurepán, kaiʼkan. Makuchi (Williams) kai-kan. Kaikan, etc., is obviously the central Carib word and the Kamarakoto atsi:gamo is cognate with the colloquial Spanish "cachicamo." Rather than supposing that the Kamarakoto borrowed from the Venezuelan Spanish, it is necessary to conclude that "cachicamo" came from some Indian dialect, probably now extinct, and that atsi:gamo is independently borrowed from the same or an allied dialect without passing through a Spanish form. Its antepenult long i is phonetically peculiar.

280. Cabassou, (local Spanish not recorded). Cabassous, probably C. unicinctus. — merun. Taurepán, muʼruʼ. Kaliña (de Goeje) kapasi. Outside of this immediate group of dialects, variants of kapasi (kapachi, kapahi, etc.) seem to be generally used in Carib. The scientific name is probably derived from a variant of this word.[71]

281. Giant armadillo, local Spanish "cuspa," Priodontes gigas[72] — mauraima. Taurepán, mauraimɛ. Kaliña (de Goeje) manulena.

282. Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla, ardillita," Sciurus spp. (Those seen were S. aestuans). — kari. Taurepán, Kari. This may be an Arawak word, for that language has (de Goeje) kalio, while the Carib languages, Trio & Oyana, use a different root (de Goeje) meri, meli, and Kalina a third root (de Goeje) Ksi:pulu, but the data are poor as the word is given in few vocabularies.

283. Capybara, local Spanish "chigüire," Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus. — kapi:ba. Taurepán, paruena. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paulina. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kapi:wa. Makuchi

68-72 [see footnotes on pp 314-15, category 116 - Analyst]

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(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, urana. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. [171] Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. [114] Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. [114] [101] Taurepán, urare. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mõmbə. Taurepán, mõmbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analysis]

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undoubtedly, as far as real, they are all mere individual variations.

291. Puma, local Spanish "león" ("lion") Felis concolor, — kutsaribara. Taurepán, kusariwara. Kalíña (de Goeje) kusaliwalan.

292. Ocelot, local Spanish "cunavara," "tigrito," Felis pardalis, — marakada. Taurepán, marakada. Kalíña (de Goeje), marakaya.

293. Fox, Spanish "zorro," probably Cerdocyon thous, — maikan. Taurepán, maikan. Makuchi (Williams) mai-kan, "Canis cancrivorous." The animal was not taken and the identification is uncertain.

294. Bush-dog, Icticyon sp. — yaiʾ (y very close, almost daiʾ). Taurepán, yaiʾ (or daiʾ).

295. Dog, Spanish "perro" — pero. Taurepán, arimõraga. The Taurepán word is native Carib and appears in various guises in most dialects but the Kamarakotos use their version of the Spanish word.[74]

296. Coati, local Spanish "zorro guacho" ("lone fox"), Nasua (sens. cat.) sp. — ibarwana. Taurepán, iwarwana. This identification is uncertain. The animal is probably not the coati, strictly speaking, but probably is a procyonid of that general sort.

297. Otter, local Spanish "perro de agua" ("water-dog"), "nutria," Lutra sp., — saro. Taurepán, saroʾ. (See also No. 270.)

298. Tapir, local Spanish "danta," Tapirus americanus, — maikuri. Taurepán, waira, waila. Makuchi (Williams) wai-ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) waila. Kalíña (de Goeje) maipuri. Both roots appear to be Carib but this is a case in which the Kamarakoto word is not shared by any of the more closely allied tribes.

299. Savannah deer, Spanish "venado" Odocoileus sp. (probably gymnotis), — waikin. Taurepán, waikin. Makuchi (Williams) wai-kin.

300. Brocket, (local Spanish not recorded; Spanish-speaking Indians called it "venado de monte," "wood deer"), Mazama americana, — kutsari. Taurepán, kusa:ri, usa:ri. Makuchi (Williams) u-sa-ri. Kalina (de Goeje) kusali.

301. Collared peccary, local Spanish "chácharo," Tayassu tajacu, — pakira. Taurepán, pakira. Makuchi, pa-ra-ka. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paki:la, Cumanagoto (Adam) vaquira (i.e. bakira). Kalíña (de Goeje) pakira. Note the interesting metathesis in the Makuchi form of this

?74 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" = Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ʔ, in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analysis]

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309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiʔ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiʔ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchí (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluʔ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchí (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiʔ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛʔ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchí (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuʔpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

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Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close
● 825 a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari', "female," and warato, "male," to kōroitoko.

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(b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kūrikūri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

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330. *"Chupacacao" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʔ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʔ) — kurinata.
333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, *Podager nacunda, the Nacunda nighthawk."

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825 c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okõi. Taurepán, õkõi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʔ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.
342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʔ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sɛrɛbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiʔ.
351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — aka:re. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yaka:re. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.

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352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kura:tu. Taurepán, kuratu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʔma.
354. Toad — põlɛ:a (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written põlɛa). Taurepán, põreu-tukuʔ.

78 [see footnote on p.315, category 11b – Analyst]

•825 262 e. Fishes.

355. Fish (in general) — moroʔ.

The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara, — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. uru:yi, — Interpreted as "rayado," a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako, — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa, — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil, Arapaima sp.

360. kəpauri, — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipiraiʔ.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

*197 825 f. Invertebrates.

363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiyaʔ.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. •Ant — atsimikə. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mikə, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mikə. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. •Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaibaʔ, kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaibaʔ, kaibaʔ-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. •Fly — berbɛʔ. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. •Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. •Mosquito — matsaʔ. Taurepán, masaʔ.

370. •Termite — munaʔ. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. •Dragonfly — pirmo, pirəmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pi:lumoʔ.

372. •Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau, (Koch-Grünberg)

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awa:kepalu, "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai, (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakau, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsan-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku, (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatçʔ.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — tîmiʔ.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kõsɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kõsɛ. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlũcha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not succeed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supematural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

● [825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly [152] related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 539 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).‡ He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human ● 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

‡ [see p 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] [114] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroni that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date. Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepui, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai', which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tennpi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaɾ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

● [825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangōi'.

191. Pangai'.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kōsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai'. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai' is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai'.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[26] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

539 [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. munaʔ.

[825] 210. A kuriñata.

[825] 211. An enwaraʔ, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwaraʔ (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛʔ. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangaiʔ. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [848] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

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83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by armchair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live
826 looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians
165 are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganę.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñla'-nę'.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wə'-rə. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) teknankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kalīña (de Goeje) añna batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wə' -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin karīña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

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When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

*192 *197 suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more distantly allied dialects.

●826 [193]

13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."
14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.
15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.
16. *Eye —enu-to. Taurepan (k)einu. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.
17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)euna-le.
18. Lips — epi-to.
19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda, "our mouths" (dual) = ana m-ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

*197 193 This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root-meta-, as in Taurepan to-mata, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umata — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

*192 *197 826 [193]

20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hanna-ri. Bakairi (Adams) uana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).
21. Neck (front) — pũimõi-to.
22. Neck (back) — pũimõi-yepa-to.

41 [see footnote on p. 310, category 118 - Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
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[194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena, (it)e:nya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative, ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareō-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawarən
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aung:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumata. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikin-pəta -pipə, in which pəta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 - Analysis]

*192 826 37. Bone — yeupu, yeupə.

Persons and Relationships.

*192 *197 38. *Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) ura:uo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. *Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. *Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

*192 41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

[192] [10] 42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kamara" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — murə.

44. Older person — uyadetə.

45. Younger person — yamipə.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ʒsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b - Analyst]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent

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192 197 826 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."

194 197 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate. The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta=ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 192 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-, are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 197 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 601 197 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind," "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mɔlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingariko and unlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 197 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate with Kamarakoto œapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 192 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.

1 [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that 262 515 mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; [827] and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/42 cont./

756 and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly
[273] during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit
[778] various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachi (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

[789] In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go
[827] so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

756 93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or
778 little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones;
276 the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the
824 nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

787 94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through
755 the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolívar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletín*. 114

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". 787 [193] For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see.

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc. [774] [828] [278]

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is". [825]

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are: [82]

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [386] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear [828] physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [754] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 11b - Analyst]

/10 cont./

080 inhabitants, its born owners, the patá-muná and the tarenó, as they themselves call themselves.

Without the Indians this region would be beautiful no doubt; but silent, cold, and unattractive: without a language to give a name to the rivers, lakes, hills and mountains; without feet to trace the pathways and seek the fords in the rivers and the passes in the sierras and the footpaths joining one settlement with another; without imagination to populate these places with fabulous and legendary beings and to explain poetically the great natural phenomena; without heart and without tenderness to welcome in its huts travelers and visitors; and without arms to master and tame the forces of wild nature.

181 For this is what the Indians who people these parts have been and still are: literati in their fashion, who create tales, legends, and fabulous beings not just with vivid and childlike imagination, but also with a comic cast and an implicit moral; geographers, who know the relief of their land to its tiniest detail; naturalists, who call by their proper names the infinity of beings that make up the flora and fauna of their patria chica /"little homeland"/; engineers, who have traced with the sure compass of their instinct and the robust tread of their feet routes to the four cardinal points among precipices and craggy mountains; and, finally, servants, and even faithful friends with broad shoulders and even more long-suffering and broad souls than those of all of us who have come to their land.

25. Against that evil proverb that says: "neither is the cassava bread, nor the Indian a person," it is necessary to assert, although it be a truism, that the individuals of the copper-colored race are just as much people as are others of the white, black, or yellow races.

●829 Also widely circulated is the opinion that the Indians call the Creoles "rational ones," and that this is a sign that they themselves consider themselves to be irrational. In addition to there being in this a manifest logical contradiction, it has

/10 cont./

829 already been stated that the Indians call civilized persons, when they contrast them in general with themselves, te-ponken, or "man who has clothing," not "man who has reason."

200 26. Setting this aside, just as, without destroying the unity of the human species, it is universally admitted that there is a division of the same into white, yellow, black, and copper-colored, according to certain /11/ more apparent somatic differences, so, also, without disrespect for the specific unity of the human soul, we must admit a diversity of mentalities, psychologies, aptitudes. And although we customarily say that the soul has neither sex, age, nor color, we nonetheless speak of feminine psychology, infantile psychology, native mentality, etc.

Could we, then, have a native soul, a copper-colored soul? -- There would be no difficulty in admitting this in the nonheterodoxical sense of the expression.

27. From what has been expounded in the foregoing, we can logically infer two conclusions or incontrovertible principles, which for some will be two more truisms of my father and my lord, to wit:

That the Indians have their own rational soul with all that which this word includes of faculties, tendencies, and aptitudes.

That this rational soul is of another mentality, psychology, tendencies, aptitudes, etc., principally because of the environment in which they live and their atavistic heritage.

All of us who write about native matters must keep these two principles ever before us so as not to put all feet in a single slipper nor to measure all races by the single European canon.

Further, it does not suffice to know the Indians by their skin or by their material culture in order to go on from there to talk about everything relating to them, their character, their practices and customs, their intelligence, their idiosyncrasies, etc.

/37 cont./

829 522 81. Before putting an end to this brief study, I should advise that, by the natural law of retaliation, the Indians, acute observers of our customs and very fond of humor, also make fun of our hygienic customs and of some of our foods, which are likewise repugnant to them. Thus, for example, pork, eggs, etc. They also laugh at our corrals and houses for domestic animals, which are not always sufficiently separated from the houses and which do not smell like a bed of roses. And of our country privies, I have heard from them an infinite number of satirical remarks very similar to the popular saying, "What is it that the rich gather up, which the poor throw away?" with reference to nasal secretions.

515 539 82. To poke fun at dirty persons -- for such a person is never lacking among the Indians, as everywhere else -- who flee from bathing like a cat from water, and abhor cleanliness as the devil the cross, they have the story of the Indian kamotipán, that is to say, the one who had mushrooms and squash sprout all over him, like ears all over his body, so that they made a noise when he walked along, so that game and fish fled and he had to be submitted to a great scraping and bathing by frogs, after which he became a good fisher and hunter.

Chapter X

What Is There To Their Corpulence and Healthiness?

83. Exaggeration in the reports. 84. The legend of the golden age. 85. Endemic diseases. 86. Are they not perfect herbists? 87. Medicine and magic: curers and enchanters. 88. Charms. 89. An Egyptian charm and a Pemón one. 90. Spiritual religion and corporal medicine.

/56 cont./

846 121. On top of these and other theories, the Pemón Indians,
who practice the couvade, themselves have explained to me
829 the reason and extent. Therefore, as far as they are concerned,
there is no doubt that the reason for this is the following. They
say that: /five plates appear here/ /57/ a) "every alteration
of the health of the father or of the mother, any work which
might lead to tiredness, any fatigue or disturbance of the pro-
genitors, etc., has repercussions on the newborn, who are a
part of them." They believe, thus, in sympathetic influence,
to which they suppose children to be extremely sensitive and
which has repercussions on the child, as a part of a whole,
from the parents.

Men as scientific as Alexis Carrel believe that there is
ome truth in this and thus there is an explanation of certain
phenomena of telepathy, prescience, etc.

b) The Pemón add to this another reason and this is that,
846 according to them, the potorí or piá, each of them the en-
776 genderer of a definite species of animal and plant, on being
cut down or destroyed, take vengeance on human sprouts or
offspring. Another thing is that the mauarí and other spirits
are bothered by certain actions of men, such as, for example,
by the rolling of stones down hills, and then they also take
vengeance on their little children, who are easier prey for
their anger and their evil influences. This second cause is,
thus, belief in the harmful influence of invisible spirits and of
the progenitors and, for this reason, defenders of living beings,
whoever they may be /sic/.

843 It will suffice to transcribe a few precautions, among the
784 very many taken down from their dictation, so that the two
principles which have been stated may be quite clear:

1. A woman who is enceinte must not eat cassava which
has been returned to the house from which it came, so
that, when she gives birth the child may not turn back
to the breast.

/64 cont./

600 142. Peace to men of good will. 143. Cases and more cases. 144. A very significant story.

776 137. The Indians have the notion of Kanaima up to the marrow of their bones, and there is no reason, however convincing it be, capable of persuading them to the contrary. And when one wishes to convince them that there are no such Kanaimas, nor such things, and that it is all imagination and fear that they have, they propose so many cases and with such circumstances that they are capable of convincing anybody who is not really up on things.

When traveling along the road they see its footprints -- the Kanaima walks on tiptoe or on the heel so that its path may not be recognized --; just the other day an Indian who was in the field grabbed Kanaima and then his spine began to hurt; a certain Indian woman, going for water to the ravine, saw Kanaima and got sick; another man, while hunting, heard its whistles and its cries like those of a child; finally, the Indians in a certain village had to move their dwelling because of the abundance of Kanaimas, and those in another one killed two or three Kanaimas with machetes. Such conversations on this subject are the daily bread of the Indians.

776 138. And although their ideas on this matter may not be
829 very unanimous nor very logical, in general they state the following:

That the Kanaimas are Pichaukok Indians; they are not mythological beings or demons, but Indians of another, pre-existent race in these regions.

That the Kanaima are many; that toward the Venamo, Iru-tepui, Kama, etc. -- more remote and uninhabited regions -- they live in stone houses or under stones.

That the Kanaima generally does not attack Indians when there are several of them but when meeting someone alone who is straggling behind.

/64 cont./

829 That the Kanaima customarily hides behind some tree,
776 which is at the side of the road; that he first attacks by lashing at the eyes or entangling them with vines; that then he falls on his victim with sticks; and finally he blows (a magical blowing) on his head and on his feet so that he'll get sick.

776 That ordinarily the Indians do not die at the hands of the Kanaima, but several days later; and that they must neither /two plates appear here/ /65/ say that they looked on Kanaima nor that Kanaima caught them, but that they saw a tiger or that they tripped over a stick, etc., until such time as the danger may pass, because otherwise they might get even sicker.

That the cry of the Kanaima (let us say the war cry) when he attacks with other companions is "Sové!" or "Soé!"

That for no reason and never does the Kanaima attack those who are not Indians.

139. They also say, endowing the Kanaima with magic properties, that he sometimes converts himself into a fox and goes to dig in the graves of Indians killed by him; and that at other times he converts himself into Auoineripué, a legendary being who drinks the liquid of decomposing corpses, which is his kachirí and with which he becomes mad.

Finally, that the Kanaima does these evil things to Indians for revenge, since they expelled them from their land, and from envy, since they are poorer in belongings than the Indians themselves.

776 And thus we have in conclusion that the Kanaima is the
781 bogeyman and more than the bogeyman of all the Indians; a
756 sort of persecution mania, which has taken over their weak minds; an almost incurable illness, since they believe that there is no possible remedy for anyone who has been caught by Kanaima and that there is no other recourse than to get into the hammock to die, if there is no enchanter who can come to cure him with stronger blowings than those of the Kanaima.

776 And, on the other hand, if there were no Kanaimas, the
761 Indians would be immortal or slightly less than this, since there is scarcely a death that they do not attribute to Kanaima.

/72 cont./

431 it with gifts, serenely ask: What other thing can and must we
577 poor people do but beg? What should dry earth do but sit up
[123] and open its mouth in demand for water?

Nor will anyone deny that splendid and generous people
571 are rare; and in the face of this undeniable fact of miserliness, there is no other remedy than to be beggarly. "A stubborn poor person extracts a crumb of bread." For this reason also the natives often endure punishment and maltreatment, which they did not go looking for (where they beat them they remain) and they go away when they have received their pay, because this is precisely what they came looking for and what they have been working for. And we would be presumptuous in the extreme if, because we pay the Indians, we should want to keep them indefinitely at our side and in our service.

600 156. Wisely did Father Eulogio warn that "the uncivilized Indian does not show gratitude in any way," and this is due to ignorance of our ways of life, our industries, and our business ways.

●829 Another missionary, Father Baltasar de Matallana, also
171 says that such Indians "believe that shotguns loaded with shot and powder rained down from heaven on us." Another humorist, an explorer of mines in all the Guianas, assured me that the natives imagined that we were born with money in our pockets, just as they were born with lice in their hair and fleas on their feet.

829 And that is why it turned out to be unproductive, when we
123 brought Indians to Caracas, to take them to the shops and warehouses, since they couldn't understand why, out of so many pieces of cloth, so many ready-made clothes exposed to their avid glances, so many dozens of suitcases, axes, and other tools, not a single meter was ever cut off for them, that nobody ever gave them a garment, nor let them take away what, apparently, was more than enough for the others.

538 157. The old Indians also have the legendary belief that
829 their ancient predecessors, the Makunaimá, extremely able,

/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful, as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the
829 missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/94 cont./

500 interrogators, together with the majority of those who discuss it, understand that within the word religion are included these three things: beliefs or dogmas, morality or precepts, and worship or prayers, sacrifices, etc.

204. For a long time there circulated very validly through the lands of America the humoristic saying that the Indians did not have "Dios, ni fe, ni ley, ni rey /God, nor faith, nor law, nor king/." This saying, in addition to being a mnemonic device for remembering the consonants which native languages are apt to lack, also included a satirical intent and meant to say that Indians in general lacked religious organization (God and faith) and social organization (King and Law).

In conversations upon this very subject more than once I have heard it said, making a clever play on words, that the Indians are godless /"los indios son los-sin-Dios/.

771 205. In the previous chapter we categorically rejected
● 829 this statement and we saw, especially, that the proof that the Indians didn't know how to answer whether or not they had any religion nor how to define or explain it is of no value in this matter, since these are theoretical questions for theorists.

To answer directly the question under study there exist two obvious and simplistic answers:

778 a) The negative one, which consists of saying: That the
782 Indians do not have idols or images, nor sacred places or buildings, nor offerings or sacrifices, nor persons consecrated to religion.

771 b) The positive one, which runs on a par with the former one and is, like it, simplistic (and into which I confess to having fallen at times through a fondness for synthesis and brevity and through trying to make myself understood by those who are not very versed in these matters), which consists of saying: That /95/ Indians believe in the devil (ancient thesis) or that they are animists (modern thesis).

Vital Statistics

163 I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher.
[165] Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.
165 Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.
162 Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.
135 In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more
162 were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other
163 close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females
589 who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.
162 No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is
165 impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are,
[605] however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certain-
[619] ly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none
165 whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

551/179 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

551 [123]

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

[124]

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essentially as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames. The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

[123] [177] [799] [553] 551 553

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[178] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[543] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are almost always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want without crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry, because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psychological, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled" children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[1 2] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so contrary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
892 seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
[897] by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[853] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

837 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; [684] although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good." [563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

/60 cont./

881 [302] b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;

881 c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by rató;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 841 521 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of [593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

/54 cont./

846 117. From this simple definition it can be deduced that the ethnologists who attribute these precautions to the father alone are in error. At least among the Pemón and other related tribes, it seems positively certain to me that the precautions are common to both parents. Could it be that, since these precautions in mothers do not attract attention because they are a common thing, the writers noticed only the males?

But in addition to paying attention only to the males, they have even gone to the extreme of inverting these terms, writing, for example: "The covada consists in the father, a little before the child is born, getting into bed, going on a diet, resting, and doing everything that a parturient woman does, and he is attended by women pretending that he has given birth. By contrast, the woman would get up after the birth and dedicate herself to her usual domestic chores."

Wise ethnologists, whose authority we cannot question /55/ state, regarding certain tribes, that the men went so far in their precautions and anxieties to avoid every danger to the newborn and for other reasons which we shall later see, as to stay in bed as if they really had given birth. But in none of these have I read up to the present time that, inversely, the woman should not stay in bed at least a while nor not take other precautions.

This conclusion is perhaps also an exaggeration to which they have resorted in their eagerness to contrast the affectations of city women with the natural state observed in country women, especially native ones. And thus, for example, Estrabón says, when talking about the Cantabrian women of Spain: "They were, these women, very tough, and it happened that when, during their work, they found themselves in labor, they went away for a while and then later, having washed and wrapped up the newborn, they returned to work."

842 As for the Pemón, although they are brave in giving birth and even in some cases refuse any help at all, and although, when surprised during a trip by childbirth, they continue the

P /55 cont./
842 trip the next day, they do maintain several precautions such
P as putting on moriche sandals, abstaining from certain foods and from certain acts, nor do they dare to raise their voices.

[114] 118. The patriarch of modern ethnology, Father W. Schmidt, director of the Vatican Ethnological Museum, sees three or four degrees of this custom of the couvade: a) abstinence from certain foods; b) abstention from certain acts; c) absolute rest up to staying in bed; d) an imitation by the man of the pains of childbirth in women.

The Pemón Indians (the men) at the present time only practice the couvade in the first two degrees. It would seem that formerly they also practiced the third degree, but only as a consequence of the first two, since if the Indian wishes to maintain a rigorous diet and in addition must abstain from most operations, the most logical and natural thing is that he should lie down in his hammock and rest, or, as they themselves say in their language, adopt the horizontal position, (esuraika), which is the least tiring one.

From this it is not necessary to infer that the diet should be fasting, nor even less should we believe in bloody mortifications, when precisely what is trying to be avoided is all pain, all fatigue, and all unbalance which by repercussion might
C damage the tender infant. For this I judge most exaggerated
114 and even contradictory what Roberto Agramonte says about the
846 Caribes, documented in who knows what acts: "Among the Caribes, the man /56/ fasted for six months and became as thin as a skeleton; the fast consisted of eating cassava: at the end of 40 days of fasting (so exact?) the members of the family covered him with deep scratches until he bled and to martyrize him even more they washed his wounds with water and red pepper: then he returned to his hammock, completely sick and in pain, and continued the fasting until the seventh month,
P when he could now eat meat and fish." Let us note once more
101 that the Pemón, with whom we are dealing, are clearly Caribes, and among the most primitive of them.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[171] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
● 842 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[597] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[574] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

/56 cont./

846 121. On top of these and other theories, the Pemón Indians
829 who practice the couvade, themselves have explained to me the reason and extent. Therefore, as far as they are concerned, there is no doubt that the reason for this is the following. They say that: /five plates appear here/ /57/ a) "every alteration of the health of the father or of the mother, any work which might lead to tiredness, any fatigue or disturbance of the progenitors, etc., has repercussions on the newborn, who are a part of them." They believe, thus, in sympathetic influence, to which they suppose children to be extremely sensitive and which has repercussions on the child, as a part of a whole, from the parents.

Men as scientific as Alexis Carrel believe that there is ome truth in this and thus there is an explanation of certain phenomena of telepathy, prescience, etc.

846 b) The Pemón add to this another reason and this is that,
776 according to them, the potorí or piá, each of them the engenderer of a definite species of animal and plant, on being cut down or destroyed, take vengeance on human sprouts or offspring. Another thing is that the mauarí and other spirits are bothered by certain actions of men, such as, for example, by the rolling of stones down hills, and then they also take vengeance on their little children, who are easier prey for their anger and their evil influences. This second cause is, thus, belief in the harmful influence of invisible spirits and of the progenitors and, for this reason, defenders of living beings, whoever they may be /sic/.

843 It will suffice to transcribe a few precautions, among the
784 very many taken down from their dictation, so that the two principles which have been stated may be quite clear:

1. A woman who is enceinte must not eat cassava which has been returned to the house from which it came, so that, when she gives birth the child may not turn back to the breast.

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784 2. Pubescent girls must not eat twin fruits, so that they
845 may not conceive twins.

3. The parents of a newborn child must not eat paují
846 meat, because it [illegible] make the child turn yellow. Let it
784 be remembered that the paují has a yellow face, very striking in contrast to the extreme blackness of its frizzled crest.

4. The parents of a newborn child must not walk barefoot over rocky or hot sandy places, lest the child should suffer.

5. They must not carry heavy loads either, because the child's neck will become bent and he will suffer from fatigue.

6. They must abstain from sexual relations, since these will produce fever and vomiting in the children.

7. If the father of the newborn should noisily knock down large rocks from high hills, the child will suffer from fright and horrors and will tremble during its sleep.

8. If the father of the newborn cuts certain vines, /58/ his child's navel will become infected or will swell up, depending on whether those vines rot or swell up.

789 The Pemón are not, at the present time, exaggerated in
846 the practice of these observances; they observe them for only a few days and this because of the preachings of their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law. Then, since they know the charms for each case and each thing to counteract evil influences, they return to ordinary life.

765 122. Another custom, the twin of the couvade and based
753 on the same principle of sympathy or sympathetic influence, is the aarakpué, or observances which must be followed by the relatives of the dead. This is not only observing mourning or showing sadness; they consider themselves infected by the rotting of the corpse of the dead relative and as foci of infection for all they touch.

105 formerly they practiced empollamiento
[846] /5 cont./ /"breeding, hatching"/
[771] (couvade); they have a purely exorcistic, animistic system,
[325] and not a sacerdotal or theistic one; they make metal objects;
[505] they travel in canoes..., they grow and spin cotton and make
[248] complicated weavings with this fiber...; they press yucca with
[283] a basketwork press of characteristic design; they make numerous
[286] objects of a typical and fine basketwork."
[285]

Chapter II

The Land Where the Pemón Indians Live

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10. The general area. 11. The main nucleus of the Gran Sabana. 12. Its location. 13. Climate. 14. Area. 15. Orography. 16. Hydrography. 17. The name Gran Sabana. 18. The name Alto /Upper/ Caroní. 19. The name Serranía de Guayana /Guiana Ridge/. 20. The wealth of this region. 21. The beauties of the same. 22. Caroní and Roroima. 23. Means of communication.

131 10. The tribes of the Pemón language live in the most
101 central part of Guiana in the region of Venezuela, which, /6/ orographically we may call Roroima Mountain (N., S., and W. of same) and hydrographically, Caroní River.

I believe it necessary to repeat that the borders of Indians, like those of birds, are not those designated by international treaties; and thus the Pemón Indians go beyond the borders of Venezuela and also extend into the Brazilian campos of the Branco River and into the forests of British Guiana.

11. There are a group of Pemón who live in Kamarata and Urimán (savannas); a few less live in the forests of the Tiriká, the Caroní, and the Paragua; but the main nucleus of this tribe is located on the Gran Sabana, hence we must

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789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog..., following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
● 846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

800 109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

/53 cont./

787 coincidences. But even these latter, being mindful of "just in case" and "precaution is not cowardice," in practice act as if they were believers. Especially concerning dreams, which sometimes are so vivid and impressive /54/ all stick to tradition and it can be said of them what someone said of simple people in general: "It doesn't matter to them what they see by day and they are so preoccupied with what passes through their heads during sleep at night."

Chapter XIV

What Is This about Couvade and Asarakpué?

116. The word and the custom. 117. False observations. 118. The four degrees of the couvade. 119. The custom is general. 120. Proposed explanations. 121. What the Pemón say about this custom of theirs. 122. The practice of asarakpué.

846 116. This exotic (French) word couvade or covada has come into our language and now all ethnologists commonly use it; other words invented to replace it, such as empollamiento /"incubation"/, simply do not fit. Foreign in its origin, this word speaks to us of a custom strange and even ridiculous when studied only superficially.

The couvade consists of the special cares which a father and a mother must take to assure good procreation (eugenics) and development of their infant children. As the Pemón say: Mure yun-pe, mure dam-pe enan dau, esenman naua ("When one is the father or mother of a child, one must be careful in the following things"). And to this is added a long and detailed list of precautions.

/54 cont./

846 117. From this simple definition it can be deduced that the ethnologists who attribute these precautions to the father alone are in error. At least among the Pémón and other related tribes, it seems positively certain to me that the precautions are common to both parents. Could it be that, since these precautions in mothers do not attract attention because they are a common thing, the writers noticed only the males?

But in addition to paying attention only to the males, they have even gone to the extreme of inverting these terms, writing, for example: "The covada consists in the father, a little before the child is born, getting into bed, going on a diet, resting, and doing everything that a parturient woman does, and he is attended by women pretending that he has given birth. By contrast, the woman would get up after the birth and dedicate herself to her usual domestic chores."

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This conclusion is perhaps also an exaggeration to which they have resorted in their eagerness to contrast the affectations of city women with the natural state observed in country women, especially native ones. And thus, for example, Estrabón says, when talking about the Cantabrian women of Spain: "They were, these women, very tough, and it happened that when, during their work, they found themselves in labor, they went away for a while and then later, having washed and wrapped up the newborn, they returned to work."

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/89 cont./

127 the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any
162 native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

771 195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism;
582 they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither
611 does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that
[171] the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade,
846 which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy,
611 through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

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[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

302 Women clip the hair in a bang across the forehead and let it grow down the back, although here, too, it may be bobbed. A few girls cut the hair in European male fashion ("boyish bob"), but this is exceptional. Many of the men now cut their hair short all around in the commonest European style, but others have a bang on the forehead and a bob around the back. In both sexes the hair usually is left free, without braiding or other special doing up, and [301] generally unparted. It is not native custom to wear anything in the way of ornament or headgear in or on the hair, except for special occasions like dances.

142 There is some tendency toward abdominal protrusion, so common everywhere among starch-eating and often parasitized tropical peoples, but it is seldom pronounced and often practically absent. Some children and adults of both sexes have slender and graceful figures even in this respect and practically 141 all are otherwise beautifully built. The average height of the men is 160 centimeters (5 feet 3 inches) and of the women 147 centimeters (4 feet 10 inches), while the average male weight is about 56 kilos (124 pounds) and female weight about 47 kilos (104 pounds). The tallest Kamarakoto seen, a man of course, measured 168 1/2 centimeters (5 feet 6 inches) and the heaviest, also a man but not quite so tall, weighed about 63 kilos (140 pounds), although one man of the same stock but from outside the central group weighed about 70 kilos 142 (155 pounds). These Indians are thus small, by our standards, although they are not pygmies and are indeed rather large as Guayana Caribs go, as will be shown below. No definite obesity was seen, and striking thinness is almost equally rare.

[291] The feet, never in shoes and seldom in sandals, naturally tend to be broad and the toes, particularly the great toe, are divergent and mobile (Fig. 93). [518] They are used as extra fingers for many kinds of work, such as holding cloth when sewing or to pick up or pass along small objects without bothering to bend over.

304 Aside from tattooing and ear-piercing, mentioned on a previous page, 184 intentional mutilation or deformation is not practiced and even these relatively mild mutilations are indulged in only by a minority of the tribe. Unintentional 232 deformities are likewise unusual although I do not believe that deformed infants [847] are killed (information on this ticklish point is not reliable, but the fact that a few individuals are deformed suggests that the native claim is true). Out of 64 Kamarakotos definitely recorded in detail and about that many more examined more casually, one young adult had one short leg, apparently from an early fracture, another had the right external ear congenitally absent, a child (brother of the congenitally deformed young man just mentioned) had a deformity of the stemum, probably congenital, and another child had the eyes slightly crossed. These were all males and no deformed females were seen. Intellectual deformities, either lesions or intelligence below the normal range, are quite lacking as far as was observed. There are no mentally pathological or psychotic individuals

[Text continues on p. 286]

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

291 but they prefer ordinary manufactured long trousers. To this may be added a
177 shirt, a pair of alpargatas, and perhaps a hat — few men have this much.[129]

[822] Aside from alpargatas, which a few of them have acquired, the only European clothes used by women are dresses, which they make themselves from cotton trade goods, preferably bright red.[130]

294 These dresses are made from a straight piece of goods, folded double, sewn along the selvage.[131] About six inches are left unsewn next to the fold, for armholes, and a hole is cut for the neck in the middle of the fold. They are neatly hemmed and the neck is often finished with a band, usually of
[177] another color. Steel needles and store thread are used. All sewing is done with double thread and they begin with a very long strand with the result that it knots frequently and they spend considerable time patiently unknotting it. The cloth is usually held by one foot, between the first and second toes, stretching the cloth out in a straight line from body to foot and sewing toward the body (Fig. 31). Stitches are large and irregular in length. Side seams are sewn with a half-back stitch. Only one variant was seen, with the two pieces whipped together as in overcasting. Hems are sewn either half-back or with a single running stitch, usually the latter.

Strips of cloth used to bind the neck edges are about one inch wide, straight, sewn on with running stitch, turned and caught down with a hemming stitch. Necklines may be of various sorts, boat-shaped, round, round with a
[853] slit down the front, etc. For nursing mothers they must be large enough to permit the child to get at the breast, although occasionally the armhole is left extra large and the breast reached through it. If the goods happens to be extra wide, crude, irregular pleats may be taken around the neck. Dresses usually reach to just below the knees.

291 These dresses are thus somewhat different, both in methods of making
177 and in pattern, from those current in Venezuela and they represent the interesting phenomenon, so well illustrated by North American tribes in historic times, of the development of new native cultural traits on the basis of introduced materials.

Native Costume.

The dresses thus described are native costume fully within the meaning of the words, but under this heading I shall describe the older costume, still extant and only now in process of being partly supplemented and partly replaced by costumes European in basic model.

291 The man's costume consists solely of a belt, loincloth, and sometimes sandals. The belt, tien-aka:mūi (a word also applied to European belts), generally consists simply of a white cotton string tied around the waist. Sometimes, for special occasions, a more elaborate belt of twisted strands of beads is used

129-131 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 11b - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[261] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
[17] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
842 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
[897] seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
[514] do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

834 With them, and of course this is well established as a general rule, clothes are
291 not worn because of modesty, but modesty arises from the use of clothes. Boys who had just started wearing loincloths would often remove them when swimming, but then if someone was around they would put a hand over the pubic region on emerging from the water and would turn their backs while donning the loincloth again.

291 No particular modesty is shown regarding other parts of the body. The
177 women would not visit us without dresses, but it was evident that the motive was not modesty but pride. A dress is not primarily a covering, but an ornament, a sign of prosperity, and an emblem of the desire to appear civilized and sophisticated to us. They have not yet been worn for sufficient time to induce the feeling that the parts that they cover (and that the native apron does not)
[253] are shameful or should be covered on moral grounds. They are so made as not effectively to conceal the breasts and women's dresses are, indeed, purposely made not to cover the breasts closely, for the practical reason of leaving the breast easily available to an infant, the dress never being removed or especially opened for this purpose. No man ever hesitated to remove any and all of his clothing, if he had any, except his loincloth, or to visit us if he had no other clothing. This less insistence, as compared with the women, on having European clothing betokens less pride, not that the clothing is less desirable as a symbol of what they believe to be progress, but mainly that male clothing is
[301] considered (and is in fact) less decorative. Similarly few women would think of appearing in society without as full a complement of necklaces and other ornaments as possible, while the men, not entirely above such frippery, considered it far less essential to their dignity and importance.

Cleanliness.

364 Within broad limits, the Kamarakotos are clean people. There is no great accumulation of refuse around the houses, partly because their diet produces little garbage and partly because they are reasonably careful to clean
[171] away what little refuse there is. A Kamarakoto settlement is not entirely odorless but certainly has none of the nauseous stench so often mentioned by travelers as heralding approach to an Indian village in other parts of South America.[226]
296 They do not mind a considerable amount of dirt on their clothing, but periodically do wash all clothing, getting it quite clean by pounding and strenuous ef-
515 fort and bleaching it in the sun.[227] They live near streams that are safe for bathing and all enter the water freely and wash themselves at frequent intervals so that their persons are usually remarkably clean.

226, 227 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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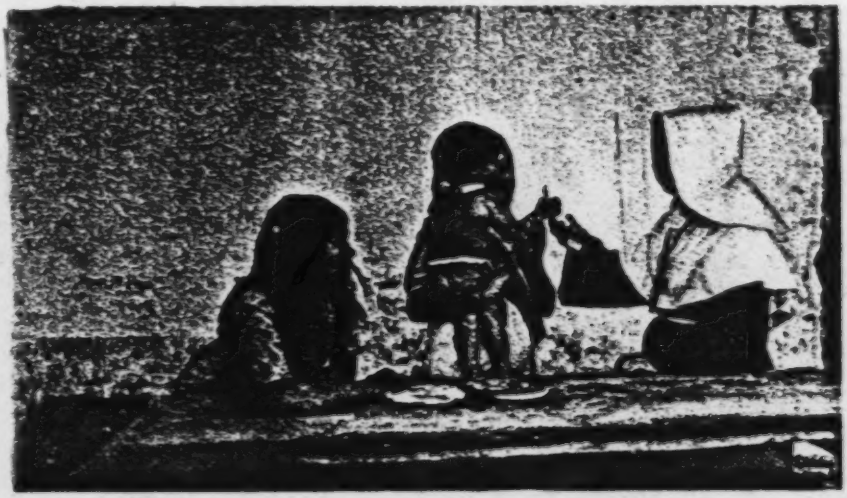

Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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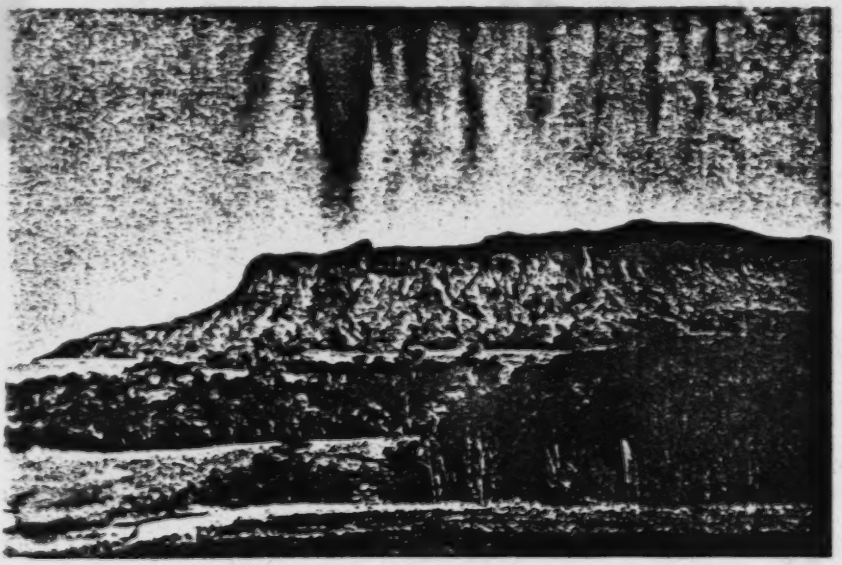

This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sábana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mafiocc /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[441] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[301] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
[291] cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
287 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
314 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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412

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291

167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pəlai (= pəraí).

*192
291
177

168. Trade cloth — saraza (from Spanish "zaraza").

European mens' clothes —

169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargatá

These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.

(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)

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173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakumə.

174. *Armbands (women) — (it)abukamüi (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)aspügamə', lower band (y)endapəgemə'.

[30]

175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) panada. (pana = "ear").

[292]

176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-kata. (Literally "woven fine thread").

● [854]

177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.

[293]

178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara."[51]

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e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

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179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of o. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous o. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

*[197]

180. *karöi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analysis]

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which
854 consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the
353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: [1]

tangõiʔ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiʔ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

œapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the œapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o.olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoʔ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiʔ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiʔ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaʔ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[417] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

[1] [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analyst]

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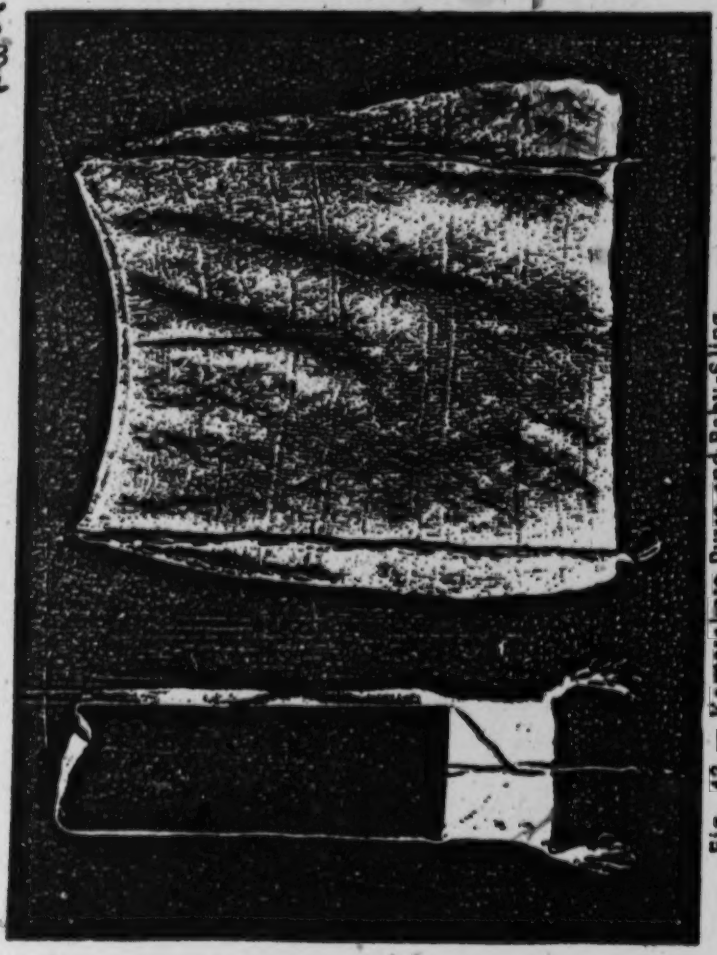

Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A, cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B, cotton baby-sling.

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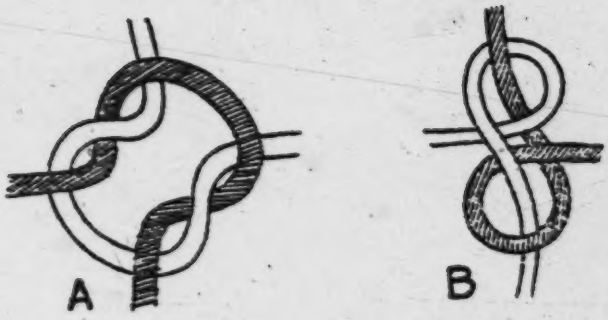

Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.
A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crosstie with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

[854] [822] [439] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43 B) is sometimes left white (a color it does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepánes obtain brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread. they make baby slings with varicolored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid [171] of a single hooked needle.[144] This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalíñas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden
413 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent
177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such

144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [854] [484] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men	Women
The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.	Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.
Clearing and planting of conucos.	Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.
All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.	----------

462

In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.	In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.
----------	All food preparation.
Manufacture of twisted thread, (curagua, moriche, etc.)	Manufacture of spun thread (cotton).
Manufacture of sandals.	Manufacture of all cotton textiles, baby slings, pakara, hammocks, etc., also all sewing of Europeanized garments.
Manufacture (and use) of all weapons, fish nets, etc.	----------
All basketwork.	All beadwork.
Manufacture and use of all musical instruments (except simple jingle-rattle ornaments).	----------
Such woodwork as is done (benches, canoes, etc.).	Manufacture of pottery.
[P54] Some help with care of children.	Almost all of the care of children (which is slight except for babies carried by the women in a sling).
----------	Incidental fetching and carrying, as of firewood and water.
Helping with the heavy carrying, as on journeys.	Much, often the lion's share, of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
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858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
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all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
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out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

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[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
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Modesty.

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1 [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
2 [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.

5:Simpson. N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his four living children (the second by this wife).

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.
No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

/49 cont./

789 To this category belong among the Pemón Indians the practice
[754] of injuring an enemy by charming his tracks; carrying water in
the mouth when planting cane and invoking the poppy so that
[513] sleep will come to children; hunters making remedies with
[224] leaves similar to the ears of some animal or other so that the
[252] animal may come out to meet them; women pouring honey
into cuts on their jaws so that the chewed kachirí may turn out
[755] sweet for them; believing that eating eggs will bring out boils;
[787] believing that tripping over a stone on the path is a presage
that we shall meet a traveler who is coming in the opposite
[787] direction; interpreting dreams always through similarities, e.g.
moriche seeds guáimaro, red kachirí for blood, the piache's
song for sickness; and a thousand more which we shall not list
100 for the sake of brevity. About this same matter, Cecil Dampier
wrote: "The savage does not pray to God to send him sun or
rain: he dances a dance to the sun or he croaks like a frog...,
following an association of ideas."

Y. A. Bouyssonie observed that "red ocher makes one think of blood, the condition of life, and therefore is considered to be a sort of medium for conjuring death and for facilitating posthumous existence."

789 The same can be said of the use of annatto or achiote among these Indians against the oradán, maurí, and amariauk.

108. The second principle gives rise to the magical practices which are called contagious and also sympathetic. To
855 this type belong, among the Pemón Indians, the group of prac-
846 tices related to the couvade and the asarakpué, that is, having
789 to do with the birth of children and the death of our relatives. The practices and abstentions with reference to the couvade, which begin from the time of the pairing of the progenitors and continue in minuendo until the children are two or three years old, affect not only the father -- as is generally said in ethnographic treatises, but also the mother, and it is based on the belief that tiredness, sickness, /50/ malevolent influences, etc., of either of the progenitors affect -- and in a higher

789 /50 cont./
855 degree than in the progenitors themselves -- tender young
846 children unless they are counteracted by the force of the charms for each case or matter.

789 The practices and abstentions related to the death of rela-
753 tives are based similarly on the supposition that the decomposi-
761 tion of the body of the dead causes infections and stench in
783 all the relatives, producing in them sores, eruptions, decomposition, and similar things; for this reason they must abstain from contact with all others in order not to contaminate them, cannot prepare meals for them, etc.

489 In summation of the foregoing we can transcribe these words from the Enciclopedia Espasa: "Savage and barbarian societies, and in general always those that are ignorant of the causes of physical or psychic phenomena, man has attempted to oppose the nefarious influence of the spirits which he supposes surround him by means of a series of magic rites -- mimetic and oral...." To these words we must add that, as can be observed from some of the examples cited above, not only is the attempt made to counteract the evil influences of the spirits proper, but also other corporal, but mysterious, beings.

Chapter XIII

Do the Indians Practice Divination?

000 109. The innate curiosity of all men. 110. Among the Indians, neither more nor less. 111. Invocation of the dead. 112. Omens. 113. The interpretation of dreams. 114. Casuality and causality. 115. The "just in case."

109. The innate curiosity of men, which is said to be the beginning of all knowledge, recognizes no barriers; and sometimes with leaden feet, with well thought out arguments and

174 that its application has become differentiated in later times. The apron, as
114 distinct from a loincloth (such as also has been used by females) is not a
291 wayiku among the Arekunas and many other Caribs, but a mosa (motsa, etc.) and wayiku as a Carib word in general almost surely did not originally mean "apron" but only "loincloth," male or female. Where the word "camisa," in various forms, appears, it has driven out the native word not because the article of apparel was new to the Indians but because the material from which it now came to be made was new. "Camisa" came to mean primarily this foreign material, trade cloth, and secondarily, by a common linguistic transfer, a wayiku made of such cloth. Indeed this etymological argument against the native origin of the loincloth runs abruptly into contradiction because it agrees that there is a native word for the woman's apron and hence logically should grant this aboriginal origin, but the testimony of the early visitors and of comparative studies is that if either is older the loincloth antedates the apron.

[177] Finally, the use of foreign materials (trade cloth and glass beads) in these garments is not evidence against their antiquity, because this is clearly a mere substitution of foreign for native materials in a purely native finished object. In fact both loincloths and aprons of entirely native materials are still encountered among the more remote and poorer tribes, showing the basis to which the preferable new materials have been adapted.

291 The fact, as I believe it to be, that pubic coverings are aboriginal
834 among the Kamarakotos and culturally allied groups may also be correlated
[174] with the fact that the adults of this tribe are extremely modest (more so than Europeans) about uncovering the pubic parts, and are not modest about anything else, even such things as physiological functions or female breasts, which Europeans regard as equally to be concealed.

291 Very small boys do run naked but they put on loincloths long before pu-
855 berty. Sometimes they put on the belt, which is completely nonconcealing but has an almost symbolic significance of departure from babyhood, before they don the loincloth itself. Even if trousers are available, they are seldom worn until after puberty. Girl babies are sometimes naked but are now sometimes supplied with dresses almost at once after birth. Whether dressed or not, by the time they can walk well and leave their mothers, they begin to wear the bead apron, beginning with a very small size and graduating to successively larger ones until they are grown.

Ornaments.

301 Except for particular occasions, especially dances, the men do not usually wear any ornaments, although earrings, necklaces and armlets are occasionally worn.

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[893] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[861] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
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out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
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[1] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

156 881 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 [343] 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 262 [115] According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have
538 gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

776 164. The bogeyman. In childhood, recourse is frequently
861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [86] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [82] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadɛ). Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical- [283] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

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Fig. 78 — Kamarakoto Boys Wrestling.

868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
● 857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children "play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is commonly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might (Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Maiuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures includes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[126] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some extent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowledge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is invariable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[593] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
● 857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
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had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

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are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
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[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 11b - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 81 — Kamarakoto Group.
The small children are playing while a woman washed clothes in the Aichá River.

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Fig. 82 — Kamarakoto Chums.
Playmates sunning themselves on a rock after swimming.

Swimming.

526 The men and, particularly, the boys are very fond of swimming and
[481] spend hours in the water. They paddle and splash around hilariously. It is pe-
[147] culiar that when seriously attempting to go anywhere in the water, they swim below the surface, staying under as long as a minute and crossing any of the streams in Kamarata (up to perhaps twenty meters) without coming up for breath. The stroke is a rather formless but effective paddle. They tread water and remain at the surface in deep pools with ease, but I never saw them progress on the surface for more than one or two strokes. This is pure conjecture and not entirely probable, but it almost seems that they have learned swimming by imitating fishes and that it has not occurred to them that they might swim and breathe air at the same time.

Drunkenness.

273 Their herculean drinking bouts have been mentioned in connection with the dances that usually accompany them. Their alcoholic drinks are weak enough to require considerable perseverance in order to [illegible] drunken, but at these long parties most adults, men and women, do eventually achieve this
[514] condition. Such a party becomes disgusting, from any sober point of view, particularly as vomiting is an expected interlude between rounds, but at the one
[578] bout that I attended it did not become seriously disorderly. It is the highest tribute to Kamarakoto character that even with the whole crowd irresponsibly alcoholic, there was no quarreling, no abusive or even particularly noisy language, and that as much courtesy and thoughtfulness persisted as was at all con-
[857] sistent with their condition. Children of all sizes attended and were not neglected but had an equally hilarious time without drinking.[228]

[152] Such excesses have their aftermath and the only time that I saw the Kamarakotos surly and cheerless was the day after a week of carousing, when all were suffering severely and had lost interest in life or the neighbors.

Incendiarism.

157 A curious practice not mentioned in previous pages is that of setting fires
372 in the dry season. The dry grass of the sabanas then becomes highly inflamma-
311 ble and the Indians delight in firing it, just to see it burn. Some tribes do this, ostensibly at least, to drive out animals when hunting or as a means of signaling,[229] but the Kamarakotos have, and give, no other reason than they enjoy
372 setting and watching the fires. Flying over the country in this season, rings of
311 fire can often be seen on every patch of sabana and after a party from the Caroni left us we could see columns of smoke in that direction for two days. The forest

228, 229 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[482] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

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in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
[291] the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 266]

/74 cont./

123 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry
437 children across their chest --; but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fond-
123 ness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

000 As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirts are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

/75 cont./

868 162. Practical teaching. My dear interlocutor can well understand that the Indians, without setting up a pedagogical chair and a group of educators, do educate and teach their children practically. Their children, in turn, through the natural instinct for imitation, tend to copy what they see in their parents.

857 And, as we imagined, male children practice the handling of their miniature bows and accompany their elders on hunts, and show the aggressiveness and bravery appropriate to their sex, even though it may only be "killing" little pieces of sticks or stones in little improvised hammocks, making little clay cakes like cassava cakes, etc.

867 163. Oral teaching. The other teaching, oral and in-
577 tentional, is very much rarer than among us; however, I have gathered in this regard some data of the old people who, obliged
538 more than they may wish to lead a sedentary life, give their advice to the young people. In the tales which, as has often been said, form the native oral literature, the defects of gluttony, lack of personal cleanliness, carelessness in the face of what is strange and unknown, conjugal infidelity and other sexual vices, lack of love for children, etc., are all ridiculed.

538 It is clear, however, that their morality does not attain
577 the perfection of the Gospel and that frequently in the earliest
864 legendary narrations the spirit of revenge and the refinement of torture of victims is taught; there also occur in these stories sexual scenes which are extremely crude, without their taking any care about telling them in the presence of little children, who acquire a very precocious knowledge and perhaps even a very premature initiation. In this particular they evidently have a rather blunted feeling of morality.

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●861 taken to the deceit of the enek ("bug" or "funny little fellow"), which is our coco /"bogeyman"/, so that the children will not go far away, so that they will not cry, so that they will obey, etc. They use, thus, the stimulus of fear. Among other threats

/75 cont./

776 of this sort, which I have taken down in my ethnographic notes,
861 I remember as very appropriate that mothers of screaming children threatened to take them out of the house and call the virumaimá or some other great bird of prey to carry them off. To lazy ones carrying small guayares or loads, they say that the buzzards will dirty over those whom they see walking along unloaded.

861 165. Punishments. My interrogator assumes that the Indians under censure or correction never get to the point of punishment, and that all censure of offenses and abuses consists of expressions /76/ like those of the weak Helí: "You don't want to do that, my children; you should not do what is bad; don't make me sad." Frankly, my questioner is in error, and I must clearly confess to him that these Indians, in addition to the gentle and exhortatory "nauandok neke" ("one must not do or be thus") know how to use a quite ungentle hand of punishment. It should suffice to open the dictionary to see that among them exist aipopuetok, "the whip," and popuetok, or "simple beating."

In my ethnographic notes there are noted down two other truly savage punishments which, so it seems, mothers apply with some frequency to their naughty, impudent, etc., children. The application is made by placing them face down lying in a hammock and at a certain height above a candle and then putting on the candle ají so that it will make them suffer a coughing fit, which through personal experience I know to be extremely bothersome. Other times they stick up the rectum the same irritant, either in powder with salt (chikirimá) or simply chopped up (puemuei estamosak).

584 166. Marriages. Although these natives are extremely
581 free in the selection of a consort, and we have never seen anything remotely like the purchase of a woman, perhaps because of the very fortunate (in this case) poverty in which they live, it is clear to us and we have noted that parents positively advise

685 addnced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

-433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[48] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 - Analyst]

152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
[573] consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82)[2] and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
most always together and often stand arm in arm.

858 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
[261] as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.
854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
[853] baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).[2] The baby never
feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
155 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

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[17] still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
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[2] [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 11b - Analyst]
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[text continues on p. 266]

/75 cont./

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●868 Children generally follow much the same occupations as their elders of
857 the same sex, beginning by playing that they are doing so, as our children
"play house," and ending by performing the actual work as they become capa-
524 ble of it. Their playthings, too, are almost invariably small replicas or imita-
[868] tions of objects used by their elders. Thus the first toy of a small boy is com-
monly an improvised bow, with which he "plays Indian," as a white boy might
(Fig. 79). Some of the boys show great ingenuity in making imitations of
weapons, tools, etc.[181]

The Kamarakotos make cat's-cradles, but I did not attempt to collect
[121] these. I saw none not already recorded from the Makuchis or Akawais (see es-
[114] pecially Roth, 1924, whose elaborate compilation of these string-figures in-
cludes all that I saw among the Kamarakotos).

Mythology

773 Like all Indians, the Kamarakotos have an extensive body of myths and
[128] legends. It is probable, however, that these are already dying out to some ex-
tent, since few of the younger members of the tribe seemed to have much knowl-
edge of them or to take much interest in them except as casual stories. Un-
[126] doubtedly, a great many are still accurately known, but our time permitted
the textual record of only one.[182] This is a typical, representative example
and serves excellently to illustrate the characteristics of Kamarakoto mythology
and its probable sources and relationships.

539 Rigid accuracy and authenticity may be claimed for the text here given,
126 despite the linguistic and other difficulties. It was told to me by Antonio
128 Montesdeoca during four sessions in March, 1939. Antonio gave the story not
[115] only from his own memory but also from the collected versions of numerous
other members of the tribe, several of whom were present at each session and
who were carefully consulted on all doubtful points. The story as a whole was
translated into Spanish by Antonio, with passages also given in Kamarakoto by
him and by others present. I recorded it in English and then read it back, in
Spanish, section by section, to Antonio who carefully corrected the slightest
[538] deviation from the meaning of the Kamarakoto text.[183] The Kamarakoto text
itself is not verbally memorized and varies with the teller, but its sense is in-
variable and this procedure guarantees that this sense is fully retained in the
present version.

The Story of Maichak.[184]

539 Maichak was an Indian who lived a long time ago in what we now call
Kamarata. At that time, men lived for centuries and centuries. When Maichak

181-184 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]

/59 cont./

the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

856 125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true
881 girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

881 126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for
[343] a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

881 According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto
262 Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the princi-
[115] pal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

[776] 127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

881 When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

/60 cont./

881 [302] b) they must paint the face and the whole body with annatto in order to cover up the yellowness and not become prey to amariuak;

881 c) they must not raise their eyes nor look toward the hills, where they think the mauarí live;

784 d) they must not bathe nor go for water, in order not to be perhaps possessed by ratő;

[292] e) they must use moriche sandals whenever, out of necessity, they must put their feet on the ground;

f) they must abstain, as has been said above, from certain foodstuffs.

881 128. There are two somewhat more curious things while the indisposition lasts, and they are: absolute silence, to which they are constrained, and whipping, which they are given each time they come in or go out of the rancho for some necessity.

881 841 521 The Indians insist on saying that the speech of a menstruating Indian woman is extremely pernicious; for that reason no one speaks to them; and when the days have passed and she wishes to return to daily conversation, the woman must address a stick and say to it: "Are you here?" Then the tree will dry up and the same thing will happen to any Indian man to whom she addresses herself. /61/ "This," Ernesto writes, "seems not to be true, but it certainly is their custom."

881 The whipping is not in any way at all a flagellation nor anything like it; it is only a ceremony, which is done by the old woman who is caring for the girl every time the latter goes out of the rancho, so that the evil spirits may consider her to be something scornful. One day after the indisposition has passed, at dawn when the cocks crow, they bring her down from the hammock, seat her on a little bench, and the oldest man or the master of the house flails her with some strings made of [593] moriche fiber and recites over her a certain charm. "By means of this whipping," adds Ernesto, "when the women get angry with their daughters for being hard to manage, they customarily

/61 cont./
881 say: Let her be, for when she reaches puberty they will whip
593 her."

881 129. In order to demonstrate that women must submit
538 to these traditional observances, the Pemón have a great number of stories and legends in which it is said, for example:

a) That a girl, during the days of the retreat, went to the river to get water and began to play with a little fish which was tickling her feet, without knowing that it was a disguised ratö, and became pregnant to the astonishment of her parents, who knew that she had had no dealings with men. That was the origin of the legendary Apichauai.

b) That another girl in similar circumstances without thinking took down a birds' nest with its little eggs, which were not eggs of a bird but snake's eggs, as a result of which she became the mother of Aramarí, another legendary personage, half man and half snake.

c) That another girl in the same circumstances went to a bachaquero /evidently from bachaco, an antlike insect/ with other Indians at the time of the gathering of those and that she was eaten from the waist down by the keuchí, a kind of swallow which hunts bachacos at the time of their swarming and their egg-laying.

d) That another girl, who went to the river when the other Indians were poisoning fish with verbasco, began to prepare sakura and with the waste matter that she threw in the water caused such a disturbance among the mauaríes that they caused a great flood from which only a few were able to save themselves in the forks of trees, etc.

881 130. In this same period they customarily submit both
304 the boys as well as the girls to incisions, or papuek, with which they tattoo themselves, not for beauty but in order to pour into the said incisions vegetable substances so that they will be good hunters, so that they will be diligent, so that they will not fall from their mounts when riding, so that they will be good chewers of kachirí, so that they will be assiduous, etc.

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171

Sex of parent, (referred to, or the speaker).	Sex of child.	Kamarakoto word.	Makuchi word. (Williams)	
Male	Male	mumun ("my son" = umo).	mumu (umu)	mure
Male	Female	(y)entsi	enji	
Female	Male	(u)rmg	(u)-n-re	(u)-n-re
Female	Female	manon	(not given)	

(u)rmg and its cognate (u)-n-re are both used not only specifically for the son of a mother but also for any child of a mother. Williams gives the Makuchi word manon, obviously the same as the Kamarakoto word, as meaning an unmarried female.

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[597] Adopted children, common in this society, are called narimanga (regardless of sex) but they are normally spoken to and of as if they were natural children.

Grandparents: As with parents, only the sex of the person referred to is taken into account.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandfather	tamo	tamo, tatamo
Grandmother	noi³	no, go-go

P
[888] As in most European languages, these words are also used to refer to old and (as a rule) venerated persons.

Grandchildren: In marked distinction from the specificity of most of the relationship system, no account is taken of the sex of either party in referring to a grandchild.

	Kamarakoto.	Makuchi (Williams).
Grandchild	pa	pa

If for some reason sex must be mentioned, it is done as for any person or animal, i.e., by using the words for "male" and "female":